A

COLLECTION

Of several

TRACTS

in *Quarto*.

Written most since the Discovery of the

POPISH PLOT 1678.

Being all [illegible]ainst *POPERY* and *PRESBITERY*.

Viz. The *Relapsed Apostate*.

Toleration discussed.
The Growth of Knavery.
Tyranny and Popery.
Reformed Catholick.
Free-born Subject.
The Case put for the D. *of* York.
The Appeal from the Country to the City Answered.
Seasonable Memorials.
A Dialogue between Cit *and* Bumkin, *in two Parts.*

A further discovery of the Plot.
Discovery on Discovery.
A Narrative of the Plot.
The Committee, or Popery in Masquerade.
[redacted]
Richard *against* Baxter.
Ephraim *and* Zekiel, *being his Case.*
An Appeal to the King and Parliament.

And besides,—

The History of the *Plot*, in *Folio*.
Erasmus's Colloquies against *Popery*.
Seneca's Moralls.
The Guide to Eternity.
Cicero's Offices in *English*.
Five Love-Letters.

By *Roger L'Estrange*.

London, Printed for *Henry Brome* at the *Gun* in St. *Paul's* Church Yard. 1681.

THE
Relaps'd Apostate:
OR,
NOTES
UPON
A *PRESBYTERIAN* PAMPHLET,
ENTITULED,
A PETITION for *PEACE*, &c.

The Third Edition.

Nullum perniciosius Odium est, quam violati Beneficii pudere.

By Roger *L'Estrange.*

LONDON,
Printed for *Henry Brome* at the Gun in S. *Pauls* Church-yard, 1681.

THE PREFACE.

CAsting my Eye the other day upon a Pamphlet Entitled, **Richard Baxters** *Answer to* Dr. *Edward Stillingfleets Charge of Separation*, &c. I could not but take notice of these Passages in the Preface.

What the meer *Nonconformists of this Age desired for Concord and Reformation, as to the Old Liturgy, and Conformity, is best known by their Common Proposals* 1660. *All the Ministers of* London *being by Mr.* Calamy, *Mr.* Ash, *and Dr.* Reynolds *invited to* Syon Colledge, *freely to give their Judgments; who offered nothing for Church-Government but Bishop* Ushers *Primitive Form, and nothing for Worship, but the Reforming of the Liturgy, and the Free use of Additional Forms; Their Exceptions against Passages in the Liturgy being not thought absolutely necessary to Communion. And it must be remember'd that they offer'd then; First, a Defence of those Exceptions. Secondly, a Reformed Liturgy, or Additions. Thirdly, a Petition for Peace, and preventing Schism, to the Bishops, which they never answered to this day that we know of.* And in the next Page he refers himself to *the said* UNANSWERED *Writings of* 1661.

A body might refresh Mr. *Baxters* Memory with several Instances of Remarks upon That Transaction; But I shall only concern my self in the Revival of some Notes of my own, which were publish'd upon that Subject, and Occasion, bearing Date *Nov.* 14. 1661. and which have past to this day without any Reply. The Main Cause is Lodg'd in better hands; but in the

mean time, the Reprinting of that Pamphlet will in ſome meaſure lay open the Unquiet Humour of that Party, and the weakneſſe of their Pretenſions, even in the matter whereupon Mr. *Baxter* ſeems to lay ſo very great a Streſſe. I ſhall do my ſelf ſome Right alſo in a *Third Impreſſion* of it, by ſhewing the World that my Opinion of this ſort of People was the ſame in 1661. that it is now in 1680. and founded upon the ſame Grounds too; without any deſign of *Arraigning King, Lords, and Commons*, in the *diſcrediting* of the *Kings Evidence*; or of *Transforming* a *Popiſh Plot* into a *Presbyterian*, by *Anticipation*.

In this Edition I ſhall eaſe the Reader, in the diſcharge of ſeverall digreſſions and ſuperfluities, which how neceſſary ſoever upon the firſt Publication, would be now wholly forreign to the buſineſs in Queſtion; as being more accommodate to the *Seaſon*, then to the *Argument*.

TO THE PRESBYTERIAN DIVINES; *The* PUBLISHERS, *and Abettours of a* PAMPHLET, *Entituled,* *A* PETITION *for Peace,* &c.

Gentlemen,

THat you may not glory either in your Cauſe, or Fortune, you are here condemn'd to ſuffer Publique Shame by a weak hand; yet ſo, as not to make Me proud of the Conqueſt; for ye fight againſt your ſelves, and fall by your own Weapons: Which is the certain Fate of all your Strivings againſt the Right of Biſhops. The Liberties you challenge from the Government muſt be allow'd again by You to the People: and what becomes of your Holy Diſcipline then? Thus are ye Broken upon your own Wheel, and your Selves caſt into the Pit ye Digg'd for Others.

The well-weighing of This Conſequence twenty years ago, might have ſav'd a great deal of Sin, and Treaſure: it may prevent the ſame again, (for ought I know) even at This Inſtant, duly to conſider it: for to deal freely, Gentlemen, you are now Re-entred upon that deadly path that leads from Heaven to Hell, from Conſcience to Diſobedience: from the Reforming Pulpit to the Kings Scaffold. How ſhall I reconcile the Reverence that I bear your Character, with the juſt Indignation due to your Actings?

You have of late Publiſh'd a Book Thus called;

A *PETITION* for *PEACE*, with the Reformation of the *LITURGY*, &c.

Your Petition appears fortified with Twenty Reaſons, which I muſt take a Freedome to reply upon, and make a little bold too with

your

your Liturgy: *submitting the* Reason *of* All, *to the Judgment of the Indifferent* World; *and to your selves my Dedication.*

Your Writings *are like the Pestilence* that walketh by *Night, and* the *Plague* that destroyeth at *Noon-day. They steal out, and* disperse *themselves in the* dark, *but the Malice of their* Operation *is Publique.*

Many unseemly Circumstances there are in the menage of this your Pamphlet, *which I refer to their proper* Notes: *but since you plead the* Kings Authority *for what ye did; it will behove me in the first place to clear* that *point; and no way better then from the very Words of his* Majesty's Commission; *directing,*

To advise, consult upon, and about, the Book of Common-Prayer, and the several objections and exceptions, which shall now be raised against the same, and (if occasion be) to make such *reasonable* and *necessary alterations,* corrections, and amendments therein, as by and between you, the said Arch-Bishop, Bishops, Doctours, and Persons hereby required and authorized to meet and advise as aforesaid, shall be *agreed* upon to be needful and expedient, for the giving Satisfaction to tender Consciences, and the restoring and continuance of peace and unity in the Churches under our protection and Government.

How far Your Liberties *agree* with These Limitations, be you your selves the Judges.

You know we have had a Long and Bloody War, Gentlemen: and the same Actions which on the Legal side, *were* Duty, Piety, *and* Justice, *were in the* Adverse Party, *no other then* Rapine, Murther, *and* Rebellion. *These* Crimes *call for* Repentance, *and either* Christianity *is but a* story, *or it concerns those People that have This Load upon their* Consciences, frankly, *and* seasonably *to* discharge *themselves.*

Would not a Searching Sermon *now and then upon this* Subject, *do as much good as a Discourse of* humane Impositions? *'Tis not an Act of* Pardon, *and* Oblivion, *will bring Them off, at the* great day, *that have these Horrours unaccompted for. As* Publique Ministers, Kings *may remit* Publique Offences: *and* forgive Those *who cannot yet* forgive Themselves. *The* Royal *Power extends but to the* Law *not to the* Conscience. *They shall not* Dye *for That which yet they may be* Damn'd *for. A man that* Robs *a* Church *may scape the* Wheel, *and yet the* Sacriledge *cleave to his Fingers. In fine;* Monarchs *may dispense with their* own Laws,

and

and interpose betwixt the Gibbet, *and the* Offender; *but betwixt* Sin *and* Vengeance; Guilt, *and the dreadfull stroke of* Divine Justice; *there's but* one Mediator: *before whose* Majesty Kings *are but* animated Shadows, *and all the dazling* Glories *of this World, a Black* Obscurity. *In short; he that has made his Peace with the* Law *and not with his own* Soul: *on* Earth, *and not in* Heaven, *has done the least part of his business. You are now crying up Those People for the* Godly Party, *whose wretched Souls were by the* Magick *of your* Covenant-Holyness charm'd *into* Disobedience. *You're* Scrupulizing *now again about the* Lawfulness *of* Ceremonies: *but not a word touching the* Unlawfulness *of the* War. *That very point betrays you; for it looks as if you would have the people still believe the* Cause *was good, and that upon the same presumption of an* Imaginary Superstition, *they may tread over the same Steps again. Tell them how ill they did to fight against the* King: (*if you believe 'twas ill done*) *press their* Repentance *and* bewayl Publiquely your own Engagements in that sinfull Quarrel: *for otherwise You* betray *the Souls ye plead for, into a* final hardness; *into an* Obstinate, *and* Impenitent Security.

This is so undeniably your Duty, (*unless you still adhere to your first Cause,*) *that there's no Shifting: so that the* Tryall *of your* Integrity *depends upon* this Issue: *If you be truly* Loyal, *and* Repentant, *where-ever you have* Preach'd disobedience, *you will* Recant *it: however your* Confession *must be as* Publique *as your* Sin. *Without This* clearness *all your Talk of* Conscience *weighs not a* Nut-shell.

As to This Petition of Yours, with the Appertinences, there are some thousands of them thrown like Fire-balls among the Common People by the Presbyterian Reformado's; *and 'tis but their Method; First to Preach the Rabble to* Gun-powder, *and then scatter their* Squibs *among them. There is neither Authour, Stationer, nor Printer that appears to't; but the Pretext of it is* Peace, *and* Reformation, *which may perhaps be the Reason that they are asham'd to own it.*

If my Intelligence deceive me not, this same Schismatical Piece of Holyneſſe was deliver'd to the Presse by one Mr. R.B. *or by his Order; and my Information tells me further, that the Bauble was Barrell'd up for fear of Venting, and so sent several ways up and down the Kingdom. Which being perform'd with all necessary dispatch, and Secresy, does but bespeak a Generall Tumult, and propossess the Nation against better Reasons: and under the most Unwarrantable and dangerous Circumstances Imaginable.*

Here's first; an unauthoriz'd Form of Worship: Compos'd, I.

Printed,

Printed, Publish'd, *and* Dispers'd by private persons; *which at first dash affronts the* Prerogative Royal, *and the* Establish'd Government.

2. *Observe* next; *that 'tis done by* Stealth; *no* Name *to't*: *which gives a shrewd Suspition of* Ill-meaning, *when they that best knew what it* meant, *thought it not* safe *to* own *it*.

3. *Look in the* Third *place to the* Promoters *of it*; *and I* divine, *you'll scarce find any man a* Stickler in this Office, *that has not been an* Enemy *to the* King.

4. Fourthly, *Take notice, that though the* Book *addresses to the* Bishops, *They are yet the People from whom it is most carefully concealed. And yet on the* Other side *the* Copies *fly in* Swarms *about the* Nation: *that is to say, where they may do most Mischief; however kept from them, to whom they seemingly apply for* Satisfaction.

See now the Timing *of it*: upon the just Nick, when the Bishops are consulting a Christian, General, *and* Friendly Accomodation: *and* That's *the Event they* Dread. (DOMINION *or* CONFUSION being their *Motto.) Did ever* Presbytery *set footing any where, and* Blood *or* Slavery *not go along with it? This Comfort yet attends the Broyls they cause,* that a WAR's a less Plague then the *GOVERNMENT*.

Once more; *who knows but they have chose this* Juncture, *for some yet more* malicious *ends? They have not stickled to make* Parties; *held their* Consults *and* Conventicles: Printed *and* Preach'd Sedition *all this while, only for* Exercise, *or* Pleasure. The Parliment's adjourn'd, *and in this* Interval, *'tis beyond doubt they think to do their Business: what can be else the drift of this their* Challenging Petition; *and at this most* unseasonable Instant; *but* to precipitate a Breach, and disappoint the General hopes of their next Meeting? *Nothing more common with the* Faction, *then to discourse* what wonders the *next* Parliament will do: and hint the Approaching end of *This*.

Nemo repentè. *Unthankful Creatures! have they so soon forgot,* who sav'd them? *Their* Mushrome-Honesty, *has in a night forsooth shot it self up from* Hell *to* Heaven. *'Tis a large step, from* Sacriledge, *to* strict Holyness: *from* Robbing *the* Material Church, *to the* advancing *of the* Mystical: *from a* Lawless, Mercileſs oppression of Gods Ministers; *to a* true pity towards his Servants; *from the* Dross *of* Humanity, *to the* Perfection *of* Angels; *yet in the case before us, there's but a* Thought, *a* Moment; *but an* Imaginary Line *that seems to* part *them. 'Twas the Kings* Fiat *that strook* Light *out of* Darkness,

Darkneſs, *and made them paſs for what they ſhould be* ; *His* Majeſties Command, *that drew the* Curtain *betwixt the* World, *and their* Tranſgreſſions ; *and betwixt* Life *and* Death. *They are not yet at* Eaſe ; *they have their* Heads *again to make new Stakes with : and we have another* King *to loſe, if they can catch him as they did his* Father. *Juſt* Thus *began the* Late Rebellion ; *and if good order be not taken with theſe* Relap'd Apoſtates, *juſt* here *begins* another.

Nor is it only the ſame Method *and* Deſign ; *but it will ſoon appear, that the ſame* perſons *are now* in *again*, whining *and* Snivelling *for* Religion, (*as they did ever*) *only to* Cheat *the* Multitude, *and to* engage *a* Faction. *They have now diſpers'd this Pamphlet all over* England ; *as I am fairly aſſur'd.*

But why to the People firſt ? *Unleſs they intend to make* uſe *of them* ? *and what* uſe *can they make, but* Violence ? *This is to ſay, that if the* Biſhops will *not do them* Reaſon, *the* People *ſhall.* Next ; why ſo many ? *but to beget a through-diſaffection to the* Eſtabliſh'd Liturgy.

In ſhort ; What is all This, but to cry Fire, *or* Murther *to the Nation* ; When they themſelves are the Aggreſſours ; and 'tis a Flame of their own kindling ?

Nemo
pentè.

A PETITION *for* PEACE *with the* REFORMATION *of the* LITURGY,

As it was Presented to the Right Reverend BISHOPS.

By The DIVINES, appointed by His Majesties COMMISSION *to treat with them about the* ALTERATION *of it.*

NOTE I.

TO begin with the *Title*, we have here (as *Bishop Hall* says of *SMECTYMNUUS*) a *Plural adversary*; and in good truth 'twas more then *one* mans Business, to do thing so excellently amisse. No *Name*, no *License*; and yet matter in *Debate*, no less then the two *Grand concerns* of Humane Nature, PEACE, and SALVATION: *Done* by *Divines*; *Dedicate* to *Bishops*; the *Kings Commission mention'd* in't. Methinks a work of *this Pretense* should not have crept into the World so like a *Libell*; especially considering the *Nature* of the *Proposition*: (*Change of Church-Government*; for 'tis no less) and the *distemper'd humour* of the *People*. This *secret* manner of *under-feeling* the *Multitude*, does not in any wise comport with the Design and Dignity of a fair *Reformation*.

Truly, 'tis *Ill*, at *best*; but it may well be *worse* yet. Put case, some of the *prime Stickers* against *Episcopacy*, in 1641. should prove now of the *Quorum* in this *Enterprize*: Some that first only press'd *Moderation*; *Relief for tender Consciences*; REFORMATION; (just as at present) and yet at *Last*, proceed to an *unprecedented Extremity*: *Root and Branch*: (nothing *less* would satisfie them: *King*, *Bishops*; *all went down*.) My *Gentlemen Commissioners*, Is *This* your *Gospell-work* to prompt *Subjects* against their *Soveraign*? Call you *This*, *Blasting*

down of Popery and *Prophaneſſe*? to ſcatter your *Schiſmatical* and *Seditious Models* among the *People*, and after all the Plagues you have brought already upon this Kingdom, by your *Scotch Combination* to invite the *multitude* once more, *to proſtitute themſelves*; *and Worſhip, before the Golden Calfe of your Presbytery?* Leave theſe Religious *Wranglings*, for ſhame, about the thing ye leaſt conſider, *Conſcience*. Leave your *ſtreyning at Gnats, and ſwallowing of Camels*: your *Blew-cap Divinity* of ſubjecting *Publique* and *venerable Laws*, to *private* and *Factious Conſtitutions*. *I ſpeak this with great Reverence to all Sober Divines, in which Number my Charity can hardly comprize the Publiſhers, and Diſperſers of the Pamphlet in Queſtion.*

The Divine; Petition for Peace, pag. 1.

A PETITION *for* PEACE.

To the Moſt Reverend ARCH-BISHOP *and Biſhops, and the Reverend their Aſſiſtants, Commiſſion'd by His Majeſty, to Treat about the Alteration of the Book of* COMMON-PRAYER.

The Humble, and Earneſt Petition *of Others in the ſame* Commiſſion, *&c.*

NOTE II.

Had *Zimri* Peace?

HAd *Zimri* Peace *that ſlew his Maſter?* What *Peace* can they expect from *Others*, that are at *War* within *themſelves*; whoſe very *Thoughts* are *Whips*; and their own *Conſciences* their own *Tormentors?* Is *Treaſon, Blood*, and *Sacriledge*, ſo *Light*, and yet the *Common-Prayer-Book*, or a blameleſs *Ceremony*, a *Burthen* ſo *Intolerable!* Thoſe People, that have ſo much to do at home, ſhould do well to look into *Themſelves*, ere they meddle with the Publick, and take a ſtrict Account of their *own ſins*, before they enter upon the *Failings* of *Others*. Tis one of the Groſſeſt Cheats in nature, an *Unequall Conſcience* that

is

is So *quick*, and *tender* for *Trifles*, and yet ſo *Dead*, and ſo *Unfeeling* in *weightyer matters*.

But all this whiie, why a *Petition* for *PEACE*? where's the *Danger*? what's the *Quarrel*? The *Law* ſtands *ſtill*, my Maſters; You fly from it, rail at it, and ſet the *People* againſt it, and then complain of *Violence*. But *PEACE* however is the thing ye would be thought to aim at; which, as you labour to perſwade the World, *depends upon complying with your Alterations of the Common-Prayer*. That is, we are to look for *War* or *Peace*, in meaſure as *your Propoſitions* are *deny'd*, or *granted*. This (as I take it) is to *Command*, not *Treat*: Here's in a word the ſum of *All*.

You have *transform'd* the *Common-Prayer*, and ye would have it *ratify'd*. You make your *Demands*, ye give your *Reaſons*: and when *all* fails, ye throw your *Papers* up and down the Nation, to ſhew the *ſilly little* People, what *doubty Champions* they have; only to irritate the *Rif-raff* againſt *Biſhops*; and to *proclame* your *ſelves* the *Advocates* of *Jeſus Chriſt*.

Now do I promiſe my ſelf quite to *undo* all that you have *done*: to prove from your own *Form* of *Worſhip* that the *deſign* of it is arrantly *Factious*; ('tis a courſe word) and an *Encrochment* upon the *Kings Authority*: that your *Demands* want *Modeſty*, your *Reaſons*, *weight*. *This* I ſhall likewiſe ſhew; and that your *ſcatter'd Copies* are a moſt *diſingenuous*, and *unſeemly Practice*. I ſhall endeavour to *unbait* all your *Hooks* too; lay open all your *Carnal Plots* upon the *Goſpel*; and in fine; to Place an *Antidote*, wherever you have caſt your *Poyſon*.

We'll ſee now *what it is you plead for*; and *Then* (in Order) to your *Arguments*: the *Right* and *Reaſon* of your *Asking*. The Presbyt. Demands. Pag. 2.

Ye Demand, *Reformation in Diſcipline*; *and Freedome from Subſcription, Oaths, and Ceremonies*: *The Reſtoring of able, faithful Miniſters without preſſing Reordination*.

Ye have taken a large Field to Cavil in: See now what 'tis you *call* a *Reformation*.

The REFORMATION *of the* LITURGY, OR, *The Ordinary* PUBLICK WORSHIP *on the* LORDS-DAY, *(Pag. 25.)*

NOTE. III.

OUr *Liturgy* was very much to blame sure: *Seventy Six Quarto Pages* to *reform* it? Pray'e *Gentlemen*, since y'are so Liberal of your Labours, do but once blesse the World with a *Presbyterian Dictionary*, that we may be the *better* for them. *It would be an Excellent means I can assure ye, to beget a right understanding betwixt the King and his People.* Alas! how *Ignorant* were *We*, that all this while took *Reformation* only for *Amendment*; a *Pruning* perhaps of some *Luxuriances*, and setting things *Right*, that were out of *Order*. But now we *stand Corrected*, and perceive that to *reform* is to *destroy*. *Church-Government* was REFORM'D, by an Act of ABOLITION. The *Kings Power* REFORM'D too, by a *Seisure* of his *Regalities* and of his Sacred *Person*. At this rate, is our *Liturgy* RFFORM'D: that is, 'tis totally *thrown out*; and a wild *Rhapsody* of *Incoherences*, supplies the *place* of it.

Presbyterian *Reformation* signifies *Abolition.*

Note here *Good People of the Land*, that *Presbyterian* REFORMATION *signifies* ABOLITION. By the same *Irony* they made *YOU FREE*, and *HAPPY*; the *King* A GLORIOUS PRINCE: *advanc'd the* GOSPEL. When of all *Slaves* you know ye were the *cheapest*, and the most *Ridiculous*: Your *Lives* and *Fortunes* hanging upon the Lips of *Varlets*; Your *Consciences tenter'd* up to the *Covenant*, and every *Pulpit* was a *Religious Mous-trap*. In short, remember, that *Presbytery*, and *Rebellion*, had the *same Authority*, and that those *Prodigies* of seeming *Holynesse*, those *Reverend Cannibals*, that made such *Conscience* of a CEREMONY, made none of BLOUD-SHED. This is not yet, to *prejudge Tenderness*; and to conclude *all Forwardness of Zeal* to be *Hypocrisie*. Let it rest *here*; we have from *Truth it self*, *that Liberty may cloke Maliciousness*; we have it likewise from *experience*; for we our selves have been *Betray'd* by most *malicious Libertines*. The Question is but now how to discern

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the *Real*, from the *Counterfeit*: and *That* so far as may concern the *Plat-form* here before us, shall be my *busines*. So that by the *Reformers* Leave, we'll *shortly*, *plainly*, and *sincerely* examine the matter.

They pretend in the *Front* of this *Pamphlet*, to exhibite to the World, A REFORMTION *of the Liturgy*, but upon *search*, we finde just nothing at all of it: only a *Pragmatical* and *Talking* thing of their *own*; in stead of a most *pertinent* and *solemn service*. Fraud.

Next, they confess themselves *authorized to treat* [only] *about the ALTERATION* of it: to propose *This* for *That* perhaps, *one* Clause or Passage for *another*: but barely to *discourse*, or *offer* at the total ABROGATION *of the old form*, is to assume a *Power* we do not finde in their *Commission*. This is *another Presbyterianism*. Usurpation.

Thirdly; they were to *Treat*; They did so; and *the debate prov'd Fruitless*: Where lyes the *Fault* I pray'e? Do but observe a little. His Majesty, out of a Gracious Inclination to *gratifie* all persons whatsoever, of *truly-Conscientious*, and *tender Principles*: appoints a Consult of *Episcopal*, and *Presbyterian Divines* to advise joyntly upon some *general expedient*; whereby to satisfie all *reasonable Parties*, (saving *the Glory of God*; *the Good of the Church*; *his own Royall Dignity*? *the Peace, and welfare of his People*.)

What they insisted on, ye see under their own hands; and that the *Change of Government*, was That they aim'd at, not (as they would perswade the World) *relief of Conscience*. Design not Conscience.

That day wherein this Proposition should be granted, would (I much fear) *prove but the* Eve *to the Destruction of this Nation*.

I am no *Prophet*, but my kinde Friends, the *Presbyterians* before they have done, I think will make me pass for one. They make good every Syllable I promis'd for them, in my *Holy Cheat*: and if the *Duke* of *Ormond* would forgive me, I should presume to mind his *Grace*, of a *Paper*, which (now more then a *Twelve-month* since) was left at *Kensinton* for his Lordship; although not known from WHOM, to this Instant.

We are to Marque here a *Third Property of this Faction*. They propose things *unreasonable*, *unnecessary*, and *dangerous*: *More then they ought to ask*, as to *themselves*: more then the *People* can be suppos'd to *want*; on whose *behalf* they seem to *Beg*, *more then the King can Grant*, with Safety to his *Crown*.

When

The Method of Sedition.

When they're *repuls'd*, how sad a Tale they tell, of the *hard usage of Gods People!* This is done in a *Sermon*, or *Petition*. Let them alone *thus far*, and once within a fortnight, you may expect a *Remonstrance, a state of the Case*; or some such business. *That's dangerous*; for 'tis ten to one, That *Presbyterian Legend* will have *some Colouraple Truths* in't. (*no Government being absolutely faultless*) the *Vulgar* thinking it as easie to *avoid Errors*, as to *discover* them; and finding *some Truths* in the *mixture*, swallow down all the Rest, for *Company*, (and for *Gospel*.)

The next News, possibly may be the Storming of *Whitehall*, or the *Two Houses* with a *Petition against Bishops*.

☞ *When once* Authority *comes to be Bayted by the Rabble, your Judgment is at hand.*

Bethink your selves in *time*, my Masters; *reason* the matter with your selves a little, what can these *ministers propose* by this *Appeal* from the *Supream Authority*, to the *People*; but to *extort* by *Mutiny*, and *Tumult*, what they cannot *prevail* for by *Argument*?

You are not (*first*) the *Judges* of the Case: so that in *That* Regard, 'tis an *Impertinence*. Nor are you *vers'd*, (I speak to the *Common* sort) or *Instructed* in the *Controversie*. *Your* business lyes not in the *Revelation*, nor among *general Councils*: alas! your own souls know, *you* do not understand the very *Terms* of the *Dispute*, much less the *Springs*, and *Reasons* of it. Yet see; *you* are the men, these *Gentlemen* are pleas'd to make the *Umpires* of the *Difference*: What are these *Applications* then, but *Trapps, bayted with Ends of Scripture, and Fragments of Religion*; *set, to betray your Honest, and well-meaning Weakness?*

Now ask your selves *This Question.*

Whether did you contract Those *Scruples* which they charge upon you; (if *really* you have *any*) upon the accompt of your *own judgement*; or from their *Instigation*? If upon *Their accompt*, observe what *use* this sort of people have ever made of your *Beleevings*: how Step by Step, they have drawn you on, from a meer *Counterfeit* of *Conscience*, to a direct *Insensibility* and *Loss* of it.

Thus far, we have met with very little, either *fair dealing* or *Moderation* from them. But perhaps they'l say, that *less would have contented them.* 'Tis very right; if *manifested to be unmeet.* (*Pag.* 23.) but who shall make them see *more*, then they have a mind to see? They'll say perchance too for the

Printing

Printing of it; that it was only done to shew the World that they had discharg'd their *Duties*.

Their *Duty* was discharg'd in the bare *Tender* to the *Bishops*; (that is, admitting such *Incumbency* upon them) The *work* it self, was *Super-erogatory*, and afterward, their telling of the People what they had done, was to *accuse* the *Bishops*, not to *acquit Themselves*. Beside; the huge *Impressions*; the *close Carriage* of it: In fine, it was not menaged either with an *Honourable*, or an *Evangelical Cleerness*.

Fnrther; the *Title* makes the matter *worse* yet. *A Petition for* PEACE. That is. *Take away* BISHOPS *or provide for another* WAR. But this will be taken heynously. Who? *They take away Bishops?* A Petitionary Menace.

Why? 'tis no wonder: The *Order* stands *Excommunicate* already: they have inserted no particular *Prayer* for them into their New *Liturgy*; and if they *should* take them away, it is no new thing for them to do. But their grand *Plea* will be *this*.

They have no design, nor desire, to justle out the Common-Prayer, but only that Theirs, and That may be Inserted in several Columns, and the Minister left to his Discretion which to read: [*According to* *Majesties* Declaration *concerning Ecclesiastical Affairs.*]

Let the Kings *Declaration* judge betwixt us their.

SInce we find (says his Majesty speaking of the English Liturgy) **some** Exceptions **made** against several things **therein, we will appoint an equal number of learned Divines of both Perswasions, to review the same, and to make such** alterations **as shall be thought most** necessary; **and some Additional Forms (in the Scripture-Phrase, as near as may be) suited unto the nature of the several parts of Worship, and that it be left to the Ministers choice to use one or other at his Discretion.** Pag. 14.

In the mean time, and till this be done, although We do heartily Wish and desire, that the Ministers in their several Churches, because they dislike some Clauses and Expressions, would not totally lay aside the use of the Book of Common-Prayer, but read the parts against which there can be no Exception; **Which would be the best instance of declining those marks of Distinction, Which We so much labour and desire to remove;**

Yet in Compassion to divers of Our good Subjects; Who scruple the use of it as now it is, Our Will and Pleasure is, that none be punished or troubled for not using it, untill it be reviewed, and effectually Reformed, as aforesaid.

His *Majesty*, in pursuance of this Gracious *Indulgence*, makes an *Appointment* to the Intents abovementioned. We'll see now the *proportion, betwixt the Liberty they take, and what the Kings Declaration allows them.*

The Divines exceed their Commission.

They have first *form'd* to Themselves a *Complete Liturgy*, after the *Presbyterian Mode*, instead of only *altering some passages* in the other. *Let This be granted them, and They left at Discretion which to follow, we may be sure they'll read their own.*

Consider then how *they have Nestled Themselves, in the most Populous, and Wealthy places of the Kingdome, both for* Convenience of *Gain*, and *Proselites.*

Put these together, and what would this Allowance fall short of a *Presbyterian Government?*

Take

Take notice next, that *the Alterations are to be such, as* [*by the Divines of both Perswasions*] *shall be thought most* NECESSARY. This puts a *Bar* to Slight and Trivial *Charges*, of meer *Humour*, and *Caprice*.

But our good friends regard not *that, they have thang'd All that is not of Authority unalterable: disdaining in all cases, any Subjection to Episcopal Dominion, and claiming to themselves a Right of Governing all others: Imposing upon the Multitude for Holy Zeal, the troublesome Effects of Pride* and *Faction*. In short; This *Form* of theirs is calculated to the Meridian of the *Directory*.

Hitherto the Kings *Concessions*, in favour of his *Presbyterian People*: See now the Dutiful *Return* they make their *Soveraign*.

We do heartily Wish and Desire (says his Majesty) **that the Ministers Would not totally lay aside the use of the Book of Common-Prayer, but Reade those parts against which there can be no Exception**, &c. The Kings Proposal to the Presbyterian Ministers

A man would think, nothing but *Heaven* or *Hell*, could come betwixt these *men*, and their *Obedience*. They are now drawing the first Breath of a new Life; and their *Preserver* is their *Prince*: who to endear the *Bounty* and the *Kindness*, *Hazards himself to save them*. Here's *Duty*, *Honour*, *Justice*, *Gratitude*, nay *Interest* too, and all that is not *Brutish* in mans nature, concurs to fix, and strengthen the *Obligation*. Sure it must be some mighty matter, that *Subjects* under *All* these *Tyes*, will stick at to their *Soveraign*. *Subjects* especially of a *Religious Dye*, (indeed, not of the Common Clay with other men) *whose words and actions, are all weigh'd in the Ballance of the Sanctu-* The Godly Party.

Read (says the King) **those parts against which there can be no Exception.** 'Tis a *very easie Task*, either to *Read* or to *Except*. But this *Will-worship's*

worship's such a thing; they are so afraid of *Adding* or *Diminishing*.

Away, away, with these *double-refin'd Consciences*. we'll Wave the *Cross in Baptism*; *Kneeling at the Communion: the Surplice*; *Bowing toward the Holy Table*; nay *Praying* for *Bishops* too; or any thing in fine; though never so *Authoriz'd*, which *Ignorance* it self would not blush to scruple at: And only instance in some Cases, wholly *incapable* of any *Conscientious Competition*.

Tender Consciences. Page 61. Why not WEDDED *Wife* and *Husband*, as well as MARRIED?] Pag. 69.

Why not DOEST *thou Believe*, as well as [DO YOU *believe*?] and *All this I STEDFASTLY believe*, (according to the *Common-Prayer*) is turn'd forsooth into [*All this I do* UNFEIGNEDLY *believe*.]

Ibid.

I will not trouble the Reader with any more of these *nauseous Alterations*; Their *whole Service* is of a *Suit*, and with much care *Diversify'd* from *Ours*, both in the *Stile*, and *order* of it. And now, let the *Consistory* answer for *Themselves*.

I hope they will not say *these Changes* were matter of *Conscience*; unless because *the King Commanded the Contrary*. *What was the true ground of this their Unmannerly dealing with His Majesty*? Truly no other then the pure nature of the *Animal*: *A Presbyterian does not love a King*.

We have seen the *Earnestness* of his *Majesties Desires*, a word now to the *Drift* and *reason* of them: from whence, flows the cleer evidence why they *oppos'd* them.

The King having first pass'd a large *Indulgence*, in all Cases of *Scruple*, advises a complyance with *the Form of the Church* in points *Indifferent*, and without *Exception*: [**as the best Instance of declining Marks of Distinction.**]

They, for *that* very *Reason*, or a *worse*, *decline* it: either out of an *Inflexible stiffness*, to the *Faction*; or a *Contumacious defiance* of the *Authority*. *Thrust out the Common-Prayer they could not*; *Agree with it, they would not*: *A Prescript Form* they saw was *necessary*; and That they brought their Stomacks to. But still the *Publique Liturgy* of the Church had not the luck to please

please them: Such and such *Rites*, and *Clauses* would not down with them. His Majesty, in favour of their pretended *Scruples*, *suspends* the Law, gives them their *Freedom*; allows them to propose some *Medium* of *Accommodation*: demanding only their *Agreement* in matters liable to no *Exception*.

The *Reconciling* Terms at last are *These*. *Episcopacy* they lay aside: they totally reject the *Common-Prayer*: set up a Presbyterian *Platform* of their own: and This is it, which they have now the Confidence in a blind way to recommend to the Practise of the *Nation*. Yet so to recommend, as that the thing at last, is nothing less then it appears to be. While they pretend to *mend* the *Common-Prayer*, *they take* it quite *away*: and that which they seem to give us in *Exchange*, is in Effect just *Nothing*; affronting equally the *Wisdome* of the Nation, with the *Authority* of it. His Majesties Tenderness abused.

The Presbyterian Rubrick.

NOTE. IV.

SEE, now their *Rubrick*—[*In these or the* like Words] Pag. 25.—*Let one of the Creeds be read*,—*and* sometimes *Athanasius Creed.*] Pag. 26. An Arbitrary Set-Forw.

Some of these Sentences may *be Read*] Pag. 27.—*some* may *be read*] again—*a Psalm* may *be sung*;—a *Te Deum*, the *Benedictus*, or *Magnificat* may *be said*:] and *Then* the Minister is taught how to pray before his *Sermon*, dismissing at last the Congregation with [*a Benediction in These or the* like *words*]—*In case of a Communion, the Minister* may *delay the Benediction.*]—*A General Prayer instead of the Letany, and Collects*—*when the Minister findeth it* Convenient.]—*and a Thanks-giving*; *with Hymns*, at the Discretion *of the Minister*. Christian Liberty. Pag. 32. 35. 36. ibid.

This or the like *Explication*—[at Discretion, *before the Communion*:—*This, or the* Like *Prayer*]—Pag. 51. *Let him Bless the Bread and Wine* in *These or the* like *Words*]—Pag. 52. *Let the Minister be* at Liberty *to consecrate the Bread and Wine, Together, or otherwise*: and whether to use any Words or not, *at the Breaking of the Bread, and Pouring out the Wine*: *and if the Minister* choose *to Pray but once, let him Pray as followeth*, or to this Sense.]— Pag. 46. Christian Liberty at the Communion. Pag. 45.

Let

ibid. *Let it be left to the Ministers* Discretion, *whether to deliver the Bread and Wine* (at the Table) *only in severall; each one taking it, and applying it to Themselves; or in General, to so many as are in each particular Form, or to put it into every Persons hand:*]——and let none be forc'd to *sit, stand, or kneel.*]——Next; *This,* or some such *Exhortation*]——*Conclude, with This,* or the like *Blessing.*]——ibid.

Pag. 56. 57. 58.

Unchristian Rigour. *Let no Minister be* forced *to Baptize the Child, of open Athiests, Idolaters, or Infidells, nor yet the Child of Parents justly Excommunicate, or living in any notorious, Scandalous Sin.*]——*This, or the like Speech, to the Parent or Parents that present the Child* Pag. 59.

Pag. 62. 64. After the *Interrogatories;*—*Let the Minister Pray* Thus, or to this Sense.]——After the Child is *Baptized;*——*This Exhortation or* the like——*to the Parents*]——*and to the People, Thus;* or to This Sense.]

Consistorian Tyranny. I must not pass this *Office* without a Marque how *Tyrannous* these people are whereever they can hook in any thing, within the Reach of an *Ecclesiastick Lash.* With what face can these *uncharitable Zelots,* call themselves *Gods Ministers,* and yet dare to *Restrain* a *benefit,* and *Dispensation* granted by God himself in favour of *Mankind*? But hear the Admirable and Divine *Hooker* upon the Point, and then I'll forward.

Hookers Eccle. siastical Policy, l. 5. S. 64. *Were not* Proselytes, *as well as* Jews, *always taken for the Sons of* Abraham?] and again——[*In case the Church do bring Children to the Holy Font——whose natural Parents are either unknown or known to be such as the Church accurseth, but yet forgetteth not in that Severity to take compassion upon their off-spring (for it is the Church which doth offer them to Baptisme by the Ministry of Presenters) were it not against both Equity and* Duty *to refuse the Mother of Believers her self, and not to take her in this case for a faithfull Parent? It is not the virtue of our Fathers, nor the faith of any other that can give us the true Holyness which we have by virtue of our new Birth. Yet even through the common faith and Spirit of Gods Church (a thing which no quality of Parents can prejudice) I say through the Faith of the Church of God undertaking the motherly care of our Souls, so far forth we may be, and are in our Infancy sanctified as to be thereby made sufficiently capable of Baptisme, and to be interessed in the Rites of our new Birth, for their Pieties Sake that offer us thereunto.*]

In

In *Matrimony* the Minister may talk his Pleasure concerning the *Institution*, &c.——*of Marriage*;——*and Bury the Dead* as he pleases. Pag. 68. 72. 73.

Upon the receipt of great, and Extraordinary mercies, the Church, having opportunity, (that is, if the King be at *Oxford*) *is to assemble for Publick Thanksgiving unto God, and the Minister to*]—(do—no matter *what*; nor for the *Kings Authority* in the Case.) Concerning *Festivalls.* Ibid.

Further; *Though it be not unlawful, or un-meet, to keep Anniversary Commemoration, by* Festivals, *of some great and notable mercies to the Church or State* (as for the *Root and Branching* of *Episcopacy*, some great *Victory* over *the King*; or the like) *Yet because the* Church-Festivals *are much abused, and many sober Godly Ministers, and others unsatisfy'd in the Observation of them as* Holy Days: *Let not the Religious Observation of them by publick Worship be forc'd upon any*, &c.] Oh, have a care; 'tis Lawful to *Kill* and *Steal* upon the *Lords Day*, but not to *serve God* Publickly upon a *Saints Day*.

These Following Prayers, or the like] for the *Sick*. Pag. 74. 78.

In their Thanksgiving for *Deliverance* in *Child-bearing*. Thus, *If the Woman be such as the Church hath cause to Judge Ungodly*, ☞ (and a small matter will make the *Kirk* judge so) Then, *the Thanksgiving must be in words more agreeable to her Condition*; if any be used]——This is, in English; either no Thanks at all; or else to *Publish* the *Mother* a *Whore*, and the *Child* a *Bastard*. Methinks the *Holy Sisters* should not like this kind of Fooling; but in some cases the *Reverend* will wink at small Faults.

Of Pastorall Discipline.

NOTE V.

THeir *Forms* of *Pastoral Discipline* follow; which may be *varied, as the Variety of Cases do require*. Never such *Engrossers* of *Liberty* to *Themselves*, and such *Niggards* of it to *others*; and yet they advise that *Ministers may* CONSENT *to give accompt when they are accused of Male-administration*.] (But what if they will not *consent* to give Accompt?) Pastoral Discipline, p. 82. Pag. 80.

If any by notorious perfidiousness, or frequent COVENANT-BREAKING *have forfeited*, &c.——]Marque how they hang upon

on the Hannt. This *Covenant-breaking*, signifies *one thing* to the *Law*, and *another* thing to the *People*.

Open Confession. In the *Penitents confession*, before the *Congregation*; The *Sin must be* named *and* aggravated, *when by the Pastor it is judg'd Requisite.*] Pag. 85.

As for Instance: if any man has been a *Traytor*, a *Schismatique*, an *Oppressour*, *a Murtherer*, a *Hypocrite*, or a *Perjur'd* Person. Let him say,——

For a Traytor *I have fought against the King*: *or I have Preach'd against* his Authoriry, *and Provoked Tumults against his Person*: *Behold*, *I am a Traytour.*

A Schismatick *I have renounc'd my Mother the Church*, *and Preach'd others into Schisme and Separation*: — *I have destroy'd the Apostolical order of Bishops*, *and countenanc'd all my wild extravagancies with Forms of Religion*: —— Lo, I am *a Schismatique.*

An oppressour *I have Impos'd upon mens Consciences*, *unlawfull Oaths and Covenants*: *Enslav'd my Fellow-Subjects*, *Robb'd and Imprison'd my Sovereign*; *Enter'd upon the Ministry without a Call*, *and thrust out Lawfull Ministers from their Livings*; *Scatter'd their miserable Families*, *and snatch'd the Bread out of the Mouths of the Widdow and Fatherless.* Behold, I am an *Oppressour.*

A Murtherer. *I have Embru'd my hands in the Blood of the King*, *and of his Friends*: *bless'd God the more*, *for the more mischief*, *Father'd the Rebellion*, *and Bloudshed upon the Holy Ghost.* See here a *Murtherer.*

An Hypocrite. *I have led and encourag'd men against his Majesty*, *under Pretence to save him*: — *Subverted the Law*, *nnder pretext of defending it*: —*made the People Slaves under Colour of Setting them at Liberty*, *eraséd the Order of Episcopacy*, *under the notion of accusing the Persons that excercised it*: *and stripp'd his Majesty of his best Friends*, *under colour of removing Evil Counsellours.* *I have call'd those Ministers Scandalous*, *that had good Livings*: — *Those men Delinquents*, *that had good Estates*; —— *and those People Jesuits*, *that had either wit or Conscience.* *I have belyed the Holy Spirit in pretending Revelations*; *and I have covered my Ambitious*, *Bloudy*, *Covetous*, *and Factious Purposes*, *under a Cloke of Holiness.* *I have stumbled at a Ceremony*, *and leap'd over the Seven deadly Sins.* Lord I am an *Hypocrite.*

A Perjur'd person. *I have renounc'd my Oath of Allegiance*, *and that of Canonical obedience*: *and taken other Oathes*, *and broken Them too*, *and multiply'd*

ply'd my Perjuries. I swore to defend the late King, and I have de-stroy'd him: and I have now sworn to the Son, with an Intent to serve him as I did his Father. I am a Perjur'd Wretch.

In Truth, This *Pastoral Discipline*, put duly in Practice by the Composers of it, would be of Singular *benefit* and of great *Satisfaction* to the *Nation*. This Discipline necessary for the Presbyterians.

This *Discipline* is follow'd with a *Litany*, and *That* with a *Thanksgiving*, *both* at *Discretion*.

Observe now what a *Mockery* is this *Pretense* to a *Prescript Form*: and do but think how irreligious a *Confusion* would certainly ensue upon a Publique Sufferance of these *peevish Liberties* (for doubtless *such* they are.) They have *thrown out*, what they undertook to *mend*, and the *new Service* they have *introduc'd*, is left *Arbitrary*, and values nothing; or at the best, 'tis but an Execution of the *Directory*.

As the Contrivance of it is a lewd design upon the *Publick Government*, so is the *Printing* of it, a *Practice* no less foul upon the *Publick Peace*. The *Instruments* employ'd in't, were the first Kings *Base*, and *bitter Enemies*; and the *prime Agents* in *this Enterprize* were *grand Confederates* in the *late Rebellion*. These are ill Signs my Masters.

Truly, among matters that arrive *frequently*, I wonder at *nothing more*, then that ever a *Presbyterian Faction deceiv'd any Man Twice*, for of All Parties that ever divided from *Truth*, and *Honesty*, I take them for a People, the most easily *distinguishable* from *other* men, and *Trac'd* to their *Ends*.

Their first work is still to find out the *Faults* of *Rulers*, and the *Grievances* of the *People*; which they proclaim, immediately; but with great Shews of *Respect* toward the *One*, and of *Innocent Tenderness* for the *Other*. The *Offending Persons*, ye may be sure are *Bishops*, where the *Episcopal Order* is in *Exercise*: but where they have thrown it *out*, and *introduc'd themselves*; there hear no more news of *Ecclesiastical Errours*, but of *Church-censures* in *abundance*. The *Civil Magistrate* is *then* to blame, and never will these People rest, till they have grasp'd all. In Fine; The Method of the Presbyterian Faction

there you find a *Private Minister* inveighing against the *Orders* of the *Church*: bewailing the *Calamities* of a *Nation* under The marks of a Presbyterian

Oppression:

Oppression: *Preaching up Conscience* AGAINST *Authority*; and stating in the *Pulpit*, *the Legal Bounds of King and People*: *A Boaster* of *himself*, and a *Despiser* of his *Brethren*: a *Long-winded Exhorter* to the Advancement of *Christs Temporal Kingdome*; and a *Perpetual Singer* of the *Lamentations*: A Cryer up of *Schisme*, for *Conscience*, *Faction* for *Gospell*, and *Disobedience* to *Temporall Magistrates*, for *Christian Liberty*: where ye find such a man, *Stop him*; *he's of the Tribe of* ADONIRAM.

To conclude; they have *All*, the *same Design*; *Dominion*; and the *same course* they take to compass it; *by stirring up a Godly Faction*. And now in good time; *Omnibus in Christo Fidelibus Salutem, &c.* Mark but the Gravity of the Men; and truly but that they have fool'd us formerly in the same way, a man would think they were in *Earnest*.

Most Reverend Fathers,

and Reverend Brethren.

THe special Providence of God, and his Majesties tender regard of the Peace and Consciences of his Subjects, and his desire of their Concord in the things of God, hath put into our hands this opportunity of speaking to you as humble Petitioners, as well as Commissioners, on the behalf of these yet troubled and unhealed Churches, and of many thousand Souls that are dear to Christ; on whose behalf we are pressed in Spirit in the sense of our Duty most earnestly to beseech you, as you tender the Peace and Prosperity of these Churches, the comfort of his Majesty in the union of His Subjects, and the Peace of your Souls in the great Day of your Accounts, that laying by all former and present exasperating and alienating differences, you will not now deny us your Consent and Assistance to those means, that shall be proved honest and cheap, and needfull to those great Desirable ends, for which we all profess to have our Offices, and our Lives.

NOTE. VI.

WE have here a *Healing*, and a *Glorious Preface*.

Persons *Commission'd* by *God*, and the *King*, to the great work af *Peace* and *Union*. *Intent* upon their *Duties*, and only

only craving the *Bishops Assent* to matters of evident *Reason* and *Necessity*. What now if all these big Pretences fall to nothing: and they *Themselves* at last prove the *Obstructours* of what they seem so eagerly to *Promote*?

They Petition the Bishops to move His Majesty on their behalf; *for the Confirmation of their Grants in his Royal Declaration*: *The Liberty of the Reformed Liturgy. The Restoring of able and Faithful Ministers, and the Ejection of the Scandalous*——] And these *Proposals* are here back'd with *Twenty Reasons*; which we'll take *one* by *one*; and briefly as we can, make evident; that what they call *Religion* is meer *Faction*; *a Project by subverting the establish'd Government, to advance themselves*: That if their *Modell* were *allowable*, The *Persons* yet that *stickle*, have the least title of all others to the *advantage* of it. pag. 2.

In fine; *Their Appeal*, is *Tumultuary*; *and their present Design* (should it succeed) *as certainly destructive to His Majesty now Living*; *as the Last was to His Most* CONSCIENCIOUSLY-MURTHER'D *Father*.

The Divines REASONS for Their REQUESTS.

[A] *YOu* (the Bishops) *are Pastors of the Flock of Christ, who are bound to feed them, and to preach in Season, and out of Season: and to be Laborious in the Word, and Doctrine; but are not bound to hinder all others from this blessed work, that dare not use a Cross, or Surplice, or Worship God in a form, which they judge disorderly, defective, or Corrupt, when they have better to offer him.* (Mal. 1. 13, 14.) *Is it not for matter and Phrase at least as agreeable to the Holy Scriptures? If so, we beseech you suffer us to use it, who seek nothing by it, but to Worship God as near as we can, according to his Will who is Jealous in the matters of his Worship.* Pag. 3. Reas. 3. The Duty of Bishops.

NOTE. VII.

[A] THese *Presbyters* are so *mindful* of the *Bishops Duties*, that they *forget* their *own*. Suppose them *not bound to*

hinder all Non-Conformists, are they therefore bound to *admit all*? *Some dare* not use a *Surplice*, *others will* not. Who shall distinguish now betwixt a Case of *Schisme*, and *Conscience*? Not the *Recusant* surely: for that opinion were an in-let to all *Heresies* and *Schisms*, without Controle. Will any man confess himself an Heretique? Allow the *Bishop* to be *Judge*; his *Duty* leads him questionless, to proceed with *Lenity* or *Rigour*, according as he finds the Party, *weak*, or *willfull*.

It seems *they do not like the Churche's Form*, nor the *Church Theirs*; where lyes the *Authority* betwixt them? But *theirs is more* perhaps *in Scripture-Phrase*: and *lesse* (say I) in *Scripture-meaning*. 'Tis not the Crying *Lord*, *Lord*: the Crowding so many Texts hand over head into a *Prayer*, that makes our Service acceptable: But the due, genuine, and fervent *application*, and *conformity* of our *Words*, *Thoughts*, and *Actions* to Gods *Revealed Will*. I speak with *Reverence* to those *blessed Oracles*; which in themselves however accomodate to our *Relief* and *Comfort*, may yet by our *abuse*, be render'd *Mischievous*: They are the Dictates of the God of *Order*, and hold no Fellowship with *Confusion*.

Reas 1. [B]——*He that thrice charg'd* Peter *as he lov'd him to feed his Lambs, and Sheep, did never think of charging him to deny them food, or turn them out of his Fold, or forbid all others to feed them: unless they could digest such* Forms, *and* Ceremonies, *and* Subscriptions *as ours.*]

[B] *Touching our Saviours Charge to St. Peter*: it was a Charge to *Him*; *to Feed his Sheep*; no warrant to the *Sheep* to be their own *Carvers*. It was his *Office* too, *to reclaim Straglers*, and keep within his Fold, such as he found inclin'd to wander after *strange Shepheards*. He was the *Judge* too of the *Food* that best befitted them; and if at any time he saw them hankering after new Walks and Pastures; It was his Part to *overwatch* their *Appetites*; they might perchance take *poysonous Plants* for *wholsome* else; and reject *better nourishment*: Blaming the *Meat* for the *Disorders* of the *Stomach*.

John 10. 27. Again: *Our Saviours Sheep know the True Shepheard, hear his Voice, and follow him.*] But *here* the *Shepheard* follows *Them*: They run their way, and *neither own*, nor hear him. He *offers them to eat*; *They'll none, and then they cry they are starv'd*; some few

few Starters leap the Pale (of their own accord) and then forsooth the Flock, must follow, or they complain *they are turn'd out of the Fold.*

They proceed now to a bold Challenge, touching the Quality of their *ejected Ministers.*

THere are few Nations under the Heavens of God, as far as we can learn, that have more able, holy, faithfull, laborious and truly peaceable Preachers of the Gospel (proportionably) than those are that are now cast out in England, *and are like in* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland, *to be cast out, if the old Conformity be urged. This witness is true, which in Judgment we bear, and must record against all the Reproaches of uncharitableness, which the Justifier of the Righteous at his day will effectually confute. We therefore beseech you that when thousands of Souls are ready to famish for want of the Bread of Life, and thousands more are grieved for the Ejection of their faithful Guides, the Labourers may not be kept out, upon the account of such Forms of Ceremonies, or Re-ordination; at least till you have enow as fit as they to supply their places, and then we shall never petition you for them more.* Pag. 4. Rel. A sad Complaint.

NOTE, VIII.

I Would not Lash *all Presbyterian Divines* for the Faults of *Some*: but as to Those now under *Question*, I doubt 'twould lose the *Cynique* with his *Lanthorn*, to find a *Saint* among them.

Observe the *Clamour*, and the *Alarum*; *Those that are* now *cast out*; *and* like *to be.*] (as who should *say: the times are* Ill *God wot, already, and likely to be* worse) what a *Buzz* is here with a *Sting* in the Tayle of it? Nay, and take this along with ye, that these *out-cast Divines*, are persons Eminent for *Learning*, *Life*, and *Doctrine*. If This be *true*; what can be more *enflaming*, against *the Government*; then to *Proclaim* it; If *False*; what can be fouler against the *Authors* of the *Scandal?*

Their *Character* is *this. They are Able, Holy, Faithful, Laborious*, and truly *peaceable Preachers of the Word.*] And they are *ejected*, [upon the account of *Forms* or *Ceremonies*, or *Re-ordination.*] Pag. 2. The Presbyt. Character.

Concerning their ABILITIES; they are of the Commune Able. mixture

mixture of the World in all unlawful Enterprizes: *a few Crafty People, to a great many Simple: Some to contrive and lead; others to execute*: and This we have upon *Experimental Knowledge*; that the *Church-faction* was carried on by *a Cabal* in the *Late Assembly*, as well as the *State-faction*, by *another* in the *two Houses*; and that they *Both communicated* still, in order to the *common undertaking*; the greater part of them scarce understanding why they were come together.

But let their *Works* bear witness of their great *Abilities*. *Their Famous Letter of Apology and Invitation to the Reformed Churches abroad*; does it not look as if it meant to satisfie the World, that they had renounc'd *Latin* as well as *Popery*? Nay, take their Learned *Directory* it self: but 'tis too much to add *their* weaknesses to my *own*.

Holy. HOLY *they are it seems too*: I do not think it *Honest* to expose *Particular Persons* to a *Publick Scorn*, but in case of high *Necessity*; Wherefore, I shall content my self to ask.

If it be Holyness; *to Preach up treason*; *and Blaspheme in the Pulpit: to give God thanks for Murther*; *and make the Story of the Last Weeks News the next Sundays exercise: to help out a hard Text with a false Comment*; *To seize by Violence, and Fraud, anothers Office, and Living*; *and to refuse the Communion to a Person for refusing the Covenant*. All these things have been done, even by the *Holy-men* we are now speaking of.

Faithful. What they intend by FAITHFUL is not altogether so clear.

Not to their *Vowes* I hope; for those have been *back*, and *forward*; *fast* and *loose*; They have denounc'd their *Anathema's* upon both *Friends* and *Enemies* of the *King*; Did they not *destroy* the *Church*, under pretense of *Reforming* it; and having *sworn Canonical obedience* renounce *Episcopacy*?

Have they been *faithful* to their *Friends*? (I mean, to those of the *Independent Judgment*.)

Yes certainly, so far as they had need of them. We have not yet forgotten, how they besought *God* and the *King*, on the behalf of *tender Consciences*; how they laid forth the sad Estate of many *Thousands, ready to famish for want of heavenly food*: which *delicate, weak-stomach'd Christians*, were forsooth, those Religious Brutes *that brav'd his Sacred Majesty in his own Palace: that forc'd the Votes of the Two Houses: demolish'd Churches*: yes, *and had*

bad Thanks to for their good Affections, and the SMECTYMNU-ANS to plead their Cause.

This was *great Kindness*, but not *Lasting*. For as the *Presbyterian Power encreas'd*, and the *Kings Lessen'd* : (effected partly *by false play in his Majesties Quarters* : and partly by a Potent *Combination* betwixt the *Kirk*, and *Scotifi'd English*) The *Consistorian Party* began now to bethink themselves, how fairly to get *quit* of their *old friends* the *Independents* : plainly discovering, that *what was* CONSCIENCE, *while they needed their Assistance, was become downright* SCHISME, *when they could live without it*; and so That *Liberty*, which was cry'd up at first for *Christian*, and *necessary*, was by *Those very Ministers* Preach'd *down* again, as most *Intolerable*.

Yet to conclude; FAITHFUL they are; that is : to their *first Principles*, of *Pride*, *Ambition*, and of *Infidelity*.

That they are LABORIOUS *Preachers* likewise, we shall not much deny, for truly, I think, no men take more *pains* in a *Pulpit* then they do: or would more willingly *compass Sea and Land to gain a Proselyte*. Laborious.

But *TRULY-PEACEABLE*; I must confesse, I take to be n *Epithete* does not belong to *Them*. This particular is hand-ed at large, in my *Holy Cheat*, where I have shew'd their *Pra-tises* and *Positions* to be *Insociable*, and *Cruell*. Peaceable.

Indeed, we need not much torment our *Memories* for Instan-es to prove the unquiet humour of these People; since Hun-reds (I think I might say *thousands*) of their *Contentious Sermons*, nd *Discourses*, are yet in *Being*, and in *readinesse* to testifie a-gainst them. Nay, which is worst of all; their *Sourness* is *In-corrigible* : they are no sooner *Pardon'd*, but they *Revolt* into a *Second Forfeiture*.

These are the *Able*, *Holy*, *Faithful*, *Laborious*, and *truly Peace-ble Preachers of the Gospel*; that are *cast out*; (as they have worded it) or must be *kept out*, because they cannot *conform*, &c. They *Begg*, *that these may be admitted, or restored, at least till o-hers may be found, as fitting, to supply their Places*.]

These Holy men *abuse* the People : I say, *they are not cast out* s *Non-Conformists*, but as *Usurpers* of those Benefits they had

no-

no Right to. By *Violence, they thrust Themselves into other mens Livings; or else by a Rebellious* Powor, *they were plac'd there.* Now, put the case *they would Conform:* should *That* give them a *Title* to the *Continuance* of an *Ill-got Possession?*

Their *Petition* (to end withall) is pleasant. They desire to be *In* Themselves, till *others*, as *Fit*, may be found; of whose *Fitness*, they *Themselves* intend to be the *Judges*..

Pag. 4 Reas. 3 Sorrow in a day of Common Joy unseasonable.

AND we beseech you consider, when you should promote the joy and thankfullness of his Majesties Subjects, for his happy Restauration, whether it be equal and seasonable to bring upon so many of them, so great Calimities, *as the change of able faithfull Ministers, for such as they cannot comfortably commit the conduct of their Souls to, and the depriving them of the Liberty of the publique Worship; Calamities far greater then the meer loss of all their Substance can amount to: in a day of common Joy, to bring this causlesly on so many of his Maiesties Subjects, and to force them to lye down in heart-breaking Sorrows, as being almost as far undone, as Man can do it; this is not a due requital of the Lord for so great deliverances: Especially considering, that if it were never so certain, that it is the Sin of the Ministers that dare not be Re-ordained, or conform; it's hard that so many thousand innocent people should suffer even in their Souls for the faults of others.*

NOTE IX.

THE Reformers should do very well, to consider, as well the *Loss* of the *late King*, as the *Restauration* of *This*; and how much more they contributed to the *Former*, then to the *Latter*. 'Tis I confess, an *Indecorum*, to *mourn* upon a day of *Jubile*: a *deep*, and *foul Ingratitude*, to entertain so *General* a *Blessing*, as *the Restoring of his Majesty*, with a *less General Joy* Yet since 'twere *idle* to expect, *All Parties* should be *pleas'd*, and *evident* it is, *Some* are not; we'll first see, *Who* they are that make these loud *Complaints*, and Then, *what* 'tis that *troubles* them.

The *Presbyterian Ministers* in sooth are ill at ease: sick of their old Disease of 41. (*Bishops* and *Common-Prayer*) They suffer *Causlesly* they say; and *in a day of Common Joy they are fore'd to lye down in Heart-breaking Sorrows.* Alas now for their Tender Hearts!

What

What Mirmidon, or hard Dolopian
What Savage-minded rude Cyclopian? &c.

I want a Modest Term to express these Peoples want of Common Honesty. *They're sad* they say. When were they *other?* but where they ought to have put on *Sackcloth?* What were their *Mock-fasts*, but *Religious Cursings* of their most Sacred *Sovereign?* And their *Thanks-giving-feasts*, and *Sermons*; were they not *Entertainments*, and *Discourses*, of *Joy* and *Triumph*, for the *Disasters* of his *Majesty?*

The Presbyterians laugh when they should cry.

No wonder then to see These People out of humour; at a time when Loyal Souls are fill'd with Comfort.

To *suffer*, is not yet so much: but *Causelessly*; *That* troubles them: They'r sorry I perceive that they have given so little *Reason* for't.

Just in this manner did they Encroach upon his *Late Majesty*: from them they *pursu'd* and *hunted*, with their Barking *Arguments*, to the very *Scaffold*; and *There*, when they were sure that *Words* would do no good, they babbled a little as if they meant to have *sav'd* him.

Once more; they have been labouring a *Faction* ever since *His Majesties* Return; *They Preach, they Print the Old Cause over again*; and manifestly drive the same Designe upon the *Son*, which formerly they executed upon the *Father*.

The old Cause reviv'd.

If we thought it would not be mis-interpreted, we would here remember you, how great and considerable a part of the three Nations you are, that must either incur these sufferings, or condole them that undergoe them; and how great a grief it will be to His Majesty to see his Subjects grieved; and how great a joy it will be to him, to have your hearty thanks and Prayers, and see them Live in Prosperity, Peace and Comfort under his most happy Government.

Pag. 3. Reas. 4. How great a part of the 3. Nations suffer.

NOTE X.

His *Mustering* up of *Multitudes*, is an old Trick they learn'd from the *Committee of Safety*; only a help at a dead Lift; truly the *Party* is more then a little given to This way of *Multiplication*.

The Faction good at false Musters.

Inconsiderable. Surely, he's much a Stranger to the Temper of This Nation, that does not know the *Presbyterians* to be very *Inconsiderable*, both for *Number* and Interest of *Credit with* the *People*. Where did they ever any thing without the *Independents*? and *Them*, they made a Shift to *Ensnare*, by a pretended Engagement for *Christian Liberty*: which when they found to be a *Cheat* with how much *Ease* did the *Journymen* turn off their *Masters*?

But what a care they take, now of a Suddain, for his *Majesties Satisfaction*! *How great a Grief*, &c. and *how great a Joy*, &c.

Indeed his Majesty has reason to be troubled? to see his *Royal Mercy* and *Patience* thus abused, by a *forgetful Murmuring Faction*, that will be satisfi'd with nothing consistent with the Kings *Dignity*, and *Safety*; the *Peace* and *Welfare* of the *Publique*.

Pag. 4. Reas. 5. The Nature of the Cause. [A] *WE may plead the nature of their Cause, to move you to compassionate your poor afflicted Brethren in their Sufferings. It is in your own account but for refusing Conformity to things indifferent, or at the most, of no necessity to Salvation. It is in their account for the Sake of* Christ, *because they dare not consent to that which they judge to be an usurpation of his Kingly Power, and an accusation of his Laws as insufficient, and because they dare not be guilty of addition to, or diminution of his Worship, or of Worshipping him after any other Law, than that by which they must be judged, or such as is meerly subordinate to that.*

NOTE XI.

The ground of the Reformers Schisme. THere is one *Gross*, and *Common Principle*, which our *Schismatical Reformers* have laid down as the *Foundation* whereupon they *build*, and *Justifie* ther *Disagreements*. To wit, that *Scripture is the only Rule of Humane Actions.*] We must not *Eat*, *Sleep*, *Move*; without a *Text* for't.

Upon this Ridiculous Assertion, they pick a Quarrell with *such Orders of the Church, as are not commanded in the Word of God*, when yet the Practice of all *Christian Churches* hitherto extant, appears against them.

Gal. 1. 8. 2 John 1. 9. Rom. 16. 17. The *Curse* lies against him that *Preaches another* Gospel.] *He that abideth not in the* Doctrine *of Christ, hath not God*:— *Marque them* which *cause Division and Offences, contrary to the* Doctrine

Doctrine *which you have Learned, and avoid them.*

Now what's all this, to the Exteriour *mode* of *Worshipping*? St. 1 Cor. 14. 40.
Paul's advice was *Decency*; in General Terms, not Worship *Thus* or *so*; but *Decently*; and leaving to the *Church* the *Judgement* of that *Decency*.

Some Posture or *other* we *must* worship in; as *Kneeling*, *Sitting*, *Standing*, *Leaning*, *Prostrate*; or the like. It is not said; *Pray in This Posture* or in *That*. But the *Command* is; PRAY. Must we not therefore Pray at all; for want of a strict *Scriptural Direction* in what *Posture*? The manner of Worship left to the Church.

'Tis the same thing, the Case of all Those *Ceremonies*, which are only of *meet*, and *sensible* relation to the Duty. They are in *Themselves*, *Indifferent*, but by *Command* made *Necessary*.

Indeed *Agreement* even in *Outward Forms* were a thing very *desirable*, among all Christians: would but the *Disagreeing Shades*, and *Humours* of *several Places* bear it: Now since that cannot be, we are *commanded* to present our *Souls* to God, *in the same Faith*; but for the *manner* of our *Worship*; the *sensible Formalities* of it: we are to follow their *Appointments*, whom God has given Dominion over our *Bodies*: our *Lawful Rulers*.

To offer up our Prayers, without *any Significant Action*, were simply a *drowsie*, flat *Regardlesness* of what we do. To make the *same Ceremony*, *Universall*, were most *improper*; becauſe in several *Places*, the *same Posture*, or *motion*, carries *several Meanings*.

Well then; since *some visible Action*, is *necessary*; *This*, or *That*, (in it self) *Indifferent*: The *same thorowout*, unfit; what more *agreeable Rational expedient*; then for the *Supreme Magistrate*, to say, Do *This*, or *That*, for *Order sake*; wherein ther's nothing of *Repugnancy* to *Conscience*?

But we'll now lay the *General Question* aside, and come to *Particulars*.

A] We take *Conformity*, though to matters *Indifferent*, (if Commanded by a *Lawfull Authority*) to be a *necessary to Salvation*: so that no doubt remains in this case, but concerning the *Authority*. Conformity necessary.

Further, their Pretense of *Conscience*; is both *Wide*, and *Weak*.

Wide, for they *dissent*, in things of most *undeniable Freedome*: wherein, they only oppose the *Authority*, not the *Thing*. A queynt Scruple.

Why not JOYN'D; in the *Marriage office*, as well as CONJOYN'D? so they change WEDDED, into MARRY'D; and a hundred such frisks they have. Is This *Conscience*? Their *Pretence* is *weak* too, as *Thus*.

They undertake to *Prohibit*; which requires the same Power as to *Bind*. To say *I cannot*, is *well*; to say *They must not*, is *Authoritative*: and to say, *They cannot*, borders upon *Simple*. How do they know what others may do, when the same thing may be *Lawfull* to *one*, and *Unlawfull* to *another*?

They dare not usurp Christs Kingly Power.] Does not our Saviour tell us, *his Kingdome is not of this World*? and bid us *render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsars*? *Give me thy Heart*; Let the *Body* do what it can; without the Agreement of the *Mind*, all's Nothing. *Kneeling* before an *Idol*, is no *Sin*, (bating the *Scandal*) without the *adjunct* of a *misplac'd Devotion*: Or if it be, a *Stumble* before an *Image* is *Idolatry*. *Sin* is an *obliquity* of the *Will*, not This or That *Flexure* or *Position* of the *Body*. In Fine; *Where did our Saviour either command, or forbid any Particular Posture of the Body*? At the *Institution* of the blessed *Eucharist*, says the Text, [*he sate down with the Twelve.*) for which *Critical* reason, our punctual Christians will *sit* too at the *Holy Communion*; (though in Effect that's not the Posture.) But we read further, that our Blessed *Saviour* [*fell upon his Face, and Pray'd*] Why do not our *Precise Scripturists*, as well *Pray*, *Prostrate* too, as *Commnnicate*, *Sitting*?

Math. 26. 20.

Math. 26. 39.

As if his Laws were insufficient: they cry, No, neither are they yet so *Actually explicit*, as to set down at length all Constitutions helpful to our Condition: Much is remitted to Political Discretion; and 'tis enough if *Humane Laws* bear but a *Non-repugnancy* to the Divine.

Addition or Dimunition to, or of Gods Worship, they dare not assent to] Let this be understood just to the *Letter*; they do't *Themselves*; but take it as it properly relates to points unalterable, of *Faith*, and *Doctrine*, neither dare we.

Pag. 5. Reason 5.

[*B*] *Things dispensible and of themselves unnecessary, should not be rigorously urged upon him, to whom they would be a sin, and cause of condemnation. It is in case of things* indifferent *in your own judgement, that we now speak.*

[*B*] *But*

[B] *But things dispensable, &c.*] The *more dispensable the Command* is; the *less* dispensable is the *obedience*. [*If the Prophet had commanded thee a great thing, would'st thou not have done it? How much more then when he says to Thee,* Wash and be clean?] *A Rigorous Injunction,* though of a small matter, is made *necessary* by a *Frivolous,* and *stiff opposal* of it. 2 Kings 4. 13.

[C] *If it be said, that it is humour, pride, or singularity, or peevishness, or faction, and not true tenderness of Conscience, that causeth the doubts, or Non-conformity of these men. We answer, such Crimes must be fastned only on the Individuals, that are first proved guilty of them; and not upon multitudes unnamed, and unknown, and without proof.* Pag. 5.

[C] They deny this *Inconformity* to proceed from *Humour, Pride,* &c. and bid us *charge Particulars.*] Every *Presbyterian,* that acted in the late War, and proceeded from *Pretext of Conscience,* to *Subversion* of the *Government,* and is not yet *converted,* is clearly *illud quod dicere nolo.* Those very people are now at work again; upon the *same Pretense,* and (without Breach of Charity) I think, we may conclude, *upon the same Design.*

But we are not it seems to fasten these Crimes upon *Multitudes unnam'd, unknown, and without Proof.* And why not I beseech you? And with much more Reason too then They, on the other side, can pretend to clamour, plead, Sollicite, and undertake for the *same Multitudes, Unnamed, unknown,* and *without Proofs.* Especially the one side proceeding upon Certain Evidence in *Fact,* and the other usurping upon the Prerogative of God himself, in judging of other peoples *Consciences,* and *Thoughts.*

[D] *If it were not for fear of sinning against* [God] *and wounding their Consciences, and hazzarding, and hindering their Salvation, they would readily obey you in all these things; it is their fear of* Sin *and* Damnation *that is their Impediment.* Pag. 8.

[D] Here they protest, that only fear of *Sin* and *Damnation hinders* their *obedience.*] These *first Table-Saints* stop short of the *Fifth Commandement.* What Gospel do these *Precisians* live by? What *Law* would their *Conformity* offend? And yet they offer

offer *Oath*, that a *pure Scruple of Conscience is their Impediment.*

Their Scruple is Faction.

They could *impose*, and *swallow*, a *Damning, Treasonous Oath*, against the *Law*, *without* this *Scruple*: how come they *now* to be so delicate, when they have *Duty*, *Conscience*, and *Authority* to *warrant* them? The naked Truth is this; *They'd have the King subscribe to the Supremacy of the Kirk.*

[E] *One would think that a little Charity might suffice to enable you to believe them, when their Non-compliance brings them under suffering, and their compliance, is the visible way to favour; safety, and prosperity in the World.*

[E] Now for the *credit* of their *Protestation*; *they argue that their Non-compliance crosses their Interest.*] Not so (under favour) by no means. There are more *Presbyters*, then *Bishops*, and every *Presbyter* within his little Territory, is much more then *Episcopal.* Beside; it were against the *Faith* of the *Associated Combination*, for *Ten* or *Twenty* of them, to turn honest, and leave the *Rest* in the *Lurch.*

Again; Their Argument of *Interest* lies *now*, but where it did in *Forty one.* Their *Consciences* went then against the Stream too; and yet (abating some odd reckonings, with divine Justice) they made a shift to make a saving Game on't. In short, they do but venture a *little*, in hopes to gain a *great deal.*

Pag. 6. Real 6. The Disproportion betwixt the things in Question and the Salvation of Souls.

[A] *DO you think, the Lord that died for Souls, and hath sent us to learn what that meaneth* [I will have mercy and not Sacrifice,] *is better pleased with Re-ordination, Subscription and Ceremonies, than with the saving of Souls, by the means of his own appointment?*

NOTE. XII.

[A] WE have the same things over again so often, I'm e'en Sick on't. But I Reply; 'Tis Truth; *God is better pleas'd with the Saving of Souls, by the means of his own Appointment*; *then* &c. *Government is Gods Ordinance, Obedience his Appointment*; *Obey* then, and be *saved. Re-ordination* is not *press'd* as *necessary*; nor (that I know) *Propos'd* so; though to deal

deal freely, (as the Case stands) I think it were no needless Test of *Discrimination*.

Subscription, and *Ceremonies* are of most necessary Relation to *Unity*, and *Order*: which 'tis the *Churches Care*, and *Duty* to *uphold*; to prevent *Schisme*, and *Confusion*. The *Church*, in these *Injunctions*, does but comply with a *Superiour Command*, *virtually inculcated* in all those Precepts that concern *Unity* and *Decency*: and These *Refusers*, strike at *God himself* in their Disobedience to his Ministers. Ceremonies are necessary to Order.

[B] *Concord in Ceremonies, or Re-ordination, or Oaths of obedience to Diocesans, or in your questioned particular Forms of Prayer, do neither in their nature, or by virtue of any promise of God, so much conduce to Mens Salvation, as the Preaching of the Gospel doth, by able faithful and laborious Ministers. And how comes it to pass that unity, concord and order must be placed in those things, which are no way necessary thereto. Will there not be order and concord in Holy obedience and acceptable Worshipping of God, on the Terms which we now propose and crave, without the foresaid matter of offence?* Pag. 7.

[B] Observe this Clause well. Here's first Imply'd a Competition betwixt the Efficacy of a *Sermon*, and of a *Ceremony*, &c. Whereas we put This difference; the *one*, is *Gods* Ordinance; the *other*, *Mans*. Yet is it in such sort *Humane*, as that the *Authority* is *virtually Divine*. They oppose the Power not the Thing.

See now their *Complement* upon the *Episcopal Clergy*: As if the Church of *England* had no *able Preachers*, but *Non-Conformists*: The Fruit of whose *Laborious Ministry* has been a *Twenty-years Rebellion*.

But the point most remarkable, is *This*. 'Tis CEREMONY they oppose; not *This* or that *Injunction*, as of ill *choyce* or *tendency*; but as an *Imposition*. Their Plea is a Rejection of the *Power Imposing*, more then of the *thing Imposed*: 'Tis the *Command* forsooth that they dislike, [*as an Addition to Gods Worship.*] Let *Confidence* it *self* blush for These People.

Pray e what's the difference betwixt *Addition to Gods Worship*, in *Words*, or in *Actions*? Only the *One* works upon the *Eye*, the *other* upon the *Ear*; Both tending to the same Effect, and Marks of our *Conceipt*, alike; whether by a *Significancy of nature*, or of *Agreement*, matters not much. They seem to allow of a *Set-form of words*, why not of *Actions* too? Since neither

neither the *One*, nor the *other* amounts to any thing, but as they are *Qualify'd*, and *Tinctur'd* with the *Intention*. Says the *Command*; SAY *Thus*; and why not DO *Thus* too; Grant *Both*; or *neither*: for These *Two*, *Stand* or *fall*, by the *same Argument*. *WEE ask* no more liberty then THEY *take*. *Their Prayers*, and *Forms* are not *Actually* in the *Scripture*; *Our Rites and Ceremonies* are *virtually* there. *For this Cause* (says St. *Paul* to *Titus*) *I left thee in Crete, that thou shouldest set in Order the things that are wanting, and ordain Elders in every City, as I had appointed Thee.*] Here's a *Commission* at *Large*, *to set in Order*, but *What*, or *How*, remitted to *Discretion*.

Tit. 1. 5.

Touching *Re-ordination* we have spoken before. A word now concerning their *Oaths of Obedience to Dioceſans*.

The Presbyterians swear freely.

That These persons do not much stick at an *Oath*, is evident from the many *Oaths* they have already taken; divers of which being of direct *Contradiction*, would make a man suspect, they did not much heed what they swear. Only *now* when the *Oath* they *should* take, comes in Question, a *Qualme* of *Conscience* seizes them. *They cannot swear obedience to Dioceſans*. That is, *they will not submit to Episcopal Government*: or yet in plainer *English*, *They'll set up* PRESBYTERY *and Rule us Themselves*.

Why should these men be *Trusted*, *without* an *Oath*, *according* to the Law, that have so *freely sworn*, *against* the Law? Nay, did not Modesty restrain me, I should discourse the Insecurity of *crediting* those people *upon* their *Oath*; that have already *broken* so many. Again; *They* plead *Exemption from Swearing*, that of all Mortalls were the most Violent *Enforcers* of it.

Now to our *Question'd Forms of Prayer*.] Who Questions them, but they that Question'd as well our *Form* of Government? Those miserable *Hypocrites*, whose *Breaths* are yet scarce sweet, since they swore Last against the King, and voted down the *Bishops*. *Agreement* in the manner of *Worship* ought to be the *Churches* Care; The *Peoples* Duty is *submission*, and *Obedience*; to which, God in the very *Precept*, has annex'd a *Promissory Blessing*: and *he that resists, shall receive to himself Damnation*.

[C] *We here shew you that we are no Enemies to order, and our long importunity for the means of Concord, doth shew that we are not Enemies to concord.*

[C] But

[C] But *They are no Enemies* (they say) *to Order, and Con-*
cord. And in this point we our selves may venture to be their
Compurgators. We are their Witnesses, what pains they
took to bring all to a *Presbyterian Rule*, and *Order*: and to u-
nite the People in *a fœderal Concord*, against their *Prince*, by a
Rebellious Covenant.

[D] *We humbly crave that reproch may not be added to affliction,*
that none may be called Factious that are not proved such; and
the Laws imposing things indifferent in your Judgement, and sinfull
theirs, they may not be made the rule to judge of Faction.

[D] *Here* they demand, *that none may be call'd Factious, that* Who are
not prov'd so.] Content; What is it to be *Factious*, but *to* Factious.
mote, and *stir up Disaffections against the stated Government*? At
his Rate, all the *Preachers*, *Writers*, *Printers*, &c. against the
Episcopal Order, or the *Constitutions of the Church* are *Factious*.
re *especially*; the *Publishers*, and *Contrivers* of the *Petition for*
ce; the *Presbyterian Lecturers*; (Twenty for One) and their
tors may be reckon'd among the *Factious*. But in fine, let
prove our *Ceremonies Unlawfull*, we'll soon shew them
is *Factious*. Their next Proposition, *that the Law may not*
de the Rule to judge of Faction] is (I perswade my self) a
more then they meant us. *The Law is above the King*; they
tell us; and yet *They'd* be *above* the *Law*. This is to draw
ppeal from the *Bench* to the *Barr*; *to damn the Judgement of*
Law, and make a Presbyterian the Judge of Faction.

[E] *It is easie to make any man an Offender, by making Laws*
h his Conscience will not allow him to observe, and it's as easie
ake that same man cease to be disobedient, obstinate, or factious,
out any change at all in him by taking down such needless Laws.

[E] They come *now* to presse, *the violence of the Laws upon*
Consciences.] Whereas 'tis evident, that *Streight*, and
le Laws, have met with *Sour*, and *crooked Humors*. They
the Law makes the Offender: may they not charge the *De-* Rom. 7. 7, 8.
ge, by the same rule? What shall we say then? (says St. *Paul*)
Law, Sin? God forbid. Nay, I had not known Sin, but by
aw: *for I had not known Lust, except the Law had said, Thou*
not Covet; *But Sin taking occasion by the Commandement,*

wrought in me all manner of Concupiscence.] *Sin is the* Transgression *of the Law*; the *Disobedience* not the *Precept.*

This Freedome of Challenging the *Law*, leads to an *Arraignment* of the *Ten Commandements.* The *Idolater* excepts to the *first*, and *Second*; the *Blasphemer*, to the *Third*; the *Sabbath-breaker*, to the *Fourth*; the *Rebell* to the *Fifth*; the *Murtherer*, to the *Sixth*; the *Adulterer*, to the *Seventh*; the *Thief*, to the *Eight*; the *Slanderer*, to the *Ninth*; the *Extortioner*, to the *Tenth.*

The Consequence of Presbyterian Liberty.

Well, *but their Consciences cannot submit to observe* such and such *Laws.* Truly, to give them their Due, nor any *Other* neither but of their *own making.* Though every man may be allow'd to be the *Judge* of his own *Conscience*; yet there are many Cases wherein men ought to be *severely punish'd, for Acting according to their Consciences*: For *Conscience* may be *misinform'd*; and beyond doubt, there never yet was any *Heresie*, but had some *well meaning Believers* of the *opinion.* Grant but this *Liberty* to the *Presbyerians* (as upon Equity of *Conscience*) all *other Factions*, have the same Title to it.

Where are we *Then*, but *in an universal State of War? His Conscience* will have no *King*; *Anothers, no Bishops*; a *Third*, no *Laws*; a *Fourth*, no *Religion*; *One* will have *Women* in *Common*; *Another, Goods:* In fine; *Our Peace, Comfort, and Reason*; *nay, and the Dignity of* Humane *Nature*; *All that is Noble, in us, or belonging to us, is by This Presbyterian Argument of an Imaginary Conscience, drowned in Brutiality, and Confusion.*

What Remedy then? When betwixt Law, and Conscience, there is a real Disagreement? Where so it happens; rather let People *Innocently suffer*, though they *lose* their *Freedome*, then by a *foul Resistance* endanger their *Salvation* to *recover* it.

But They'd be *quiet*, they say, *if some needless Laws were taken away*, Yes; as they were before, when under Colour only of *Regulating* some such *needless Laws*, they *destroy'd* all the *Rest.*

pag. 8. [F] *Sad experience tells the World, that if the Ministers that we are pleading for, be laid aside, there are not competent men enough to supply their Roams, and equally to promote the Salvation of the Flocks: This is acknowledged by them, who still give it as the reason why Ministers are not to be trusted with the expressing of their desires in their own words, nor so much as to chuse which Chapter to read as well as which Text to preach on, to their Auditours, because we shall have Ministers so weak, as to be unfit for such a trust.*

[F] Their

[F] Their Complaint, is *for want of Competent men to supply the place of their Ministers* [Still they confine the [*Competent*] to their *own Party*: Reasoning the *weakness* of the *Ministers*, *because they may not be Entrusted, to Pray in their own words, or to chuse their own Chapters*, &c.]

1. These Gentlemen have some reason to know, that there are *Knaves*, as well as *Fools*; and that the *Factious*, are less fit to be *Trusted* with That *Liberty*, then the *Simple*.

[A] *THE persons that we now speak for, are ready to subscribe to all contained in the Holy Scriptures, and willing to be obliged by the Laws of men to practice it.* Pag. 8. Reas. 7. The Non-conformists submit to all things necessary to Salvation.

NOTE. XIII.

[A] TRuly we have an Obligation to These *Reformers*, that if *the Law requires it*, they will subscribe to the contents of the *Holy Bible*: But that must be with their *own Comment* too. They puzzle the *Vulgar* with a blind notion of *Things necessary to Salvation*; as if the sole *belief* of the *Divine Authority* of *Sacred Writ*, and of the *Mysteries*, therein compriſed, were enough to carry a man to Heaven.

Some Things are necessary to Salvation, as we are *Christians*. Things necessary to Salvation. That is; the Summe of the *Catholick Faith*, (according to our Confession) *which except a man believe faithfully, he cannot be saved.*] or in short; an un-doubting *Resignation* and *Submission* to the explicite Doctrine of the *Bible*, teaching *Salvation*: These are things, *Primarily*, *Evidently*, and *unchangeably necessary*, equally binding all *Humane flesh* without distinction.

Some things again, are *necessary to our Salvation*, as we are *Men* in *Society*; for Instance, *Subjects*. And these are matters commonly, in *Themselves*, *Indifferent*, *Changeable*, in their *Qualities*; *Temporary* in their *Obligation*; and yet *necessary* by *Collection*. The short of all is *This*; Where the *Law* of the *Land* does not Thwart the *Law* of *God*; or That of *Nature*; we are to obey the *Politique Magistrate*, upon pain of *Damnation*.

[B] *Seeing then you do profess that none of your Impositions, that cannot be concluded from the Scripture, are necessary to Salvation: let them not consequently be made necessary to it, and more necessary than that which is ordinarily necessary.*

[B] That *Impositions* are not *necessary to Salvation.*] We answer, They are not *necessary* to be *impos'd*; but necessary to be *obey'd*. It is not simply necessary to Salvation to remove a Chair, but if my Father bids me, it proves consequently so; For my Father commands the *Thing*, and God says *obey your Father*.

pag. 9. [C] *That smaller things must not be imposed by unproportionable penalties.*

[C] Concerning the *measure betwixt the Fault and the Punishment*; Let the *Law estimate* the *one* and proportion the *Other*. *Private Persons* are not to Correct *Publick Laws*.

[D] *The Church may not make any thing necessary to preaching it self; that is of it self unnecessary, and not antecedently necessary, at least by accident.*

[D] Many a man may be duly *qualify'd* to *Preach*, in point of *Ordination*, (for the purpose) or *Ability*, that yet in other regards is not fit to come into a *Pulpit*. I hope, refusing to *communicate with* the Church, may pass for as fair an *Impeachment*; as refusing to *Covenant against* it. (I am enforc'd to refresh these Gentlemens *memories* ever and anon.)

Pag. 9. Easf. 8. As well the Mass-Book as the Common-Prayer.

IF our Religion be laid upon your particular Liturgy, we shall teach the Papists further to insult, by asking us, where was our Religion two hundred years ago? The Common-Prayer-Book as differing from the Mass-Book, being not so old, and that which might then be the matter of a change, is not so much unchangeable it self, but that those alterations may be accepted for ends so desireable as are now before us.

NOTE

NOTE XIV.

TO this we answer, that our *Religion* is *unalterable*; our *Liturgy* not. *If a Papist asks a Presbyterian where his Religion was two hundred years ago?* he might as well ask him, *where 'twill be two hundred years hence?* But's that's a harder Question to a *Puritan*, then to a *Catholique*.

Further; to presse the *Differings*, or *agreement* of the *Common-Prayer-Book*, from or with the *Mass-book*, is more a *shift* then an *Argument*. We'll keep to our *Adversary*. 'Tis our *Profession*, that the *Form* is *Alterable*; but by the *same power* onely that *Establish'd* it; Not by a *Conventicle*, or *a Club of Running-Lecturers*; but by a grave consult of Reverend Divines; that is, *Prepar'd* by them, and *fitted* for the *stamp* of the *Supream Authority*.

IF we may not have the Liberty of the Primitive times, when for ought can be proved, no Liturgical Forms were imposed upon any Church, yet at least let us have the Liberty of the following Ages, when under the same Prince there were diversity of Liturgies, and particular Pastors, had the power of making and altering them for their particular Churches. Pag. 9. Reas. 9. The Liberty of the Ancient times.

NOTE XV.

HOw these good people beat the Bush, and yet start nothing! *The Liberty of the Primitive Times*, &c.] *what Primitive* Times? where will these men begin their Reckoning? The late Primate of *Ireland*, tells us, that [*all the Churches in the Christian world, in the first, and Best times, had their set forms of Liturgy, whereof most are extant in the writings of the Fathers, to this day*] *when you Pray, say, Our Father*, &c.] In the *Apostles* age, the *Holy Ghost abundantly supply'd all humane needs, by supernatural Graces, and Inspirations*. But the use of *Liturgies* is too clear, to suffer or admit a contradiction. Luke 11. 2.

Yet this they are not very earnest in; *allow them only the Liberty of the following Ages*] and what was that I beseech ye? *Only the power of making and altering Liturgies themselves; as under-* A modest request.

der the same Prince has been formerly permitted to Particular Pastors.

These shifts would better have become a Club of *Horse-Coursers*, then a Consult of *Divines*; for this is only dressing the sound leg of a Jade that wants an Eye. Look ye be not Cheated with Their *Ambition*, and never trouble your selves for their *Consciences:* They'l shift in all weathers; for in case of necessity,

Johnson. *Pig may be Eaten, Yea Exceedingly well Eaten.*

I would the whole Nation might but once dream of such a *Whipping*, as when these Sir-*Johns* got the Law into their own hands, their bounty would bestow upon them. They would use no other *bug-word* to their *Children*, then the *Presbyterians are coming*.

Were't not a *blessed Reformation*, to have an *Almighty Inquisition*, set up in every *Parish*; to see a *Pontifical Presbyter* rule as *King* and *Priest* over the *Estates* and *Consciences* of his *subjected congregation*? To have but *One Commandement* to keep, instead of Ten; *Obey the Presbyter*. In truth 'tis such a *Government* of *Clouts*, I cannot chuse but play the Fool with it: Briefly; when *They're* permitted to make *Laws*, let *us* make *Halters*: We have tasted them already, and if They proceed to mind *us* of their *Old Discipline*, let us mind *one another* of our *Old slavery*; and *Them* too, that they now plead for a *Brat*, *by their own rule not to be received into the Church*; for it was *conceived* in *Schisme* and *Brought forth* in *Rebellion*; (God blesse us) I mean *Presbytery*.

Whereas they urge, that *several Liturgies have been allowed under the same Prince*, &c. Confess'd: It *hath* been so, and may be so *again*, and with good reason too; yet all this while, This proves no *Title* our *Pretenders* have to the *same Liberty*.

Where People of *differing Humours*, and wonted to *differing Customes*, are united under the *same Prince*; *Prudence* advises a *Diversity* of *Liturgies*. Again; 'Tis one thing to *perswade* a Prince; another thing to *force* him (but the main reason is yet to come.) These *bold Petitioners* presse the King to *give* them what they *Got*, and *kept*, (so long as they could *hold* it) by *Rebellion*: to *grant away*, what his *Royall Father* held dearer then his *Bloud*; and to compleat the shameless proposition, some of the now-*Petitioners* to the *Son*, were the hot *Persecutors* of the *Father*.

In

In fine, they act, as if they would vie *Provocation* with the Kings *Mercy*: they ask, That which his Majesty cannot *grant*, but with a *Double hazzard* to himself; both from the *Government*, and from the *Persons*.

[A] *IF you should reject (which God forbid) the moderate Proposals which now and formerly we have made, we humbly crave leave to offer it to your consideration, what Judgement all the Protestant Churches are likely to pass on your proceedings, and how your cause and ours will stand represented to them, and to all succeeding Ages.* Pa 9. Reas. 10. The hazard of Refusing.

NOTE. XVI.

[A] AS to the *Protestant Churches*; (if they have not chang'd their opinions) they will give the same judgement of these people *now*, which they did *formerly*. That is; they will disown *Them*, and their *Actions*, for being so *singular* and *Factious*, as to oppose the *Reason*, *Right*, and *Practice* of all other *Nations*: who Generally have their *set-forms* of Prayer. Touching the *Moderation* of their *Proposals*, it is already enough *notorious*. Presbyterians no Protestants

[B] *If after our submission to his Majesties Declaration, and after our own Proposals of the Primitive Episcopacy, and of such a Liturgy as here we tender, we may not be permitted to exercise our Ministry, or enjoy the Publick Worship of God, the Pens of those Learned moderate Bishops will bear witness against you, that were once employed as the chief Defenders of that cause (we mean such as Reverend Bishop* Hall *and* Usher *) who have published to the World that much less than this might have served to our fraternal Unity and Peace.*

[B] *If after our Submission &c.*] (they say.) Prodigious Boldness, and Ingratitude! *Submission*? as if the King had *Press'd*, when he *Relax'd* them: an *Indulgence* beyond *President*, bestow'd upon a *people* void of *Sense*. Indeed a *Meritorious Patience* was their *Submission*. *Content* they were not, for many of the *Presbyterian Teachers* here about the Town, *Petition'd* for more, so soon as That was *Granted*.

But

But how have they submitted? They have not *Strook*, That's all. Do they not dayly *Preach*, *Write*, *Print* against *Episcopacy*; in opposition to the express *Intent*, and *Letter* of the aforesaid *Declaration*? Do they not *prejudge* the *Synod*, to which that Declaration refers them? Yes, and abuse the *Freedome* of proposing *some Alterations*, by the *Rejection* of the *Whole*. Suitable to This *Submission*, are Their *Proposals*, both of the *Primitive Episcopacy*, and of their *Liturgy*. Their *Liturgy*, as we have spoken formerly, is a Contest for *Dominion*, not for *Conscience*, and comes to This at Last; *If they may not Rule, they will not Worship.*

Their *Primitive Episcopacy*, sounds as much as *Presbitery*: for they *confound the Terms*, as if *Bishop* and *Presbyter* were *Originally* the same; and *Prelacy* (as the Queynt *Smectymnuus* has it) of *Diabolical Occasion*, not of *Apostolical Intention*. At This Rate, what do they offer, in a *Primitive Episcopacy*? *Bishops* in truth they *allow*, but so, that every *Presbyter* must be a *Bishop*.

Smectymnuus, Pag. 23.

To give the matter *Credit*; they Appeal to the Reverend *Hall*, and *Usher*, those *Learned*, *Moderate Bishops* (as they Term them) whose Pens are to bear witness against *These* now in *Being*, and *Authority*, if they refuse their Askings. I am told, (and I believe it) that at least *One* of the *Smectymnuans* had a hand in this *New Liturgy*, *and Petition for Peace*. If so, I must needs put the Gentleman an untoward Question.

Is Bishop Hall *so much improv'd since he Dy'd?* (in truth a *Prelate* to whose Memory the Church of *England* owes great Reverence.) This was that *Learn'd and Moderate Bishop*, that *Smectymnuus* so bespatter'd under the Name of the *Remonstrant*. But will you see now how that *Noble Prelate* was bayted by *five* of our *new-fangled Primitive Bishops*? S.M.E.C.T.Y.M.N.W.S. that is to say, *Stephen Marshal*, *Edmond Calamy*, *Timothy Young*, *Mathew Newcomen* and *William Spurstow*.

Variæ Lectiones upon
Reverend, *Moderate*, and *Learned*.

Episcopal bravado. Pag. 3.] *Treason Treason*, Pag. 4.] *We know not what his Arrogancy might attempt*. Pag. 14.] *So many* Falsities and Contradictions. Pag. 15.] *A Face of confident Boldness*, *A Self-confounded man*.——*Notorious* Falsity--ibid.] *His Notorious*——] *not leave his*——Pag. 16.]

Os

Os durum—] *forgets not himself, but God also.*] *Words bordering upon Blasphemy*—] *Indignation will not suffer us to prosecute these falsities*]—Pag. 18.]

A Stirrup for Antichrist]—Pag. 30.] *Antichristian Government*]—Pag. 65.]—*We thank God we are none of you.*] Pag. 74.]—*Borders upon Antichrist.*] Pag. 80.]—*Pride, Rebellion, Treason, Unthank-fulness, which have issued from Episcopacy.*] Pag. 85.

These were Favours of the *Bishops* own laying up; and so much for the *Reverend, Moderate, and Learned.*

It seems *a Presbyter in the Chair, is not Infallible*: why may they not mistake themselves as well in the *Bishops opinion* as in his *Character*? Or may they not forget their *Proposalls* they have *Pen'd*, as well as the *Injuries*? Will these Gentlemen subscribe the Bishops *Episcopacy by Divine Right*; Or will they shew, wherever he pass'd a *Contradiction* upon *himself.*

To day, come to his *Modest offer*, to the *Assembly* in 1644. *Lest that the Peice shall rise in Judgement against us*? (and That yet was par'd as Close as close could be, the better to comply with the Fullenness of a *Prevailing Faction.*) Hear what the Bishop says in That Treatise then.

There never yet was any History of the Church, wherein there was Bishop Hall's
so much mention made of Bishops, as the only Governours thereof. Modest offer, pag. 3.

The Rules of Church Government laid forth in the Epistles to Ti- Ibid. pog. 4.
mothy and Titus, *do suppose, and Impart that very proper Jurisdiction which is claim'd by Episcopacy at this day.*]

The *Co-assession of a Lay-Presbytery* he disapproves: and in his Pag. 15.
Epistle Dedicatory to his *Episcopacy by Divine Right*, This; [*If any man Living can shew any one* Lay-Presbyter *that ever was in the World till* Farell, *and* Viret *first created him, let me forfeit my Reputation to Shame, and my Life to Justice.*

Hear now what the late Primate of *Armagh* says in his *Direction* of 1642.

Episcopal Ordination, and Jurisdiction hath express Warrant, in holy Scriptures: as namely *Titus* 1.5. *For this Cause left I Thee in Crete, that thou shouldest set in order, things that are wanting, and ordain Presbyters*: that is, Ministers in every City; as the

first of *Timothy* 5. 22. *lay hands suddenly on no man*; and Verse 19. *Against a Presbyter, or Minister, receive not an Accusation but under Two or Three Witnesses.*] Pag. 4.

No other Government heard of in the Churches for 1500. *years and more, then by Bishops.*] Pag. 5.

This is enough to clear the *Authority* of the *Institution*; But *That*, they'll say is not the Question? These Reverend Bishops gave their Judgements, of, and for a *Primitive Episcopacy*: and to a Covenant so *Regulated*, these Divines offer to submit. That is; they will allow a Bishop *to Rule in Consociation with his Presbyters*: and This looks gayly to the *Common People*.

Rule with his Presbyters, (they cry) *and will not that content him? What; would the Bishops be as absolute as Popes?* and *Then*, the *Order's* presently proclam'd for *Antichristian*: and *War* denounc'd against all *Constitutions* of *Their* framing, as *Superstitious*. Nay, the most solemn *Forms* and *Orders* of the Church: though *venerable* for their *long Continuance*, *Use*, *Decency*, and *Universal Practice*, are thrown out, as *Idolatrous*, *because the Bishops favour them*. Of so great moment are the Fallacies of *pleasing words* where there wants *skill*, or *care* to taste the *bitter meaning*.

But alas! Those simple Wretches that inveigh against the *Tyranny* and *Claim* of *Bishops*; and with an undistinguishing rage, confound the *persons* with their *Calling*: how do they *draw* upon themselves the thing they *Fear*, and furiously *oppose* the sum of their own *wishes*?

Do they first know what 'tis, *To* RULE *in* CONSOCIATION?

Presbyterian Primitive Episcopacy.

It is *To Degrade a Bishop into a Prime Pastor*: *to disrobe him of his Apostolical prelation of Degree, and allow him a Complemental priority of Order.* This *Imminution* of *Bishops*, will doubtless, not displease their *Enemies*; but let them have a care; for in that very *Act* and *Instant*, wherein they fetch a *Bishop* down to a *Presbyter*, does every *Presbyter* become a *Bishop*: so that for *five and twenty* they pluck *down*, they set *up* some *ten thousand*.

This was the Cheat that fool'd the People into those *Tumults*, which the *Smectymnuans* entred the *Lists* to *justifie*. A *Primitive Episcopacy* was the *Pretense*, which they boyl'd down at length into a *rank Presbytery*, and more *Imperious*. Thus was the *Government* of the *Church* destroyed; and after the same *manner*, That of the *State*.

[Th

[*The King was to govern with his Parliament.*] This saying arryed a Popular sound; and the *Multitude* were not able to omprehend the *Drift* of it. In short, they brought his Majesty, rst, to be *one of the three Estates*; thence, by degrees, *lower and wer*, till they *Dethron'd* him, and at last *Murther'd him.*

This was the cursed Issue of a Pretense, to the Regulation of Mo-rchy and Episcopacy.

But to end this point: The *Reformers* would perswade the ld, *That they have made a Tender of more yielding, than the mention'd Reverend Bishops have accounted necessary to Frater-Unity and Peace.*

We answer; That to make This good, they must prove, that se Bishops have renounc'd their *Episcopal*, and *Superinten-Authority*: or Instance for Themselves; wherein They ac-wledge it. Not to insist upon their *Usurpations, of Fra- a new Liturgy, without a Commission; and Imposing upon the E-ished Government without either Modesty or Reason.*

C] *And we doubt not but you know how new and strange a thing hat you require in the Point of Reordination. When a Canon a- those called the Apostles deposeth those that Re-ordain, and re re-ordained.*

] Touching *Reordination*: (with submission) I do not un-nd it either absolutely *Requisite*, or *Unlawful*: nor can I that it is *Press'd*, as they pretend.

he *Canon* whereupon they ground, is This. [*Si quis Epis- aut Presbyter, aut Diaconus, secundam ab aliquo Ordinatio- susceperit, deponitor, tam ipse, quam qui ipsum Ordinavit, nisi constet eum Ordinationem habere ab hæreticis. Qui enim a talibus izati, aut Ordinati sunt, hineque Fideles, neque Clerici esse pos-*] If any *Bishop*, *Presbyter*, or *Deacon*, shall receive from man (*ab aliquo*) a *second Ordination*, let the Person *Ordai-* (*qui ipsum ordinavit*) and the Person *Ordained*, be both *sed*; unless it appear, that his *prior* Ordination was by *He-s*. For those that are either *Baptized* or *Ordained* by such ot be reputed either *Believers* or *Clergy-men.*

bserve first, that *This Canon presupposes a Regular, and Epis- Ordination: ab aliquo: qui ordinavit*: referring singly to the p, whose *Assistance* is deem'd so *Essential to the work*, as that ishop; *no Ordination.*

Hookers Eccles. Pol. lib. 5. sect. 62.

Next, there's an *Error* in the *Canon*: For, *If Baptism seriously be administred in the same Element, and with the same form of words which Christs Institution Teacheth, there is no other defect in the world, that can make it Frustrate.*] So that This *Canon* avails them little, either in respect of the *Scope* of it, or the *Authority*.

* *Smectymnuus.* Mr. *Manton's* Impression. pag. 51.

But is *Re-ordination* (say they) so *new* and *strange* a thing? I am sorry to see *Smectymnuus* quarrel with himself. * *We had it in the beginning of* Queen Elizabeth, *urg'd, and received*:] and with less colour *Then*, than *Now*: for *there* a *true necessity* lay upon them: *They fled for Conscience, and received Orders in the Reformed Churches*; not in *contempt* of *Bishops*, but only for *want* of them. Whereas our cavilling Pretenders, *have cast them off*; *Rejected their Authority*; *Usurped their Power*; *laid violent hands upon their sacred Order*; and after all, they have the confidence, to *claim*, from their *Intrusions*, and still adhere to the *equity* of Their *Revolt*.

[D] *Not only the former Bishops of* England, *that were more moderate were against it, but even the most fervent adversaries of the Presbyterian way*; *such as Bishop* Bancroft *himself*; *how strange must it needs seem to the Reformed Churches, to the whole Christian World, and to future Generations, that so many able, faithful Ministers, should be laid by as broken Vessells, because they dare not be re-ordained? and that so many have been put upon so new and so Generally dis-relished a thing.*

[D] *Bishop Bancroft* (they say) *was against it*: (no Presbyterian Bishop.) Could but these Gentlemen have seen beyond their Noses, they would have spar'd this Instance: Mark now how *Bancroft* was against it.

Spotswood Hist. of *Scot.* lib. 7. p. 514.

In 1610. *a Question was moved by Doctor* Andrews, *Bishop of* Ely, *touching the Consecration of three* Scottish *Bishops*; *who*, as it said, *must first be ordained Presbyters, as having received no Ordination from a Bishop. Bancroft* being by, *maintained it not necessary seeing where Bishops could not be had, the Ordination given by Presbyters must be esteemed lawful.*] This carri'd it.

Hence, it appears, that *if Bishops could have been had, their Ordination by Presbyters had not been lawful.* Had not these Gentlemen now as good have let the old Bishop alone, as have taken the *Dorr*? as *Smectymnuus* has it.

Let not the World believe yet, that these Complainers are ut of play, barely upon the account of *Re-ordination*. None re *Turn'd out* (so far as I can hear) upon That Scruple; But ure, 'tis a fair reason not to *Admit* them: For it denotes them *actious*, and in Truth, the common business of their *Lectures notorious Schisme*.

He holy Ghost hath commanded you to over-see the Flock, not by P. 10. Ref. 11.
constraint, but willingly; not as being Lords over God's heritage, as Ensamples to the Flock. And that it is not only more comfor-le to your selves, to be loved as the Fathers, than to be esteemed the licters of the Church; but that it is needful to the ends of your Mi-ry for the People. When you are loved, your doctrine will more ly be received. But when men think that their Souls or Liberties endangered by you, it's easie to judge how much they are like to fit by you.

NOTE XVII.

Elieve me, and we are now upon a weighty Question. *Who shall be Judge, the* People, *or the* Church; *Which is* iist's Flock? That is, *Whether shall* One *be the Judge of all the*; *or all the* Rest *be the Judge of that* One? (for that is the t) What signifies the *Multitude*, but a number of *single ons*, where each *Individual* acts, and accompts for *himself*? ereas the *Church*, is both by *Divine Deputation*, and by *Po-cal Paction*, *Authoris'd* and *Acknowledg'd* to be the *Judge* of *All*. If there were nothing in't but *common Expedience*; *Reason of ereſt*, and of *State*: me-thinks, *That* might suffice, to make rest in *Their Decrees*, to whom, as by a *general reference*, we ve subjected the *Decision* of all our *Differences*. But the Be-gnity of Providence treats us more kindly *yet*; annexing all e *Blessings* of *both Worlds* to our *Obedience*: which surely no an will *oppose*, that is not wholly void of *Religion*, *Moral onesty*, and of *common Prudence*. The Church the Judge.

But *it is better to obey God then Man*, they'l tell us. *Has the urch any jurisdiction over our souls? any right of Imposing upon our sciences?*

No, God forbid. But does not the *Church* know *our Consci-ces* as well as *we* know *one anothers*? and may not the *Church*

as

as well ſuſpect that *we* do *not* think *Thus* or *So*, as *we* affirm that *others do*? When *private perſons* plead for *Themſelves*, it may be *Conſcience*; but when they come *once* to ſtickle for *others*, 'tis *Faction*. If it be ſaid, that *Preachers are not private perſons*, I anſwer, That all *ſubordinate perſons* are *private*, in reſpect of their *Superiors*. In fine, it is *our* Duty every man to attend the good of his *own ſoul*; and it belongs to the *Church* to over-watch us *All*: preſerving ſtill the *common Unity*, though to the *grief* of ſome *particulars*.

Well, but *there are ſo many* Thouſands (they ſay) *that ſuffer upon tenderneſs of Conſcience*. Theſe People do but *make Sores*, that they may *beg Plaiſters*. There *may* be *Tender Conſciences*, and there *are*, doubtleſſe, to whom great *Tenderneſs* is *due*, and *needful*; but theſe *Compleyners* are not of That *number*. They are too *laviſh* in their *undertakings* for *others*, and too *Peeviſh* in their *Pleadings* for *Themſelves*. He that is *Poſitive* in what he does *not* know, forfeits his *Credit* too in what he *does*.

But They are ſtill *Chriſts Flock*: and 'tis enough; *They ſay it*. From *Sheep* with *Claws*, deliver us.

Matth. 24 4. A Caveat. Matth. 24. 24. *Take heed* (ſays our Saviour) *that no man deceive you, for many ſhall come in my name, ſaying, I am Chriſt, and ſhall deceive many.*] and again; *There ſhall ariſe falſe Chriſts, and falſe Prophets.*] We ſee the very *Text* bids us *take heed*, and foretells dangerous *Hypocrites*. But what need we look farther then our own *Memories*? Was not the whole Crew of the late *Conſpirators*, clad in the Livery of *Gods People*? Only His *Majeſties Friends* had, and have ſtill the Fortune to be reckon'd among the *Prophane*, and not admitted into the *Fold*. Would Theſe *Correctors of Magnificat* would ſhew us once, whereever *Chriſt* call'd his *Flock* together with a *Scotch Covenant*: or where the *Holy Ghoſt* gives *Private Perſons* an Authority over their *Superiours*; or Commiſſions the *Sheep* to Quarrel with their *Paſtor*. It is confeſs'd that *Softneſs*, and *Humility* becomes the *Fathers* of the *Church*, and 'tis *enjoyn'd* them; But then *Obedience* likewiſe befits the *Children*: whoſe part it is meekly to *obey*, in all matters not *directly ſinful*, but to *Reſiſt* in *None*.

Schiſme turns to Rebellion. Let me add one thing further: Where Theſe dividings about *Forms* are ſuffer'd, the *Miſchief* ſeldome ſtops at *Schiſme*: for the ſame *Principle*, that *Rents* the *Church*, *Threatens* the *State*; beſide the Hazzard of an *Ambitious Faction*, ever at hand to *aid* and to *improve*, that *Peeviſh Holyneſs*. In Truth, *both Intereſts*

rests are so *enter-woven*, that 'tis impossible to *crush* the *one* without *bruising* the *other*; and to conclude; a *Schismatique* shifts as naturally into a *Traytor*, as a *Maggot* turns to a *Fly*. The next step from *Liberty* of *Conscience*, is *Freedome of Estate* and *Person*; and from *Liberty* of *Thought*, they proceed to That of *Action*, *arguing* and concluding in great *Earnest*, with my Honest Friends *Jeast*.

For at the Beginning was, nor Peasant, nor Prince;
And who (the Devil) made the Distinction since?

IF we are not in point of Ceremonies or Forms in every thing of your mind; it is no more strange to have Variety of Intellectual Apprehensions in the same Kingdome and Church, then variety of tempera-tures and degrees of age and strength. P. 10. Reas. 12.

NOTE, XVIII.

WE do not say 'tis *strange*, that there should be *Variety of Intellectual Apprehensions*; but we contend that *so it is*; ever *was*, and ever *will* be so: and from the *Truth*, and *Evidence* of *That Assertion*, arises the clear *reason*, and *necessity* of that we plead for.

We must consider *Man*, as a *Reasonable Creature*: compos'd of *Soul* and *Body*; born, for the *Publique*, and Himself; and finally *Accomptable* for the Emprovement of his *Talent* toward the *Ends* of his *Creation*. The *great*, the *Indispensable*, and *universal end*, is That which has regard to the *Creatour*: and in That point we are all agreed upon a Common Principle of *Reason*, that 'tis our *Duty* to *Adore*, *Love*, and *obey that Gracious Power that made us*. That *This* is the *Prime* end, we all *Agree*, and that our *works* are only *Good*, or *Evill*, according as they *correspond with*, or *recede from* it. The End of Mans Creation.

In the next place, as we consist of *Soul* and *Body*; we seem to fall under a *mixt Concern*; and *There*, the Skill is how to temper the *Angel*, and the *Brute*, in such sort as may best comply with the *behoof*, and *Comfort* of the *Individual*: subjected still to the great *Law* and *Purpose* of our *Being*. Our *Reason*, we submit to the *Divine will*; and our *Affections* to our *Reason*. *Behold the*

Scale:

Scale of our obedience; and Universal Dictates of our Reasonable Nature.

In *These* Particulars: *God*, as the *Sovereign Prince* of the whole World, binds all *Mankind alike*, with an *unlimited*, and *undistinguishing Authority*. Our *Souls*, the Almighty Governs by his *Immediate* and *blessed Self*; our *Bodies* he refers to his *Deputies*; whom in all *sensible* and common Actions we are to *obey* as *Gods Commissioners*. We come now to the point that moves the great dispute: *our state of Liberty in matters of themselves indifferent.*

In This Question we are to consider, that *every man is born first, for the Publick; Next, for Himself. He that Rates any thing except his Soul, above the common Benefit of Social Nature, is an ill Member of the Universe.*

While every man consults his own *Particular*, how easily he's drawn to Think That *Fair*, which he finds *Pleasant!* Employing much more cunning to *perswade* himself, that what he *Likes*, is *Lawful*, then strictly to *Examine* it; for fear it should prove otherwise.

Objection. *Are we not All made of the same Lump; born to the same Ends: Dignify'd with the same Reason? What is it Then, but an injurious Custome, and oppression, that puts the Difference betwixt Governours, and Slaves? That prostitutes so many Millions of Free-born Christians, to the Command of any Single Person?*

Sol. These are the *Stirrings* and *Debates* of *Mutinous* and *unadvised Natures*. They scan but the one *half*; and *that*, the *Grosser* too; the *vulgar* part of the *Question*. Can the *whole Perish*; and the *Parts 'scape*? Can any thing be *beneficial* to *Particular Persons*, that is *Destructive* to the *Community*? what by *one Violence* they *Get*, they *Lose* by *Another*; and in exchange for the *Soft*, *Honest bonds* of *Order* and *Obedience*, they leap into a *Sinful*, *Shameful Slavery*. Was not the *late War* undertaken, (in Shew) for This *Imaginary Freedome?* and yet, at last, what was the Event, but *Tyranny*, and *Bondage*? not by *miscarriage* neither, but by a *Regular Fatality*, and *Train* of *Causes*.

Do we not find mens *Minds*, and *Humours* as *various* as their *Complexions*, or their *Faces*? Every man likes his *own* way best; Pleads for his *own opinion*. There's no such thing as *right* or *wrong* in things *Indifferent*, but as they are *circumstanc'd* by *Application*: and here's the very Case of our *Reformers*.

Some

Some are for *Kneeling* at the *Eucharist*; *others* for *Standing*, *Sitting*, or the like; They differ too about the *manner* of *Receiving*. *Capricious Holyness!* Shall That *confused*, and *Promiscuous* use of *several Forms*, and *Postures*, pass for a *Decency* in the *Lords House*, and on *so solemn an occasion*, which at a *Private Table* would be *exploded* for a *grosse* and *ridiculous Immorality*? The *Church*, for *Order* sake, and *Uniformity*, enjoyns *one form*, or *Posture*; *This*, or *That*, 'tis *Indifferent*; *where lyes the Conscience* of Refusing? Could but the *Rubrick* say, *Let the Minister enter at the Church-door*, Would not our *Teachers* make it a peice of *Conscience to keep in at the Window? Mark* it, and you will find that to be the sinefs; *'Tis* POWER *they Tug for, and to bring* MONARCHY *under the Yoke of* PRESBYTERY. Peevish Liberty.

They *argue the Expedience of granting Liberty, because* forsooth *of the differing humours of Applying it.* The strongest reason in the World *against* them. For in this State of *Disagreement*, take but away that *Limiting*, and *Binding Rule* that prescribes *Uniformity*; what other Consequence can be expected from letting loose so many *wild*, and *Petulant Passions*; so many *Raging*, and *dividing Factions*, but *Tumult*, *Heresie*, and *Rebellion?*

If any shall make men disobedient, by imposing things unnecessary, which they know are by learned, pious, peaceable men, esteemed sins against the Lord, and then shall thus heavily afflict them for the disobedience, which they may easily cure by the forbearance of those impositions, let not our souls come into their secret, nor our honour be united to their Assembly: If they shall smite or cast out a supposed Schismatick, and Christ shall find an able Helper, peaceable Minister, or other Christian, wounded, or mourning, out of doors, let us not be found among the Actors. pa. 12. Rers. 13. The Imposition causeth the Disobedience.

NOTE. XIX.

WHy did not the *Reformers* rather say? *If any shall make people* Rebellious, *by preaching down* Obedience *to* Authority, *as a thing* unnecessary; *or abuse the simple by calling* Good, Evil, *and* Evil, Good: *Let not our souls* &c. Whether is greater, the *boldness* of these *Teachers*, or the *blindness* of their *Disciples*? Does not this way of *Reasoning*, root up all *Government*? And

has not the *Practice* of These men made good the worst that any man can *say*, or *think* of their *Designe*? Were they *New Folks* yet, a man might find some *Charity*, for the *soft-headed Gulls* that *believe* them: *but to be Twice-catch'd in the same Trap; Twice fool'd by the same Persons, were an unpardonable sottishness.*

The Reformers Method. Let the three Kingdoms cast up the Accompts of the late War, and see what they have gained clear, by the *Reformation.* These very Gentlemen were one and twenty years ago upon this Argument? infinitely troubled about *Additions to God's Worship* in things *unnecessary*; *Oathes of Subscription*, &c. To obviate these *crying evils*, they set to work a *Preaching Ministry*, and *Lectur'd* up the people into a *Gospel-frame*, (for that's the Knack) of *Disobedience.* The people heard their Prayers; (for 'twas to them they prayed) *Meroz* was *curs'd*, and *curs'd*; and the right Reverend *Matrons* sent forth their *Bodkins* and their *Thimbles to help the Lord against the Mighty.* In fine, *The Cause prosper'd under their* Ministry, *and* Things unnecessary *were taken away*, that is, *King, Bishops, the Law of the Land, the Liberty of the Subject: the Heads and Fortunes of his Majesty's best Friends.*

Some *Oaths* that were of exceeding *scandal* and *burthen* to *weak consciences* were *taken away too*, or rather *exchang'd*, for others less *offensive*, to the sense of the *Learned*, *Pious*, and *Peaceable men*, they speak of. As for instance, in stead of that Abominable *Oath of Canonical Obedience to the Bishop and his Successors*, (in omnibus Licitis, & honestis) *in all things lawful and honest*; A *Covenant* was introduced of *Combination* against them. But no man was compell'd to take it neither; for 'twas but *losing the capacities of Englishmen*; *a Sequestration*; *Rotting in a Gaol*, or some such *trivial penalty*, if they *refus'd* it. Indeed, to *serve the King* after the *taking* of it, was a little *dangerous*, because of an *Article* of *Aug.* 16. 1644. declaring, that *whosoever shall voluntarily take up Arms against the Parliament, having taken the* National ~~Covenant~~, *shall die without mercy.*

The truth is, the *Covenant* was somewhat more in *Scripture-phrase*, and suited better to the *gust* of the *godly.* So for the *Positive Oaths* of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy*, They gave us *Negatives*, still mov'd by *tenderness of Conscience*: They made a *scruple* forsooth, of *swearing* with *Us* to *serve the King*; but they made *none* of *forcing Oaths* against him. To make an end; The late *Presbyterian Rebellion* has cost the *three Kingdoms* at least *fourscore millions* of *Treasure*, besides *Souls* and *Bodies*; and now they

They

re hammering of the Nation into *another.*

They talk of *Conscience:* so *Peters*, their *fellow-labourer*, was man of *conscience*; was he not? the foulest part of whose ewd life, was That wherein they wrought in *common fellowship.* short, the *Presbyterians bound* and *prostituted* the *Virgin*; and e *Independents* were the *Ravishers.*

These drops are sharper, than in any other case would stand h *Modesty*: but they are *Truths*, so *timely*, and so *needful* for *Publick*, that they shall out, what ere they cost me.

What do these Creatures keep a coil with *Sin* for? that *Act* f there were no *God*; and yet they *talk*, as if they thought nothing *else.* Are not their *Contradictions* upon *Record*? has the *Nation*, in all Quarters, the witnesses of their very gues and *Pens* against them? Was ever any *Tyranny* so *barus*, as what these people exercis'd over the *consciences* of ir *fellow-subjects*, and against the *Government* which they had rn to *preserve*? Yet *now*, when *Authority* requires *Obedi*; the *learned pious men* are taken of a sudden with strange of *conscience*: *FROM SUDDEN DEATH* (in the *Le*) must be, forsooth, *FROM DYING SUDDENLY*; ost important Scruple!

Vell, but *forbearance* (they say) *cures, and eases them.* We do know, had the *Rebellion* of the *Angels* been once *pardon'd*, such a *mercy* might have wrought upon the *Devils.* But we are upon *Experiment. After so large an Act of Grace, owing and magnificent a Bounty, so prone a goodnesse toward whole party*, now to *Re-revolt: Misereatur Deus!*

hey are much careful not to take an *able Minister* for a *ismatick*: they take not half that care to distinguish a *Schisick* from an *able Minister. If Christ* (they say) *should finde* able Minister *cast out for a* Schismatick? *what then, good le?* But what (say I) if Christ should finde *Schismaticks* kept or *able Ministers*? what then, good Brethren?

[A] MEn *have not their understandings at their own command,* P 12 Reas. 14. *much lesse can they be commanded by others, if they were then elle? er so willing to believe all that is imposed on them to be lawfull*; not free. *cannot therefore believe it, because they would, the Intellect be- not free.*

NOTE XX.

[A] EXceeding *fine* and *Philosophical*. *Men* cannot *believe all that they* would *believe*; *and no man is to profess or act* against *his belief*. (that hits it.)

The Intellect not forced.

The *Reformers* cannot believe the *Orders* of the *Church* to be *Lawfull* and *Binding*: The *Church* cannot *believe* the *Recusancy* of the *Reformers* to be *Reasonable* or *Conscientious*.

The *Reformers* cannot *believe* that they ought to be *kept out* for *Inconformity*; the *Church* cannot *believe* that they are to be taken *in*, unless they *conform*.

The *Reformers* take *Discipline* to be *essential to Salvation*; the *Church* thinks *otherwise*.

The *Reformers* cannot but believe the *Separatists* to be *Saints*; the *Church* on the other side, cannot but believe them to be *Schismaticks*.

So that in fine, if the *Church* cannot *grant*, what the *Reformers* cannot but *ask*; *Whether shall the Law yield to a Faction, or the Faction to the Law*?

Pag. 13. [B] *Few men are obstinate against the opinions that tend to their ease and advancement in the world, and to save them from being vilifi'd as Schismaticks, and undone; and when men profess before the Lord, that they do impartially study and pray for knowledge, and would gladly know the will of God at the dearest rate; we must again say, that those men must prove that they know the Dissenters hearts, better then they are known to themselves, that expect to be believ'd by charitable Christians, when they charge them with wilful ignorance or obstinate resisting of the truth.*

[B] *Few men are obstinate, &c.*——] This Objection is already Answered, but I shall add something.

All *Popular Attempts* upon change of Government, are *hazzardous* to the *Undertakers*; are there therefore no *Rebellions*? But *here's the state of their Adventure*. If the *Design takes*, and the *People Tumult*, then are they *in* at pleasure, in the head of the *Faction*. If it *miscarries*, they have no more to do but *keep their countenance, retire*, and *grieve because of the Ungodly*. That *disappointment* they *nick-name A suffering for the Gospel: a Persecution*:

and

and in that shape, they get more by private *Collections*, than ma-ny an honester man does by a good *Benefice*. Beside: *They are bold upon a confidence in the King's Lenity.*

They pray to be inform'd, they say.] That was *Scot's Plea*, con-cerning the *Murther* of the *late King*; and may be any man's by the same *equity*, that shall be pleas'd to call it *Conscience*, to has much again. Now for the knowledg of their Hearts, the last thing they insist upon) we'l follow the *Scripture-rule*: *now the Tree by its Fruits*; *measure their Faith by their Works*: dge of their *Fidelity*, by their breach of *Vows*; of their *Honesty*, their breach of *Articles*; of their *Scruples*, by their *Sacriledge*; their *Loyalty*, by their *persecution* of their *Soveraign*; of their *nderness*, by their *deliberate Murthers*; and in fine, of all their *tended Virtues*, by their *contradicting Impieties.*

WE crave leave to ask, whether you do not your selves in some things mistake, or may not do so for ought you know? and ther your understandings are not still imperfect, and all men differ n some opinion or other? And if you may mistake in any thing, it not be in as great things as these? Can it be expected, that we d all be past erring about the smallest Ceremonies and Circumstan-f Worship? And then, should not the consciousness of your own nity, provoke you rather to compassionate humane frailty, than to ut your Brethren, for as small failings as your own?

P. 13. Reas. 15. All men subject to mistakes.

NOTE XXI.

This is but loosely argu'd: to Reason from *an universal Fal-libility*, to an *universal Toleration*. Because *all men* may *mit errors*, therefore all *errors* must be suffer'd. The *Law* re-ts *common equity*, and *politick convenience*; not the *degrees* of *dom* or *Folly* in the *Transgressors* of it. If *Fools* were *privileg'd*, *Knaves* would plead *Ignorance*. There may be subsequent wances in favour of misguided *Understandings*, but they are *parity*, and *Relaxation*, not of strict *Justice*. All *stated Laws* *er* or *worse*, no matter) if they are not *simply wicked*, are *ob-*: and to correct a *publick Sanction*, by a *private Hand*, is o mend *a Misadvice* by a *Rebellion*.

A Non sequitur.

his they *conceds*, that *All may erre*: Then they *themselves* are-

are not *Infallible*: so that the *Competition* rests betwixt the *Law* and the *Reformers*. But *now*, to what we are *sure* of.

There are some cases wherein a Subject must not obey *his Prince*; *but I defie the world to shew me* any, wherein *he may* Resist *him*. That were to say, *A Subject is no Subject*. To say, he may be *Sued*, makes nothing; That *Law* which warrants the *Complaynant* is virtually the *King*.

Again; That which betwixt *Man* and *Man*, were a fair Rule, holds no proportion betwixt a *Personal Weaknesse*, and a *Publick Inconvenience*. *The giving way to Clamours of this impetuous and froward nature, cost the late King his life.* To say more were to prejudge my Betters; let this suffice.

P. 14. Reas. 16 Do as you would be done by.

PUt your selves in their case, and suppose that you had studied, conferred and prayed, and done your best to know, whether God would have you to be Re-ordained, to use these Forms or Ceremonies, or Subscriptions or not? and having done all, you think that God would be displeased if you should use them, would you then be used your selves, as your dissenting Brethren are now used, or are like to be; love them as your selves, and we will crave no further favour for them.

NOTE. XXII.

THis we call laying of the matter *home* to a Man: *Make it your own Case.* Good.

Whose Case did these *Reformers* make it, when they stripp'd all men to their Shirts, whose Consciences could not submit to their Rebellious *Leagues* of *Extirpation*, and *Directorian Foppe-ries?* Would they have been Content, *Themselves*, to have been turn'd out of their *Livings*, because they could not play the *Re-negado's*; to have been muzzled up in *Dungeons*; debarr'd the Common Benefits of *Humane Life*: Not suffer'd to *Officiate* as *Private Chaplains*; no, nor so much as teach a petty *School*; nor enter into any honest Employment, which their Ingenious malice foresaw might give The Persecuted Wretches *Bread*.

Is This according to the Rule? *Do as you would be done by.* There were no *Superstitious Impositions* at That Time; but matters went as they would have them. They Order'd every thing *Themselves*; and the best Choyce an *honest* man had left him, was *Job's* upon the *Dunghill*.

It

It was the *Pulpit* too, that gave *Fire* to the *Train*; that *warranted* the *Treason*, and *cover'd Murther* with a Gloss of *Justice*. Briefly; a *Reformation* was the *Cry* of the *Design*, and see the *Issue* of it.

And yet *Do as you would be done by*, is Their Plea, that did all This. Far be it from us however to imagine that their *Abuse* of *Justice* should overthrow their *Title* to it; or that the *Gravity* of *Man* should frustrate the Eternal *Virtue* of a *Decree* of *God*, and *Nature*: *We'll make Their Case our own then*; *and reason with them, upon their own Principles.*

Do as you would be done by; say they to us: *Do as ye would be done by*; say We to Them. *Would you be willing to be thus Impos'd on?* says a Private Person: *Would* you be willing to be thus contemned? says the Magistrates. Yes, if (I commanded things *unlawful*, says the *one*: or if I were a *Schismatick* says the *other*.

If upon *Search* and *Prayer* for better Light, we think that God would be displeased with us for doing This or That, we must not do it. Now, why should *others* trouble *us*, only for doing *That* which in *our places* they would do *Themselves*? This is the Fair state of the Question. Object.

We are to Note here, that *Words* are not the *certain Evidence* of our *Thoughts*; and that our *Charity* is never so ty'd up, as to barr'd advice with *Reason*. Now *others* are to deal With us according to the Rules of what things *rationally seem* to *them*, not *strictly* (peradventure) what they *are*. As Thus; *If a common Lyer tells a Truth*; it may be so; yet I am not bound to *venture* any thing upon his *Story*. The *first Profession* a man makes; in *Charity*, I'll *Credit*; yet still in *Prudence* I'll *secure* my self in case I prove *mistaken*. But People that *Break* oft, where they may *keep* their Words; that by *prepense Contrivance* have formerly strew'd their way with *Oyly Language, to deadly Ends*: These, by the general Dictate of *Common Reason*, I may *suspect*, and which is more, I *ought* to do it, and to be *wary* of them. Does not our *Blessed Saviour himself* bid us BEWARE *of the Leaven of the Pharisees, which is* HYPOCRISY? Those that *pay Mint and Cummin*, and neglect *Judgement*, *Mercy*, *and Fidelity*: *That strein at a Gnat*, *and Swallow a Camell*: That are *Fair outwardly*, *and Rotten within*; *and under colour of long Prayers*, Sol.

ers, that devour Widows houses. Do not *Pharisee*, and *Puritan* begin with a *Letter?* Is not this Character most bitterly like the humour of the men we wote of?

Further; 'tis manifest from this *Caution*, that we are not bound to *think* all People *Godly*, that call themselves so, nor to trust all *appearances* of *Holyness*; but we are soberly to reduce our *Judgments* to the Standard of *Discourse* and *Reason*. They must *deny* the *Bible*, that *refuse* us *This*; and now, *suppose the Table's turn'd.*

The Presbyterians case par.

We told the World, that *we were afraid of* Popery; and *that our Consciences could not submit to* Ceremonies; under which colour we entred into a *Covenant*, which in pretense was to *Reform the Church, and to Establish the King.* We *destroy'd Both*, by virtue of That *Freedome*, which we seem'd only to desire in order to our *Souls.* The *Son* of that Prince whom *we ruin'd*, is now by *Provideuce*, and *Hereditary Right*, placed on his *Fathers Throne.* Our *Consciences* are once again Sick of the *Old Scruples*; and cannot down with *Forms*, and *Ceremonies. Shall we be laid aside now for our Consciences?*

Yes certainly, *we must be laid aside*, unless we shew very good *reason, first*, why they should *believe* us *Conscientious*, and *next*, (if truly *Scrupulous* they can *Imagine* us) why they should *trust* us.

Did not we swear, that an *Impulse* of *Conscience* transported us into our *first Engagement?* That, all the World knows was a design of *Faction*, and *Sedition*; and that the *Pulpit-Theme*, was the Decrying of the Kings *Negative Voyce*; and the Exalting of the *Power of Parliaments.* (*Blaspheming* the *Authority* of the *Nation*, by applying it to a *Conspiracy* in *the Two Houses.*)

This we have formerly done, and, as yet, given the World no Tokens of *Repentance*: We ask the *same things* over again; and (in good deed) why may not they suspect to the *same Purpose?*

May they not argue likewise from our *Practises*, against our own *Demands?* Do we say People *may* not be *compell'd?* Why did *we compel* Them then?

Well, but *suppose it a pure Case of Conscience, that hinders our* Complyance. Men may think many things *unlawful* to be *done*, that are still as *unlawful* to be *suffer'd undone.* We ask that *freedom*

from

om the *Law*, which would in Consequence *destroy the Law*: d *This* we begg, for *Conscience*. Were it not *Breach of Trust* These to whom the Care of the Publique is committed, to atifie a *Private Scruple*, by a *General Inconvenience*? So that ir *Conscience* stands engaged *against* us. But 'tis reply'd, that are many *Thousands*. *All* are but *One*, in point of *Conscience*; ke them *together*, they're a *Faction*.

At last; if we can yield no Reason why they should either *Be-*, or *Trust* us; Where lyes the *Sadnesse* of our Condition; only in the *Losse* of what we never had? Uuless Thus or so lify'd, we must not be admitted.

IT *is easier to agree in few things, than upon many, upon great and certain and necessary things, than upon small uncertain unnecessary things, and upon things that God himself hath revealed pointed, then upon things that proceed from no surer an Original, the Wit or Will of man. The strict prohibition of adding to, or nishing from the things commanded by the Law-giver of the ch*; Deut. 12. 32. *Doth put such fear in the minds of multitudes Loyall Subjects of Christ*, &c. p 14. Reas. 17. Neither adde nor diminish.

NOTE. XXIII.

[IT is not good to make *Little* matters seem *Great*, and *Great small*: to make less difficulty of Doing what God *irectly forbidden*, then of complying with what he has not *sly commanded*. Observe here a Text most miserably d. *What-thing-soever I command you, observe to do it: thou not add thereto, nor diminish from it*. Deut. 12. 32.] which new *Scholiasts* render thus. *Do nothing but what God com-ds, even where God commands nothing at all*. Does not [*What-soever I command: Observe to do it.*] Imply that *some things are which God does not command*; and that in those Cases we t *Liberty*? (the [*Observe*] waiting upon the particular *Commanded*.) A Text wrested.

[B] *It's easie to foresee, how those expressions in mens Sermons, yers, or familiar Conference, which seem to any mis-uncer ng, or suspicious, or malicious hearers, to intimate any sense of ngs, will be carried to the ears of Rulers, and represented as a* Pag. 16.

crime. And nature having planted in all men an unwillingness to suffer, and denyed to all men a Love of Calamity, and necessitated men to feel when they are hurt, and made the Tongue and Countenance the Index of our sense, these Effects will be unavoidable, while such Impositions are continued, and while a fear of Sinning will not suffer men to swallow and digest them, and what wrongs such divisions about Religion will be to the Kingdome; and to his Majesty, we shall not mention, because our Governours themselves may better understand it.

[B] Our *Reformers fore-sight* is in this place, *an Almanack for the last year.* The *Poyson* of their *Sermons, Prayers,* and *Conferences* has been already reported to *the Ears of Rulers,* by *hearers,* not *malicious* neither; but *griev'd,* to see the *Pulpits* fill'd with *Faction, Ignorance,* and *Scandal*; and to hear only *Hortatives* to *Tumult*; *Defiances,* and *Alarums,* instead of *Evangelical* and *healing Comforts.*

But *these* (effects they tell us) *will be unavoidable, while such Impositions are continued.*]

Nay rather, while such *Freedom* is *allow'd.* Do these men *Preach,* and yet complain of a *Restraint?* They cannot *swallow and digest, &c.*] Yes, *Sequestred Livings* they can, not *Ceremonies.* In truth the *One* is a little hard to go *down,* and the *Other* is as hard to come *up. If these Divisions threaten wrong to the Kingdom, and his Majesty,* (as they say they do) a timely order would be taken with the *Dividers.*

pag. 16. [C] *What universal ease, and peace, and joy would be the fruits of that happy unity and concord which the reasonable forbearances which we humbly Petition for, would certainly produce, how comfortable would our Ministerial labours be, when we had no such temptations, burdens or disquietments.*

[C] To sweeten the last *Menace,* where they tell us the hazzard of *not complying* with the *Faction*; We are now blest with a view of their *Land of Promise. What universal peace and ease, &c. the giving them all they ask would certainly procure.* [Indeed I suppose the Nation might be at *Unity* That way; for betwixt *Hanging* and *Transplanting* all men of *Differing opinions,* there must needs ensue a pleasant state of *Concord.*

The Reformers Unity.

Less *rigour* cannot reasonably be expected by any man, that either considers the *Faction,* since it first got footing in the world;

world; of the late *practises* of *these* very *people*. Concerning their *extraction* and *proceedings*, I have given some accompt in my *Holy Cheat*: Of their late *practises* enough is said too; only a word touching the *Quallity* and *Temper* of our *Reformers*. Which word [*Reformers*] must not be understood singly of those that *published* this spurious *Liturgy*, and bold *Petition*: but likewise of their *aiding* and *consociate Brethren*.

The foulness of the late *War* is *notorious*: and the *King's Mercy* toward the *Conspirators* surpasses all *example*: in which number, I reckon the *revolting* and *intruding Church-men*, as *Criminals* of the *first Magnitude*. Of these, *some keep their Benefices*, *others* are *laid aside*, in right perhaps of the *due Incumbent*, or for want of *Orders*. Those that *continue*, *help* the *rest*, set up their *Lectures*, call in the *ejected* and the *deep-mouth'd* Brethren to their *assistance*: and *now* they're *in*, *full-cry* against *Church-Government*, *and Persecution*.

In fine; *out of the whole Crew of these Reformers*, *let any man produce one single person that ever was a friend to the late King*. I'le shew him *divers* of his bitter *enemies*; nay, some of those (yet *publick Preachers*) in the *City*, that press'd the *Murther* of our late blessed *Soveraign*, rankly and openly in the very *Pulpit*.

Now let the world judge, what these people mean by *Reformation*.

But we are told, that *forbearances will quiet them*. They are no *Presbyterians* then: for ever since they have had a *being*, *kindness* has made them *worse*: and the very Moment of his *Majesty's Return*, was watch'd by their *impatient* and *seditious Libels*.

[D] *It must be the Primitive Simplicity of Faith, Worship, and Discipline, that must restore the Primitive Charity, Unity, and Peace, and make the multitude of Believers to be of one heart, and of one Soul, and to converse with gladness and Singleness of heart, as having all things common*, Act. 4. 32. and 2. 46. *No such things as our controverted Impositions; were then made necessary to the unity and concord of the Members of the Church.* pag. 18.

[D] What an *Amphibion* is a designing *Presbyterian*! a *Levelling Prelate*: We have here a Complement to *New England* from the *Kirk* of *Scotland*: *All things in common, according to the Primitive Discipline.*

That *the Primitive simplicity of Faith and Worship*, (as *Worship* may be taken) *is necessary to Christian Unity*; I think no man *questions*, that writes *Christian*; but to bring *Discipline* up to an *Essential*, is (under favour) a *Religious Solœcism:* or rather, an *Audacious Imputation upon all Churches, that ever yet embrac'd Christianity.* 'Tis in effect, *a Feather pluck'd from the Soveraignty*, a *conscientious encroachment* upon the *Supreme Power*: for by this Knack, all *civil Causes* are hook'd in within *Cognizance* of the *Consistory*, and found within the *Purlues* of their *Discipline.*

As their *Ambition* is remarkable in *all* Cases, so is their *Purpose* most observable in *this* before us. What signifies *the necessity of Their Discipline to Our Peace*? but that *Bishops* must *down*, and *Presbytery up*; or we shall have no *Quiet* with them.

For a *Come-off*; All things must be done *with singleness of heart* (they tell us) *as having all things in common*, Act. 2. 46. 4. 32. (This is a morsel for the *Independents*) *No such Things as our controverted Inquisitions were then made necessary, &c.*]

A subtle Inference. Never had men worse luck with *Texts.* Mark but these two *Quotations* now, and then admire the *subtle Inference* from them. *No Impositions, Then*; *and consequently, none must be Now.* Would our *Reformers* have had the *Church order'd*, before it was *gather'd*? Rules for *Church-government establish'd*, before *Christianity it self* was *acknowledg'd.*

The *Apostles* had but newly receiv'd the *holy Ghost*; and to convince the *Jews* of the Divinity of that *JESUS* whom they had crucified, was their first Business and Commission: *Faith* and *Repentance* was their *Theme:* the *Question, Men and Brethren*, What *shall we do*? (not *how*) *Then* Peter *said unto them*, Repent, *and be* Baptized: Act. 2. 37. 38.] *Then* (says the Text) *they that gladly received his word were Baptized, and they continued stedfastly in the Apostles Doctrine, and Fellowship, and in breaking of bread, and in Prayers*, vers. 42.]

If the *Apostles* had been *Presbyterians*, they would perhaps have begun with their *holy Discipline*, and laid the *Sacraments* aside to be considered of at *leisure.* Had it not been a most preposterous course, to have directed the *manner* of our *Worship*, before they had laid the *foundation* of our *Faith*?

'Tis said again, *chap. 4. vers.* 32. that *the multitude of them that believed, were of one heart, and of one soul.*] And here's no mention of *Impositions* neither; whence they infer the *non-necessity* of *Impositions*, as to *Concord.* When these Gentlemen shall have prov'd

prov'd *Impositions unnecessary*, they have a long way yet to go, ere they shall be able to prove them *unlawfull*. But, till they have done the *former*, we shall persist in our opinion of their *necessity*; at least *convenientiall*, not to *Salvation*, but to *Unity*.

It must be noted, that *this unanimity in the believing multitude, was a miraculous grace. They were all filled with the holy Ghost*: (says the verse next antecedent) and the connexion fairly implies this wonderful *Agreement*, to be the immediate working of that blessed *Inspiration*. [We find a while after, *when the number of the Discilpes was multiplyed there arose a murmuring of the* Grecians *against the* Hebrews, *because their widows were neglected in the dayly ministration*, Chap. 6. vers. 1.] (The bond of Universal *Unity* begins to slacken already.) This *Difference* gave occasion to the institution of *Deacons*, *Church-Officers* being already appointed; *Apostles* and *Presbyters* by out *Saviour* himself, and *Deacons* by the *Apostles*: we come now to *Church-Orders*: or, (in the holy Language) *Impositions*. Concerning which, one General serves for All: *Let every thing be done* decently, *and in order*. But the *determination* of that *Decency* is left to the *Church*.

THe common Adversaries of our Religion, and of the King and Kingdom, will rejoyce to see us weakened by our Divisions, and employed in afflicting or censuring one another, and to see so many able Ministers laid aside, that might do much displeasure to Satan, by the weakning of his Kingdom, and by promoting the Gospel and Kingdom of the Lord. p. 18. Reas. 18 Our Adversaries rejoyce.

NOTE XXV.

SInce our Reformers have not over-much *Modesty*, I wish they had a little more *Argument*; that a man might either with *Charity* believe them *in* a mistake, or with *Honour* shew them the way *out* of it.

Who are the *common Adversaries* now? The *King* and his *Party* were wont to be the *common Enemies*. But here they talk of *Adversaries* to our *Religion*, the *King* and *Kingdom*. They may intend the *King* still, for ought I know. They charg'd his Royal *Father* with *Popery*, and yet They themselves brought him to the *Scaffold*, because he would not set it up under the disguise The common Enemy.

guise of *Presbytery*. They declar'd him likewise *an enemy to King and Kingdom*, by making his *Person* an *enemy* to his *Authority*, as they distinguished them. Briefly, whoever they are that *hate* us, they may well *rejoyce* to see us thus *Divided*, *but wo be to them from whom these* Divisions *come*. 'Tis not for *Subjects* to expostulate with *Rulers*: to start from the *Laws*, and bid *Authority* follow them.

Great Exemplar. p. 447.

Bishop *Taylor* says very well concerning *Scandal*, [Before *the Law be made*, *the Superior must comply with the Subject*: After *it is made*, *the Subject must comply with the Law*.] The *latter* is our *case*, and the *Imposition* lies on the *other* side; upon the *Law*, not upon the *People*.

But the great pity is, *so many able Ministers are laid aside*.] Truly, as to the *ability* of *good lungs*, *loud*, and *long talking*, we'l not contend with them. But that they are such *Champions* for the *Lord's Kingdom*, against *Satan*'s, is more then, without better *proof*, we are bound to *credit*. However, they had better have a tug with *Satan here*, than *hereafter*; but they must go another way to work then; for, *to destroy the Kingdoms of this* world *without commission*, *is* (without controversie) *to advance the Kingdom of* Darkness, *and to do the Devil a special piece of service*.

p. 18. Reas. 19. Unmerciful Impositions.

IF what you study for, be indeed of God, this course of unmerciful imposition, is the greatest wrong to it, that you can easily be drawn to, unawares; while so many truly fearing God, are cast out, or trodden down, and tempted to think ill of that which themselves and the Church thus suffer by, and when so many of the worst befriend this way, because it gratifieth them, it tendeth to make your cause judged of, according to the quality of its friends and adversaries. And how great a hand this very thing hath had already in the dislike of that is befallen Dioceſans, Ceremonies *and the Liturgy, is a thing too generally known to need proof.*

NOTE XXVI.

METhinks the Gentlemen grow a little *pervicacious* (as our Authour has it) [*unmerciful Impositions*.] What? no more *Covenants* I hope. But 'tis at [*unawares*] they say; and that helps the matter. It seems, *the Bishops do they know not what*: Is not this a Jolly Garb for a *Petition*?

But

But see; the *Godly men* are not only *Oppressed*, but *Tempted to think ill of what they suffer by.* They are clearly for *Ruling* with the *Ungodly, and Flourishing like a Green Bay-Tree*;] but they do not love to think of being *cast down with them from Slippery places, and destroyed*; *of Consuming, Perishing, and Coming to a Fearfull* End.] of suffering their most certain Fate; [*to be rooted out at last.*] Psal. 37. 36. Psal. 73. 17. Psal. 37. 39.

As nothing can be clearer, then that their *Crys* are *Causeless*; so is it not less *Evident*, that were they *Truths*, their *Practises* are yet *Unchristian:* and that they are not the men [*truly fearing God*] they would be thought to be. *Beware of False Prophets* (says our Saviour) *that come to you in* Sheeps Clothing, *but* Inwardly *they are* Ravening Wolves. *Ye shall know them by their Fruits.*] *Here's* our *Authority, to judge the* Hearts *of men by their* Notorious Actions. Mat. 7. 15, 16. How to judge of mens Hearts.

Will they be tempted to think Ill, *of what they suffer by?* So may the *Traytour*, of the *Law* that makes *Rebellion Capital*: The *Plunderer*, of the *Command* that says, *Thou shalt not steal:* and in like manner, *all Offenders* may Quarrel with that *Constitution* which *Orders*, and *Directs* their *Punishment.* Yet we all know the Fault lyes in the *Malefactour*, not in the *Appointment.* At this rate, they may *Cavil* at *Divine Justice*, and disclaim *Christianity* it self, if they come once to *suffer* by it.

Good manners they have shak'd hands with already; for they tell us, *that so many of the worst, befriend this* [Ceremonial] *way*; *That it tends to make the Cause judg'd of, according to the Quality of its* Friends, and Adversaries.] It were a good Deed to tell this *Faction*, as they told the *Late King*; *That the Suggestion is as false as the Father of Lies can Invent*: Sure these *Ill-Tutour'd Pedants* know that his *Sacred Majesty is a Friend to this way:* The *Law*, *Antiquity*, and *Reason.* But since they offer *to try the merits of the Cause* by the *Quality* of its *Friends*, and *Enemies*: We shall accept the *Challenge*; and let them thank Themselves, if they come *off* with the *worst* on't: and first we'l take a brief view of the *Opposers.* A Lewd Comparison. Exact Collect. P. 494. Note.

A *Rabble* of *People*, next dore to *Brutes*, for *Knowledge*, and *Morality*, *began the Action.* These were Instructed and prepar'd by a *Cabal* of *Factious Lords* and *Commoners*; (and by Their *Instruments*) to be afraid of *Popery*, and *Invasions*; *Bawle* against *Bishops*, and *Evil Counsellours*: and finally, these *Virtuous Sages* The Bishops adversaries.

were

were made the *Judges*, and *Reformers* of *Laws*, *and Manners*.

In Time these *Ostlers*, *Tinkers*, *Ragg-men*, *Coblers*, *Draymen*, *Thimble-makers*, &c. Grew up to be our *Governors*. So much for the *Rise*, *Fortune*, and *Extraction* of the first visible *undertakers*. Now for their *Honesty*.

They *Plunder'd*, *Murther'd*, *Rebell'd*, *Forswore Themselves*.

Mean while, the *Mock-Priests*, in their *Pulpits* proclaim'd this *Medly*, for the *Godly Party*; *Wedded their Cause*; *took in all sorts of Heretiques into the Combination*. *Defam'd the King*: *Enflam'd the People against the Government*; *Cast out the Bishops*; *Swore fast and Loose*; *and Preach'd three Kingdomes into Blood and Ruine*.

The Holy Thousands.

These were the *Tender Consciences*: The *Holy Thousands*; and the *men truly fearing God, that were cast out, and trodden down*, &c. This is no *General Charge*, for I allow, that many *well-meaning* but *mis-guided* Persons sided with the *Party*. I speak of Those *Members* that *stuck* to the *Work*; and of those *Ministers* that stuck to *Them*: to shew the World what sort of Persons our *Challenging Divines* are now Pleading for, under the Notion of People grieved because of *Universal Impositions*.

Methinks Those that were *In*, *Before*, and have their *Pardons*, should be very tender, how they engage the Nation in *New Broyls*: Especially against That Prince, whose Single, and Pure *Grace* it is, that puts a Difference betwixt the *Heads They wear*, and Those upon the *City-Gates*; Whosoever is offended at This plain Freedome, let him blame *Those* that have so *spitefully*, and so *unseasonably* put this *comparison* of *Parties* to the *Question*.

The Friends of Episcopacy.

We have in Grosse, laid open the *Opposers* of our *Church-Government*, *Rites*, and *Ceremonies*. Their *Friends* are briefly *These*: *The Warrant of Holy Writ*: *The universal Practice of Ordering* the *Externals of Worship*: The *Establishment of the Particulars*, *by the Consent of the People*: *The Regular Injunctions of a Lawful Authority*: and in fine, *Every Person that loves the Religion*, *Law*, *Honour*, *Peace*, *and Freedome of the English Nation*.

Once more for all; what is the *Kings Person* to the *Church-Ceremonies*? Yet *the same Covenant*, and *the same Persons*, *destroy'd Both*. Which shews, (as I have often said) that the *Design* is *Power*, not *Conscience*; and that the *Friends* and *Enemies* to the *Church*; are the same Thing *respectively* to his *Majesty*.

Touching

Touching *the Dislike, which* (they say) *is befallen Diocesans*, &c. They tell us here a Truth, which they Themselves have well-nigh totally procur'd: for to *infame the* Hierarchy, *and blast the Constitutions of the* Church, has been (ever since the Kings Return) the better half of their Business in the *Pulpit*. (Not forgetting his *Majesty* neither.)

[A] A *Weak Brother that maketh an unnecessary difference of meats and days; is not to be cast out, but so to be received and not to be troubled with such doubtful disputation.* P. 18. Rom. 14. A weak Brother.

NOTE XXVII.

[A] WOuld our Divines perswade us that the Case of *Meats*, and *Days*, whereof the *Apostle* speaks, is the same nature with That of *Ceremonies*, which we are now debating; or that a *weak Brother* is not to be distinguish'd from a *Peevish*? see how perverse and vast a difference lyes betwixt them: but *right* or *wrong*, if it be *Colour'd* for the *Multitude*, no matter for the *Reason*.

Under the *Law*, God himself put a *Difference* betwixt *Meats*, and betwixt *Days*: which *Difference* ceas'd, upon the coming of our Blessed Saviour. *Some* thought it *still* a point of Conscience to observe the *Law*; and *These* the Apostles calls *weak Brethren*: *Others* again, that knew the *Law* was *abrogate*, *quitted* those Scruples. and of *These* it is that St. *Paul* says; *we which* are strong, *ought to bear the Infirmities of the* weak. A weak Brother to be distinguisht from a Peevish Rom. 15. 1.

Now Mark; That which was *formerly impos'd*, is *now* become a thing *Indifferent*. That is; *Indifferent* to the *strong* and *knowing*, not so to Those that were not yet convinced of the *determination* of the former *Tie* and *Duty*: and This is the true ground of the Apostles Tenderness here concerning *Scandal*. *Destroy not him with thy* Meat, *for whom Christ Dyed*.] See how *their* Case matches *ours*. Rom. 14. 15.

They durst not *Eat*, because they *knew* that *once* they were *Bid*: and they did *not* know likewise that they were *now dispensed*.

Let our *Reformers* shew as much for *Ceremonies*: Either that

Humane Impositions were ever *forbidden*, or that *Those* practic'd in our Church, are in themselves *unlawful*.

And yet These men are not so totally *Indifferent*, as they appear to be, concerning *Meats* and *Days*. Was ever any thing more sourly *Superstitious*, then their *Monthly-Fast*? *Those Days*, wherin the *Church* enjoyns *Abstinence*, they choose to *Feast* upon: and Sunday is the only Day for *Humiliation*.

pag. 19. [B] *Impositions are not indifferent, in the judgement of dissenters, though they be so in yours.*

[*B*] Laws are compos'd for the *Publick welfare*, not for the *Humours* of *Particular Persons*: and in brief, they that do not like the *Law* where they *Live*; should do well to search the *World*, for a *Law* they *like*. *Si non ubi* sedeas *locus est*, *est ubi* ambules.

Plautus.

[C] *We beseech you therefore plead not Law against us, when our request is that you will joyn with us in Petitioning, to his Majesty and the Parliament, that there may be no such Law.*

[C] We come now to a fine Request; That is, they *desire* the *Bishops* to *Petition* the *King* to establish *Presbytery*; (for That is directly the *Effect* of it) to destroy the *Act* of *Conformity*. Do not people understand, that when *Laws* are form'd to a Complyance with *Phansie* and *Humour*, there is no other Law but *Humour*?

They tell us hitherto what they would *not* have, see now what 'tis they *would* have.

[D] *The cause of the Non-conformists hath been long ago stated at the Troubles at* Franckford, *and having continued still the same, you have no reason to suspect them of any considerable Change.*

[D] *The cause of the* Non-conformists (they say) *is long since stated at* Frankford.]

Is that it then they would be at? Yes, *that*, or *thereabouts*. [*We have no reason to suspect them of any considerable change*,] they tell us. Truly, nor much to thank them for sticking *there*. But the late War is the best Measure of their Aims; and yet they did no more there, then they attempt every where: for I defie the world to shew me one story, whereever *That Faction* was *quiet* unless they *govern'd*. But they have *confess'd* enough; we are to look at *Frankford* for their *model*; and by the spirit of the *Reformers There*, to judge of *These Here*.

In the days of *Edw.*6th, this Island first began to be leaven'd with *Presbytery*; through the particular *craft* and *instigation* of *Calvin*, whose late *success* and absolute *dominion* at *Geneva*, gave no small *pretence* and *encouragement* to an allowance of his *Discipline*. While *Discontents* were gathering, *That* Prince *dies*, leaving the Government to *Queen Mary*, in whose Reign, diverse of the *Reformed perswasion* fled into *Germany*.

No sooner were they met at *Frankford*, but *Calvin's model* was there ready to bid them *welcom*.

Some liked it but too well; and to make easier way for't, made it their first work to disgrace the *English Forms*; just as our *Consistorian Puritans* do at this day. *Knox*, *Whittingham*, and some others of the *Geneva-humour*, made a Cull of the particulars they faulted, and sent them to *Calvin* for his *opinion*: whose *Answer* was, that there were many *tolerable Fopperies in the English Liturgy*. This Letter was made *publick*, and a great *furtherance* to the ensuing *Breach*; which ended yet in the establishment of the *English way* at *Frankford*, the *Calvinizers* flying off to *Geneva*. So that *Their Reformers* and *Ours* agree; *Both*, Enemies to the *English Ceremonies*, and *Common-Prayer*. The *cause* the *same* too; *both* are friends to the *Geneva Platform*. Nay, they agree in *Practise* likewise. The Case of the Nonconformists at *Frankfort*.

That Faction cast off their PRINCE *and* BISHOP *there*; *ours did as much for* KING *and* BISHOPS *here*.

If *those Nonconformists*, and These are of a judgement; (as our Divines unwarily imply) we shall best read what *these* men *think* and *mean*, from what *those said* and *did*, and rather proceed upon their own *confession*, than summon the three *Kingdoms* to bear witness of their *Actions*.

We shall begin with *Knox*, (one of the intermedlers) whose *Letters* and *Discourses* are sufficient to his *condemnation*, without that *History of the Church of Scotland*; of which (though generally ascrib'd to him) *Spotswood* acquits him. History of the Church of *Scotl.* p. 267.

In 1559. *Willock* and *Knox* were advised with, concerning *the discharging the Queen of her Regency*. *Willock* gave his *opinion*, *That they might justly deprive her from all Regiment and Authority over them.*] *Knox* follow'd, and added, *That she ought now to be deprived.* *Spotswoods* Hist. *Scotl.* pag. 136. Ibid 137.

Those of most note among the *Frankford-sticklers*, were *Goodman*, *Whittingham*, and *Gilby*. See them at large in *Bancroft's dan-*

dangerous Positions: from whence we'l borrow some Collections out of them.

Dangerous Posit. pa. 35. If the *Magistrates* (says *Goodman*) *shall refuse to put* Massmongers *and* false Preachers *to death, the people, in seeing it performed, do shew that zeal of God which was commended in* Phineas, *destroying the Adulterers; and in the* Israelites *against the* Benjamites.

Now see the men that these *Reformers* call *Mass-mongers* and *false Preachers.*

Ibid. pag. 64. *The most part of our Ministers* (says *Gilby*) *are either Popish Priests, or Monks, or Fryers Professors of Antichrist's Inventions: Popish Chapmen, &c.*]

Ibid. pag. 9. *If Kings and Princes refuse to Reform Religion,* (says *Whittingham*) *the Inferior Magistrates, or People, by direction of the Ministery, may lawfully, and ought, if need require, even by Force and Arms, to reform it themselves.*

Ibid. pag. 36. *To the Multitude* (says *Goodman*) *a portion of the sword of Justice is commited: from the which no person, King, Queen or Emperor,* (being an Idolater) *is exempt, he must die the death.*

These are the opinions of those Persons whom our *Reformers* make their *Pattern.* How they *proceeded*, the story of *Queen Elizabeth* sets forth abundantly; and our *memories* may enform us, how close our *Covenanters* have follow'd them.

[E] *We have now faithfully, and not unnecessarily, or unreasonably, spread before you, the Case of thousands of the upright of the Land: We have proposed honest and safe remedies for our present Distraction, and the preventing of the feared encrease.*

[E] With what *Faith, Reason,* or *Necessity* soever *the case was spread before the Bishops*: we're sure 'twas fouly done to spread the case before the *People.* But where's the Faith, of taking an *Ell* for an *Inch*: of *abolishing* what they pretend to *alter*: of *perverting Scripture,* and of putting an *Arbitrary Nothing* upon the People, instead of a *Set-form*?

Where lies the *Reason* of representing the *Opinions* of the *Simple,* as *Arguments* to the *Wise*: of opposing *Number* to *Equity*: *Tumults* to *Authority*: and of *pressing* his *Majesty,* to put himself into the power of those very people that *dethron'd* his Father?

Lastly, where lies the *necessity* of insisting upon so many *variations,* as are already prov'd to be utterly *unnecessary*?

Now see the *Remedies* they offer us, which come to this; They propose

propose to cure *good Order* by *Confusion*. *Honest* and *safe* they say they are; and *honest* and *safe* we may believe them; but we must first believe, that *there's* no *Knavery* in *Nature*: for set mens *consciences* at *liberty* once, to *think* what they please, their *hands* will not be long restrained from executing those *thinkings*. Never was a *general Freedom* demanded, but for a *particular design*: nor was it ever *granted*, but the next proposition was *Equality*.

But they propose it here, it seems, *as to prevent the fear'd enemies of our distractions.*]

Behold a *drop fallen from the lips of Prudence it self*. Are we in *danger already*, and shall we be in *less*, when those we fear are in *more power?* Either the *Reason's naught*, or the *Design*; let them say whether:

APPENDIX.

SO far as open and *clear Dealing* to their *Arguments*, or *Justice* to their *meaning* may acquit me, I think I *owe* them *nothing*; and yet methinks I'm in their *Debt*, unless I match their *Twenty Reasons* in *favour* of their *Propositions*; with as *many against them*. And which is more; since 'tis the *Multitude* they Court, I am content *their friends* shall be *my Judges*. When I have done, 'tis at the *Reformers* Choyce; either by a *Reply* to shew the *little* they have to say; or by a more *ingenuous Silence*, modestly to *confesse* that they can say *Nothing*.

Twenty *REASONS* against their PROPOSITIONS.

First, The Design is Dangerous, *as* Presbyterian. *For I do not find whereever yet that Government was Setled, but by* Conspiracy, *and to the* Ruine *of the* Supreme Magistrate. *(With Reverence to the* Reformed Churches; *whose* opinions *in matters of* Faith may *be* Sound, *and yet the Extraction of their* Discipline, vitious.)

2. *The* Proposers *of This* Peace *(as they call it) were the* Promoters *of the Late* War: *and by those very means did they destroy the* Last King, *which they here offer as Beneficial to* This.

3. *The very* Matter *of their* Proposals, *imports a* Denyal *and* Usurpation *of the* Kings Authority. *His* Majesty *may* not *pre-*

scribe

ſcribe a Set-form *of* Worſhip : *They* Themſelves *may : for* [WEDDED, JOYN'D] *&c. Stamp'd with the* Kings Authority *ſignifie nothing* : *But change them into* MARRIED, CONJOYN'D, *&c.*] *And the* Reformers Seal *to them, They paſs for* Current.

4. *Their Propoſitions are an utter diſclaim of the* Epiſcopal Order : *for they* oppoſe *under pretenſe of* Conſcience, *all* Powers *or* Faculties *derivative from* Biſhops : *as* Canonical Obedience, Ordination, Subſcription, *&c.*

5. *They Preſs the King to act againſt his Declar'd* Conſcience : *and to condemn the* Bleſſed Memory *of his Father* ; *who* Dy'd *becauſe he could not* Grant, *what they* demand *now from his* Royall Succeſſour.

6. *The* Ground *of their* Pretenſe, *is* Scandal *and* Unfitneſs *for the* Miniſtry *in the* One Party ; *Great Holyneſs*, Ability, *and* Conſcience *in the* Other, *which to* allow, *were to make* Martyrdome, *and* Loyalty Scandalous ; *and to give* Treaſon, Faction, *and* Hypocriſie, *the* Credit *and* Reward *of* Holyneſſe. *(for That's the Difference betwixt thoſe that* Ruin'd *the* Late King, *and Thoſe that* Periſh'd *for him, which Two are now the Queſtion.*)

7. *The very* Stile, *and* Manner *of the* Addreſs, *is* Menacing, Libellous; *and* Mutinous : Menacing, *in the* Title ; [A Petition for *PEACE.*] *That is,* no Peace *without a* Grant. Libellous, *in the* way, *and* purpoſe *of it. A* Nameleſs, Cloſe, *and* Defamatory Invective *againſt* Biſhops. Mutinous *in the* Scope, *and* Conſequence ; *'tis an Appeal from the* Supreme Power *to the* People.

8. *The* Liberty *they* ask, *Extends to any thing they ſhall call* Conſcience : *and Then what* Crimes, *and* Villanies *ſhall not paſs for* Virtues, *when every* Malefactour *is his own* Judge ?

9. *To give theſe People what they* ask *is to allow the* Reaſon *of their* asking : *and at once to* reward one Injury, *and* juſtifie another.

10. *They plead the* Peoples Cauſe *without* Commiſſion ; *and what the* Church *ſtyles* Schiſme, They *term* Religion ; *That,* Chriſtian Liberty, *which the* Law *calls* Treaſon.

11. *'Tis dangerous truſting of Common* Vow-breakers, *and moſt unequal to* challenge abſolute Liberty, *and* allow none.

12. *The grant of* one unreaſonable Requeſt, *begets* another, *till at the laſt, it becomes* unſafe *to* deny, *by having parted with too* much.

13. *The late War began with a pretence of* Reformation : *and with*

with Reformation *are we now beginning again. It may very well be, that the* same persons *may intend the* same things, *by the* same terms, *and that they still propose to act by the* same Conscience: *which if they* do, *in common* equity *and* prudence, *they are not to be* admitted. *If* otherwise, *till their* Confession *is as* publick *as their* Fault, *they are not to be* believed. *(I speak of* Church-men *more especially.)*

14. *If really the* common people *be disaffected to the* Orders *of the* Church; *surely these* Ministers *that preach'd them into these* distempers, *deserve rather to be* punish'd, *than* gratify'd *for so doing. And that's the case. They themselves first stir up a* factious *humour in the* Multitude, *and then they call that* Conscience, *which is nothing else but a* misguided Ignorance *of their own procuring.*

15. *While they pretend to* reform bad Laws, *they* destroy good *ones; nay; they oppose the very* Scope *and* benefit *of* Law *it* self, common utility *and* concord: *making their* fickle *and* unquiet fancies, *the* Rule *of that* Authority, *which better Reason meant expressly for a* curb *of our* licentious wandrings.

16. *Our Reformers place* the last Appeal *in the* People; *an excellent contrivance, to make* That Party Judge *of* every *thing, which effectually* understands nothing.

17. *Whereas they plead* Religion *in the case, such a* Religion *'tis, as the whole* Christian World *cann't shew* the *fellow on't: rather to* justifie *those* outrages, *which even* Humanity *it self* abhors; *than to admit those universal* Rights *of* Government, *which* all men *in* society acknowledge, *and* submit *to, but* themselves.

18. *A furious* Bustle *they make with the silly people, for fear of* Popery. *Let this be observ'd,* The Church of *Rome* hath gain'd more Englisn Proselytes (ten *for* one) during our Presbyterian Tyranny, than in proportion of time it ever did under our Bishops. *And* still *we* lose; (*I would I could not say*) *with* Reason *too*: *for what's* Presbytery, *but a more* shameful *and* Intolerable Popery? *But all perswasions have their more* moderate, *and their* violent *Parties.) We talk of* Jesuits; What is Their Jesuite, *but a* Presbyterian Papist? *or* what is our Presbyterian *but a* Reform'd Jesuite?

19. *Their* Propositions *are an* affront *to the* King, *and a* snare *to the* People. *They* ask *leave to* alter *the* Common-prayer, *and they* take *leave to* destroy *it. They offer a* new form, *and they desire it may be left to the* Ministers discretion *which to use; which thing granted, the Minister is left still at* liberty *to use* neither. *Thus do*

do they play Fast *and* Loose *with his* Majesty; *ensnaring likewise the* People *with a lamentable pretence, that they cannot* obtain, *what in effect no mortal can* understand.

20. *Let them now* get *what they* ask, *and they shall soon* take *what they* please: *for they only desire, that they may* do *what they* list, *and then* judge *of their own* doings. *We all know what they* have *done, and call'd it* Conscience *too; so that their present talk of* Conscience, *gives no* certainty *of what they* intend *to do. Wherefore 'tis* safer *to* refuse *then* trust *them.*

Let me be taken still to speak with reverence to *Authority*: and truly I shall further yet subject my *Reason* to my *Charity*; if any man will but do me the kindnesse to shew me only one *publick President*, whereever a *Presbyterian Faction*, in a contest *for* Power, and under *no necessity*, *kept faith with any party.*

What were all *Articles* and *Ties of Honour*, more then *Bulrushes*, when they could *gain* by *breaking* them?

I have now only two or three Questions to ask, and I have done: The First an Old one, but not yet resolved.

1. *Can there be any* Salvation *without* Repentance: *Or without* Confession, *and* Restitution, *can there be any* true Repentance?

2. *Why may not the* Presbyterians *as well* Swear *to* Maintain *and to* Obey Bishops, *as they* Covenanted *to* destroy *them*? *And, why may they not as well be forc'd upon a penalty, to take a* Lawfull Oath, *as they forc'd Others, upon the uttermost extremities, to take* Unlawfull ones?

3. *Why may not* Bishops *as well* Silence Presbyterians, *as* Presbyterians Extirpate Bishops?

But to conclude. The Sons of the *Church* are *abus'd*; and the *Presbyterians complain.*

The End.

Toleration
DISCUSS'D;
IN TWO
DIALOGUES;

Betwixt a **Conformist**, and a **Non-Conformist**; Laying open the *Impiety*, and *Danger* of a **General Liberty.**

Betwixt a **Presbyterian**, and an **Independent**; Concluding, upon an *Impartial Examination* of their Respective *Practises*, and *Opinions*, in Favour of the **Independents.**

Væ vobis, Hypocritæ!

By *Roger* L'*Estrange*, Esq.

The Third Edition.

LONDON,
inted for *H. Brome* at the Signe of the *Gun* in
S. *Pauls* Church-yard. 1681.

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Toleration

Toleration Discuss'd,

By way of Dialogue betwixt a

CONFORMIST

AND A

NON-CONFORMIST.

Conformist. *Liberty of Conscience*, or, *No liberty of Conscience*, is the Question. What is *Conscience*?

Non-Conformist. *Conscience is* Judicium Hominis de Semetipso, prout subjicitur Judicio Dei. *The Judgment that a Man makes of Himself and his Actions, with reference to the future Judgment of God. Or otherwise, It is An Ability in the Understanding of Man, by a Reflect Act to Judge of Himself in all he does, as to his Acceptance, or Rejection with God.* Rutherford *makes it to be A Power of the Practical Understanding, according to which the Man is obliged and directed to give Judgment of Himself; that is, Of His State and Condition, and of all his Actions, Inclinations, Thoughts, and Words.* Amesius de Consci. Indulg. & Toler. p. 13 Liberty of Conscience upon its true and proper Grounds, p. 3. Free Disputation, p. 3.

C. If this be *Conscience*, Then *Liberty of Conscience* is *A Liberty of Man's Judgment of Himself, and his Actions, with reference to the future Judgment of God.*

N. C. *Right*: *But then he is bound likewise to* Practice *according to that* Judgment, *and* To Worship God according to the Light and Understanding which he hath, of What is that Worship which is Acceptable with him, in *Matter* and *Manner*, and not otherwise. Indulg. & Toler. p. 13.

C. So that your *Liberty of Conscience* is now come to *Liberty of Practice*. Indeed I could wish that the Advocates for *Liberty* would be a little more Candid in this business. They take wonderful Pains

(many of Them) to prove, that *Conscience cannot be forc'd, It is out of the Reach of Humane Power; God never appointed any Judge of it; Shall any Man pretend to make me believe, That which I cannot believe?* (And the like) Pressing the Argument, as if That were the very Pinch of the Case, which is just Nothing at all to the Point in Controversie. It is obvious to Common Reason, that This Suggestion cannot but create very dangerous and unquiet Thoughts in the People: For if they be denied *Liberty of Conscience* (in the plain and honest *English* of it) They suffer under the most Barbarous, and Ridiculous Persecution, that ever yet appear'd upon the face of the Earth. But on the other side, If their claim be stretch't to *Liberty of Practice*, It seems not only unreasonable, but utterly Inconsistent, both with *Christianity* it self, and *the Publique Peace*.

SECTION I.

UNIVERSAL TOLERATION too Wide, and Unlawfull.

C. *Liberty of Conscience* (as you have stated it) is *An Universal Toleration* for People to *say* and *do* what they please, under the Warrant and Pretext of *Conscience*.

N. C. *That is to say, In Matters properly the Subject of Conscience*, with Reference to the future Judgment of God.

C. By This Rule, *Pagans* are to be tolerated as well as *Christians*: For *They* have *Consciences* as well as *We*: They are convinc'd, that there is a God; and that That God ought to be Worship't; and may plead for the same Freedome, in the way and manner of their Proceeding.

N. C. *But* Paganism *is not within the Pale of the Question.*

C. Why then, no more is *Conscience*. If you say, They are in the *Wrong*, and so debar them the Exercise of their Opinion, because of the *Error* of it, your Exception lies to the *Error*, not to the *Conscience*; and may be turn'd upon your selves: For they say as much of You; and have as much right to condemn You, as You Them: Neither have you any more Right to be Judges in your own Case, then they in theirs.

N. C.

N. C. *Well, but we have a* Law *to Judge our selves by.*

C. And so have They too: For *They without a Law, do by Nature the things contained in the Law, and are a Law unto Themselves.* Rom 2.14.

N. C. *But how can that Law have any Regard* to the future Judgment of God, *when they deny the Immortality of the Soul?*

C. There is *a future Judgment of God* in This Life, as well as in the next: And the Conscience that hath no Light at all of another World, is not yet without Apprehensions of Divine Vengeance in this. *Raro Antecedentem Scelestum deseruit pede pœna claudo.* You'l be much to seek now, if you restrain your Argument to *Christianity*; for you must either prove That there are no *Erroneous Consciences* among *Christians*; or That *Error* of Conscience is no *Sin*; or else, That *Sin* may be *Tolerated.*

N. C. *There is no doubt but there are* Erroneous Consciences; *and it is as clear that* Sin *is not to be* Tolerated: *But I do not take every* Error *of Conscience to be a* Sin *(understand me of* Consciences *labouring under an* Invincible Ignorance.*)*

C. It is very true, That as to the *Formality of Sin*, which is *the Iniquity of the Will*, An *Error* of *Conscience* under an *Invincible Ignorance* is no *Sin*; But *Sin Materially* considered is *the Transgression of the Divine Law*; and *Conscience* it self becomes *Sinful*, when it dictates against *That Law.*

N. C. *Can there be any* Sin *without* Assent; *or any* Assent *without* Knowledge; *or any* Knowledge *in a Case of* Invincible Ignorance? A Transgression *of the Law implies the* Knowledge *of it, or at least the* Possibility *of* Knowing *it*; without *which*, it has not the Nature of a Law, as to me. [*The Conditions requisite to a* Rule *are These: It must be* Certain; *and it must be* Known. *If it be not* Certain, *it is no* Rule; *If it be not* Known, *it is no Rule to* Us.] I had not known Lust but by the Law (*says the Text*) *And in another Place*, Where there is no Law, there is no Transgression. *From whence the Reason is clear, That* Sin *is not barely* the Transgression of a Law, *but* a Transgression of a known Law; *the Inconformity of the Will to the Understanding.*

Laud a-gainst Fisher. p. 197.

Rom. 7.7.

Rom. 4 15

C. The *Perverſneſs* of the *Will* being a *Sin*, does not hinder the
Rom 5.13 *Enormity* of the *Judgment* to be ſo too. [*Until the Law, Sin was in the World; but Sin is not imputed, when there is no Law.*] In few words, The *Word* of *God* is the *Rule* of *Truth*, and all Diſproportion to that *Rule* is *Error*: God's Revealed *Will* is the Meaſure of *Righteouſneſs*; and all *Diſproportion* to that *Meaſure* is *Sin*. Now the Queſtion is not, Whether *imputed*, or *no*; but, Whether a *Sin* or *No*: And you cannot make *Error of Conſcience* to be *No Sin*, without making *the Word of God* to be *no Rule*.

N. C. *I do not deny, but it is a* Sin *as to the* Law; *but it is* none *as to the* Perſon; *It is none* Conſtructively, *with him that accepts the* Will *for the* Deed.

C. Can you imagine that any Condition in the *Delinquent* can operate upon the Force and Equity of the *Law*? Becauſe *God ſpares the Offender*, ſhall *Man* therefore *tolerate the Offence*? *David* was pronounced *a Man after God's own Heart*; ſhall Authority therefore grant a Licenſe to *Murder* and *Adultery*?

N. C. *What is* David's *Caſe to ours*? *You inſtance in Sins of* Preſumption, *and the Queſtion is touching Sins of* Ignorance.

1 Tim. 1. 13. *C. I was a Blaſphemer, a Perſecutor, and Injurious* (ſays St. *Paul*) *but I obtain'd* Mercy (he does not ſay APPROBATION) *becauſe I did it in* Ignorance *and* Unbelief. Again, The *Magiſtrate* has a *Conſcience*, as well as the *Subject*. It may be *Ignorance* in him that *Commits* the Sin, and yet *Preſumption* in him that *Suffers* it. Briefly, In pleading for *all Opinions*, you plead for *all Hereſies*, and for the Eſtabliſhment of Wickedneſſe by a Law. What Swarms of *Anabaptiſts*, *Browniſts*, *Familiſts*, *Antinomians*, *Anti-Scripturiſts*, *Anti-Trinitarians*, *Enthuſiaſts* (and what Not?) have ſtarted up even in our days, under the Protection of *Liberty of Conſcience*? What Blaſphemous and Deſperate Opinions, to the Subverſion both of Faith and Government! Where's the Authority of the Scriptures, and the Reverence of Religion, when every Man ſhall make a Bible of his Conſcience, divide the Holy Ghoſt againſt it ſelf, and daſh one Text upon another? He that has a mind to rake further in this Puddle, let him read *Edwards* his *Gangræna*, *Bayly's Diſſwaſive*, *Paget's Hæreſiography*, &c.

To paſs now from *Opinions*, to *Practices*. The Liberty you cha-

lenge, opens a door to all sorts of Villany and Outrage imagina-ble; to Rapine, Murder, Rebellion, King-killing.

N. C. As if any Man that has a Conscience of his own, or knows what Conscience is, could give Entertainment to so fond an Imagination, as to suppose, that God at the last day will approve of Murthers, Seditions, and the like Evils; Since what is Evil in it self, and against the Light of Nature, there is no direction unto it, no approbation of it from Conscience in the least. Indulg. & Toler. p. 13, 14.

C. But what will this amount to? when, first, Every Man's Word shall be taken for his own *Conscience:* And secondly, That Conscience pleaded in defence of his *Actions*. That which you stile *Murther*, and *Sedition*, He'll tell you is only a *Gospel-Reformation*, *the Destroying of the Hittites and the Amorites, &c.* So that you are never the better for tying a Man up to the Light of Nature in his *Actions*, if you leave him at Liberty in his *Creed*: For there is not that Impiety in the World, but he'll give you a Text for it. The Adversaries of God, that refuse to enter into *a holy Covenant with the Lord*, and submit themselves to *Christ's Scepter*, may be *Sequestered* and *Plundered*, without the Imputation of *Rapine*; for it is written, *The Meek shall inherit the Earth*: And it is no more then God's People the *Israelytes* did to the *Egyptians*. Nay, if they be *Refractory*, they may be put to *Death* too, without *Murder*. [*Those mine Enemies, which would not that I should Reign over them, bring hither, and slay them before me.*] If any man has a spight at the Church, it is but calling it *Antichristian*, and Mr. *Case* shall give him a Commission to *take this* Agag, *and Hew it in Pieces before the Lord*. Taking up *Arms* against the *Government*, is *helping the Lord against the Mighty*. And *Kingkilling* it self, is justified by the Example of *Ehud* to *Eglon*. Mat 5, 5. Lukd 19. 27. In his Book of the Covenant.

N. C. But do you believe any Man so mad, as to take these Extravagances for Impulses of Conscience?

C. Or rather, Is not he madder that doubts it? Considering the Evidences we have both from Story and Experience, and the very Authority of Scripture it self, in favour of believing it. Does not our Saviour foretell us of *False Christs*, and *False Prophets, that shall arise and deceive many; yea, if it were possible, the very Elect*? Parties are engag'd in all sorts of Abomination, under the Masque of Mat. 24.

Conscience.

Conscience. Those of the *League* in *Flanders*, 1503. under *Maximilian* bound themselves by Oath, to cast off the Yoke of Government, and to kill and slay all Opposers; but with such regard to *Religion* (I warrant ye) that every Member of that Confederacy was to say five *Ave Maryes* and *Pater Nosters* dayly, for a Blessing upon the Undertaking. The *Holy League* at *Peronne*, under *Henry* the Third of *France*, was for *the Glory of God* too, and *the Preservation of the King*: What Horrible Effects it produced, I need not tell you. *Sleydan* reckons upon *Fifty Thousand* slain in one Summer, in the Boores Rebellion in *Germany*, 1525. And charges the Tumult upon *Seditious Preachers*, whereof *Muncer* was chief. I shall not need to mind you of the Damned Villanies that were acted by *Muncer*, *Phifer*, (*Becold*, or) *John of Leyden*, *Rottman*, *Knipperdolling*, *Knippenbroke*, *John Matthias*, and the rest of that Gang, under the Imposture of *Inspiration*, and *Conscience*: There Sacking and Burning of Towns, Rapes, and Massacres: And all this under the pretense of *God's Command, and the Direction of his Holy Spirit.* Nay, so strongly was the deluded Multitude possest with the Doctrine and Ways of their False Prophets, that the *Muncerians*, upon the Charge of the *Landtzgrave of Hesse*, stood stone still, without striking a Blow; calling upon the *Holy Ghost* to their Succour (as *Muncer* had promised them) till they were all Routed and Cut off.

Sleydans Comment l. 4.

Was it not a *Holy Father*, and the *Prior* of the *Convent* (one of the Heads of the *League*) that confirm'd *Clement* iu his purpose of Murthering *Harry* the *Third* of *France*? For his Encouragement, they assur'd him, That *if he outliv'd the Fact, he should be a Cardinal*; *If he dy'd a Saint.* What was it again that originally disposed this Monster to that cursed Act? *Stimolato dalle Predicationi, che giournallmente sentive fare contra* Henrico de Valois, *nominato il persecutore della Fede, & il Tyranno.* Seditious Sermons against the King, as a Persecutor of the Faith, and a Tyrant. See in the same Author, the Confession of *John Castle*, concerning his Attempt upon *Harry* the *Great*. *He had been brought up in the* Jesuites School, *and Instructed, That it was not only Lawfull, but Meritorious to destroy* Harry of Bourbon, *That* Revolted Heretick, *and* Persecutor *of the Holy Church.* [*Esaminato con le solite Forme, confesso liberamente, &c.*] What was it that Animated *Ravillac* to his Hellish Practise upon that Brave Prince? but (by his own Confession) A Discourse of *Mariana's*, *De Rege, & Regis Institutione.* It was a *Divine Instinct* too,

Davila delle Guer. Civ. di *Fran.* l. 10.

Ibid.

Lib. 14.

, that mov'd *Balthasar Gerard* to Murther the Prince of *Aurange*. *Divino tantum Instinctu, id à se patratum constanter affirmabat diu Torquebatur.* Strada de Bello Belgico, l. 5.

To conclude now with That fresh and execrable Instance e at Home, upon the Person of *the Late King*: It was the *Pulpit* t started the Quarrel; The *Pulpit* that Enflamed it; The *Pulpit* Christen'd it *God's Cause*; The *Pulpit* that conjur'd the People a *Covenant* to defend it; The *Pulpit* that blasted the King, persu'd him, that prest the putting of Him to *Death*; and *Pulpit* that applauded it when it was done. And how was this effected? (I beseech ye) but by Imposing upon the weak inconsiderate Multitude, *Errors* for *Truths*; by perverting *Scrip-*; and by these Atts, moulding the *Passions* and the *Consciences* e People to the Interest of a Tumultuary Design. These are fruits of the *Toleration* you demand. Reflect soberly upon what been said; and Tell me, Do you think such a *Toleration* either or *You* to *Ask*, or for *Authority* to *Grant*.

.C. *The Truth is, In this Latitude there may be great Inconvenien-* *And yet methinks, 'tis Pitty (in Cases of some Honest Mistakes)* *that a* Good *Man should be punished for not being a* Wise *Man*.

And were it not a greater Pitty, do ye think, for a State to no Check upon *Crafty Knaves*, for fear of disobliging some *-meaning Fools?* As to the Sparing of the *Man*, I wish it cou'd one, even where it were Impious to give Quarter to the *Opinion*: how shall we separate the *Errour* from the *Person*, so as to make *eneral Law* take notice of it? It were *Irreligious* to Tolerate h, and it seems to me *Impossible* to *sever* them. If you your self can either prove the *former* to be *Lawful* (that is, *to do Evil, that d may come of it*) or the *latter* to be *Practicable*, I'le agree with for a *General Toleration*: If not, I hope you'l joyn with me a- nst it.

.C. *I am not for a* Toleration *(as I told you)* against the Light Nature; nor would I have any Pretense of Conscience admit- that leads to the Destruction of the Magistrate, and the Disturce of the Government.

Liberty of Conse. upon its true and proper Grounds, p. 12.

. That is to say, You will content Your self with a *Limited To-* *tion*; which, I fear, upon the Debate, will prove as much too *ow* for you, as the Other was too *wide*.

SECT.

SECT. II.

LIMITED TOLERATION too Narrow, and Diſobliging to the Excluded Party.

C. BY a *Limited Toleration* we may underſtand *A Legal Grant of Freedom and Immunity, in Matters of Religion, to Perſons of ſuch and ſuch Perſwaſions, and to no Others.*

N.C. Or if you pleaſe, An Exemption from the Laſh of the Act of Uuiformity.

C. You ſay ſomething, if This would do the Work. But to diſſolve a Solemn Law, for the Satisfaction of ſome Particular, and at laſt leave the People worſe then we found them, were certainly a groſs Overſight. However, what's your Quarrel to it?

N. C. *I think it a great Cruelty to confine a multitude of* differing Judgments *to the* ſame Rule, *and to puniſh a Conſcientious People for thoſe Diſagreements, which they can neither avoid, nor relinquiſh.*

C. Why will you Practiſe that Cruelty your ſelves then, which you condemn in others? For *Limited Toleration,* is an Act of Uniformity to thoſe that are *excluded.* They that are within the Comprehenſion, will be well enough: But what will become of the reſt that are left out? who have *Conſcionces* as well as their Fellows, and as good a Title to an Indulgence, as thoſe that are taken in. Upon a fair View of the Matter, you can neither admit *All,* without Offence to your *Conſcience*; nor leave out *Any,* without a Check to your *Argument.*

N. C. *And yet I am perſwaded a* Limited Toleration *would give Abundant Satisfaction.*

C. Suppoſe you had it, and your ſelf One of the *Rejected Party.* Are not you as well now, without any *Toleration* at all, as you'd be then, without receiving any *Benefit* by it?

N. C. *To deal fairly, I would not willingly be excluded.*

C. A

C. And is not That every Man's Case, as well as yours? *A Li-ted Toleration* must exclude *Some*, and why not *You*, as well as *other*? Or indeed, Why should not *All* be *Tolerated*, as well as *y*? They can no more abandon their Opinions, then you Yours: d *Your Ways* are just the same Grievances to *Them*, which (if u may be credited) *Ours* are to *You*. So that most undeniably, Plea of the *Nonconformists* upon the Point of *Conscience*, is all e: And since None of them have more Right to an Indulgence, then Another, Why should any Party of them expect more *our*; to the Exclusion and Disobligation of the Rest?

N.C. *But are not Some* Opinions *more tolerable then Others? Do put no Difference betwixt* Truth *and* Errour? *Betwixt Points* Fun-ental *and* Non-Fundamental? *Betwixt the very* Basis *of* Christi-y, *and the* Superstructure? *In fine, Betwixt such Principles as af-*Order *and* Publique Agreement, *and others that flow Naturally* Looseness *and* Confusion?

C. Without Dispute, Some Opinions and Principles are more wable then Others: But where lieth the Right of *Allowing*, *Rejection*? Let This be first examined, and then we'l advise upon *Opinions*, and *Principles* themselves, what may be allow'd, and t Not.

SECT. III.

No Toleration to be admitted but with the Allowance of the Chief Magistrate.

WE are agreed, first, That *an Universal Toleration* (imply-ing a License to all sorts of Wickedness) is not upon any ms to be admitted. Secondly, That a *Limited Toleration* (being rant of Favour to Some, and Exclusive of Others) must needs lay Disobligation upon the Exclusive Party. The next Point will be, here to place the Power of Permitting, or Refusing; and from nce we shall pass to an Inquiry into the *Bounds* and *Limits* of such *Toleration* as may be warrantable: Which being once settled, we to see how far the Pretenses and Qualifications of the Parties ncern'd will suit with those Measures.

Disc. of Relig. Preface.

N. C. *Grant us but* an Indulgence to Dissenters of Sound Faith, and Good Life; *We ask no more. Let Nothing be imposed upon us that is grievous to our* Consciences *on the One Hand, and we shall never desire a* Toleration *of anything that is justly Offensive to* Church *or* State *on the Other.*

C. But What if the Dissenters shall call that *Sound Doctrine*, which the Church defines *Heresie*? What if the Subject shall account That Imposition *grievous*, which the Magistrate thinks *Necessary*? Or That Liberty *Conscientious*, which the Governour esteems *Unlawful*? Who shall over-rule? If the *Subject*, it follows then, That the *Magistrate* is obliged to *Tolerate* whatsoever the *Subject* shall judge Himself obliged to *do*: And this carries us back into a *General Toleration*. If the *Magistrate* over-rule, your Plea of *Conscience* is out of Doors: And it is at his Choice, What sorts of Dissenters to Indulge; and, Whether Any, or None, at his Pleasure.

N. C. *The World, you know, is as much divided about the* Power *of the* Civil Magistrate *in matters of* Religion, *as about any other part (perchance) of our Debate.*

C. We shall discourse That more at large elsewhere. But however, as to this Particular, let us come to a present Settlement, that we may clear our way as we go. If you make the *People* Judges of what is fit to be *Tolerated*, *First*, (as I said before) You are upon the Old Rock of *Universal Toleration*? for (right or wrong) every Man will stick to the freedom of his own way. *Secondly*, You lay the Foundation of a Quarrel never to be reconciled. You shall have as many *Factions*, as *Men*; As many *Religions*, as *Fancies*; and every *Dissenter* shall be both a *Party*, and a *Judge*. To imagine an Agreement betwixt the *Magistrate* and the *Multitude*, by the Common Consent of Both; were to suppose an Accommodation betwixt Heaven and Hell, betwixt Light and Darkness; which are every jot as Capable of it, as several of the Differences now before us. And for an Umpire in the Case, you can pretend to None.

N. C. *Pardon me: We have* the Word of God *to repair to, in what concerns* Sound Faith; *and* the Light of Nature *for our Guide, in the Duties of* Good Life.

C. This

C. This is to make that which was the *Ground* of the *first Controversie*, the *Umpire* of the *Second*. For what is the Original of all our Grand Disagreements, but (as St. *Augustine* has it) *Sanæ Scripturæ male intellectæ*; Good Scriptures ill understood? And we are never the nearer an Accord for the Reading of Them, without another Moderator to set us right in the meaning of Them. Neither *the Light of Nature* any more Exempt from false Glosses and Misinstructions, then the *Bible*. Upon the whole matter, you see the absurdities and Inconveniences that follow upon placing the Judgment and Direction of Ordering these Matters of Difference, any where else then in the *Magistrate*: Whose Duty and Interest it is both as a *Christian* and as a *Ruler*, to put an end to these Impious Contentions, by such Rules and Establishments as may secure the Foundations both of *Religion* and *Government*.

N. C. *This would do well, if Men were agreed upon those Rules: But several Men, we see, have Various Apprehensions of the self-same thing; and That which One Man takes for a* Rule, *another counts an* Error.

C. You are at your *Universal Toleration* again: But pray mark the Consequences of this way of Reasoning: Because the *Multitude* cannot agree upon a *Rule*, there shall be *None* at all. Pursue this Argument, and there shall be no *Law*, No *Religion*, No *Scripture*, no *Truth* left in the World. Because Men differ, Which is the true *Religion*. They disagree about the *Doctrine* of the Bible. That which is *Truth* to *One* Man, is *Heresie* to *another*. And never was there any Law that pleased all People.

Authority says, *Worship Thus*, or *So*: The *Libertine* cries, *Na, 'Tis Confinement of the Spirit*; *An Invention of Man*: *A making of That necessary which God left Free*; *A Scandal to Tender Consciences*, &c. And here is Authority concluded as to the *Manner* of Worship.

So for the *Time*. *How do they know when Christ was Born, Crucified, Rais'd from the Dead.* The Churches *Fasting-days*. They make their *Jubile's*. *Videas hodie Quosdam* (says *Calvin*) *quibus sua libertas non videtur Consistere, nisi per Esum Carnium die Veneris in ejus Professionem ausserint.* We have many Now adays, that would look upon their Liberty as good as forfeited, if they should not maintain their Title to it, by Eating Flesh on Fasting-days. Institut. de Libertate Christiana.

'Tis the same thing as to the *Place*. Command them to *Church*, they will tell you, *There is no Inherent Holiness in the Walls: The Hearts of the Saints are the Temples of the Lord: In not God to be found*

found in a Parlour, as well as in a Steeple-house? Finally, What have they to say for all This, But that This is One Man's Judgement, That Another's? This or That may be indifferent to you, but not to me. To conclude, What One Man Urges, All may; and in All Cases, as Well as in Any: Which has brought us once again to an *indeterminable Liberty*. The last Resort of all the Champions of your Cause, if they be followed home. Now if you can assign any other Arbitrator of this Matter then the Civil Power, do it: if you cannot, let us proceed.

N.C. *Go forward then.*

SECT. IV.

The BOUNDS of Toleration. And the Errour of making Fundamentals *and* Non-Fundamentals *to be the Measure of it.*

C. IN *the Question of Toleration* (says a Learned Prelate) *the Foundation of* Faith, Good Life, *and* Government *is to be secured*: Wherein is comprised a Provision and Care, that we may live as *Christians* toward God, as *Members of a Community* toward one another, and as *Loyall Subjects* toward our Sovereign. if you take This for the Standard of your *Toleration*, we have no more to do, but to apply Matters in Controversie to the Rules of *Christianity*, Good *Manners*, and *Government*; and to entertain or reject all Pretensions, thereafter as we finde them Agreeable, or Repugnant to *Religion*, *Morality*, and *Society*.

N.C. *Very well stated truly, I think.*

C. All the Danger is, the falling to pieces again, when we come to bring This and That to the Test. For if we differ at last upon the Application of Particular Points, and Actions, to the General Heads of *Faith*, and *Government* allready laid down and agreed upon, We shall yet lose our selves in Uncertainty, and Confusion.

N.C. *There willbe no fear of That, if we tye up our selves to* Fundamentals.

C. What do you mean by *fundamentals?*

N.C.

N.C. *There are* Fundamentals *of* faith *that bind Us as we are* Chriſtians? *And there are* Fundamentals *of* Practice, *that oblige us as we are Members of a* Community. *From Theſe* Fundamentals *there lies no Appeal to* Conſcience. *In other Matters (which we look upon as* Non-Fundamental) *we think it reaſonable to Deſire a* Toleration.

C. This Diſtinction has a fair Appearance; but there is no reſting to it. First it propoſes a thing neither *Practical*, nor *Reaſonable*; which is, The Uniting of all People under one Common Bond of *Fundamentals*. What poſſibility is there of attaining ſuch an Agreement, among ſo many Inſuperable Diverſities of Judgment, as reign in Mankind? Inſomuch, that what is a *Fundamental Truth* to *One*, is a *Fundamental Error* to *Another*; and Every Man is ready to abide the Faggot for his own Opinion. It is alſo very *unreaſonable* to exact it. God Almighty does not require the *ſame Fundamentals* from all Men alike; But *Much from Him to whom Much is given*, and *Little from Him, to whom Little*: And from All, according to their differing Degrees, and Meaſures, of Grace, and Knowledg. You will likewiſe find your ſelf under great *Uncertainty* about the ſtating of your *Fundamentals*: For divers *Circumſtances*, of Little, or No value in Themſelves, becoms *Fundamental* in reſpect of their *Conſequences*. As for Inſtance; That *Chriſt died for Sinners*, I preſume ſhall be one Article of your *Faith*: But whether upon *Mount Calvary*, or ſome other part of the Neighbourhood, ſeems of no great Moment, as to the Main of Our Salvation. And yet he that denies that Our Saviour ſuffer'd upon *Mount Calvary*, puts as great an Affront upon the *Veracity* of the *Holy Ghoſt* in the Goſpel, as He which denies that he ſuffer'd upon the *Croſs*.

N. C. *I give it for Granted, that* from ſome, more is required; from others, leſs: *In proportion to their Differing Gifts and Graces. But then there are ſome Principles, ſo* Eſſential *to* Chriſtianity, *and ſo* clear *in* Themſelves, *as to admit of no Diſpute.*

C. Saving That *Grand Foundation* of Our *Faith*, that *Jeſus Chriſt is come in the Fleſh*; and that *Whoſoever confeſſes, that Jeſus Chriſt is the Son of God, God dwelleth in Him, and He in God.* (Saving I ſay) That radical Principle, which if we disbelieve, we are no longer *Chriſtians*) There is ſcarce One Point that has not been ſubjected to a Controverſie. If you reduce your *Fundamentals* to This Scantling, Your *Creed* will lie in a very Narrow Compaſs: But your *Toleration* will 1 Joh 4.3. 15.

will be Large Enough, if you are at Liberty for the rest. Touching the *Clearness* of them, I do not comprehend it: For *Supernatural Truths* holds no Proportion at all with the Ordinary Motions of *Humane Reason*. If They be so clear, Tell us, What they are; where we shall look for them; and How we shall know them when we have found them.

N. C. *Where should we look for the* Foundation *of our* Faith, *but in the* New-Testament *of* Jesus Christ?

C. But still we do not all read the Bible with the same Spectacles. To draw to an Issue; *Generals* conclude nothing, so long as we are left at Freedom to wrangle about *Particulars*; and you will find much surer footing upon the *Foundations* of *Establish'd Law*, then upon the Whimseys of *Popular Speculation*. To my thinking, the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of *England*, as it is settled by *Acts of Parliament*, with other Legal Constitutions, for the Peace, and Order of the Government, are every whit as competent a Provision for the Good of the Publique, as your new *Fundamentals*.

N. C. *The Point is not (as you seem to understand it) a Competition between Our* Fundamentals *of* Notion, *and Yours of* Law: *But an Inquiry concerning the Limits of a Justifiable* Toleration.

C. Very Good: And you refer us to your Distinction of *Fundamentals* and *Non-Fundamentals*, as to a Rule, how far we are at Liberty, and wherein we are Bounded. But This will not do the work? and I have spent the more words about it, because I find This Distinction the Ordinary Retreat of Your Party. The Truth of it is, there's not One of a Hundred of you, but takes This Question by the wrong Handle. You make it a Question of *Conscience*, and *Religion*, What *may* be *Tolerated*, and what *not*: Whereas the thing falls properly under a Consideration of *State*. In Matters not to be *Tolerated* (as in *Articles of Religion*) The Magistrate is positively *bound up*; In other Cases, He may chuse, whether he will *Tolerate*, or *Restrain*; That is to say, with a perpetual Regard to the Quiet, and Security of the Publique. Where *Particulars* may be relieved, without Inconvenience to *Communities*, it is well: But otherwise, *Private Consciences* weigh little in the Scale against *Political Societies*: And *Toleration* is only so far allowable, as it complies with the Necessity, and Ends of *Government*.

N.C.

N. C. *That is to say (according to your first Resolution)* The Foun-ion of Faith, Good Life, and Government is to be secured: *erein I am content to close with you; though there are some, that believe Right of* Toleration *may be defended without any Restrictions.*

C. For Discourse sake, pray try, what you can make on't, ei- with, or without.

SECT. V.

The Common Argument for TOLERATION, *Examined.*

. *NO Man under the Gospel ought to be compell'd to believe any thing; and if not to believe, then not to practise.* Lib. of Consc. P. 37

Rutherford says well to this Point: That *the Magistrate is not ce Men* Positively *to* External Worship; *but* Negatively, *to Acts of* False Worship, *and* Omissions *of* External Perfor-ces *of* Worship, *as of Ill Example to Others*: *Not* Commanding ard Performances, *as Service to God*; *but* forbidding Omissions *as Destructive to Man.*

C. *It is a strange Absurdity to force Men, against their own Light guided by Others, unless we are sure, we cannot mistake.* Lib. of Consc. P. 38.

But were it not a stranger Absurdity, to leave every Man at rty to set up a new Light of his own; and then to subject the ed Light of the Nation (which is the *Law*) to the Scatter'd nts of Private Persons?

C. *But does not One Man see that sometimes, which a Thousand miss?*

And because This is possible, is the Odds therefore upon One-nst a Thousand? Or if so, Why may not the Church be in the nt against the People, as well as any Particular of the People, nst the Church, and the Rest? This is most Certain, that of a usand Differing Opinions, there can be but One Right: And leration upon your supposal, is sure to set up Nine hundred y nine Errors: which is the ready way to bring People to cut-of-Throats for Opinions.

N.C.

N. C. *If a* Magiſtrate *may puniſh all that his* Conſcience *ſays are in the* wrong, *then All* Perſecutors *are in the* right.

C. Men are not puniſh't for their *Conſciences*, but for their *Actions*: And if a *Magiſtrate* may not reſtrain Liberty of *Action*, then all *Rebellions* are in the *Right*.

Lib. of Conſc. p. 24. N. C. The Magiſtrate is appointed to ſee That Executed which Chriſt hath appointed in Religion; and Punctually ty'd up *neither to* Add, *nor to* Diminiſh *either in the* Matter, *or in the* Manner. *The* Manner *Chriſt hath appointed, being as poſitively obliging as the* Matter.

C. If it be the Magiſtrates Duty to ſee Chriſt's Appointments in Religion Executed, in *Matter*, and *Manner*, without *Adding*, or *Diminiſhing*: *Firſt*, You muſt allow him to be a Competent Judge of what Chriſt hath appointed; (for otherwiſe his Comiſſion directs him to do He knows not what.) *Secondly*, According to your Argument, there is but *One Way of Worſhip*, warrantable; which puts a Bar unto any ſort of *Toleration* whatſoever.

Lib. of Conſc. p. 13, 14. N. C. *If the* Magiſtrate *has any Power over the* Conſcience *of his People, How came he by it? For* he that hath no other, then the *Light of Nature*, has [illegible] much Power, as if he were *Chriſtian*; and by becoming *Chriſtian* hath no Addition of Power to what he had before.

C. It is true, that *Chriſtianity* (as you put the Caſe) does not confer upon the *Magiſtrate* any *New Power*; but it lays upon him an *Additional Obligation* of *Duty*. While his *Conſcience* was *Pagan*, He took his Meaſures only from *Humane Prudence*, and *the Light of Nature*. But upon his *Converſion*, He falls under the Dictate of a *Conſcience* that is *Further*, and *Otherwiſe Enlighten'd*: And becomes Anſwerable, as well for the Eſtabliſhing, Securing, and Promoting of *Chriſtianity*, as for the Political Conſervation of his *People*, and *Government*.

N. C. Perſecution *may make* Hypocrites, *but not* Converts.

C. You may ſay the ſame thing of the *Law*, In other Caſes. That makes many Men Honeſt in appearance, for fear of Puniſhment; that are yet rotten at Heart. Nay, I am further perſwaded, that *where Severity makes one Hypocrite, it cures a hundred.* For ſo long as there

e is either *Profit*, or *Credit* to be got, by the *Profession of Religion*, men of *Corrupt Principles*, and *Designs* will flow into the *Party*: when That *Temptation* to *Hypocrisie* shall be removed; and that y find nothing to be gotten by the Imposture, but *Punishment* and *race*, They will soon betake themselves to a more regular Sta- in the Government. *Many a Counterfeit Cripple has been cured a Dog-whip.*

. C. *Are* Heresies *to be* Extirpated, *and* Truths *to be* Propagated e Sword, *or by the* Word?

. If it be the *Penalty* you oppose; Where the *Word* will not do, your selves fly to *Censures*, and *Excommunications*, which are *laments*, as well as *Corporal*, and *Pecuniary Inflictions*; and as lit- *nstructive*. But you are upon a Mistake: The *Civil Power* does o much Pretend to the Recovery of those that are out of the y, as to the Saving of the Rest: Nor does it properly Punish Man, as an *Heretick*, but as a *Seducer*. Do you but let the King's ects alone, and He'l never trouble Himself to Impose upon your sciences. If it reaches not Wickedness in the *Heart*, It pro- yet against the *Infection* of it, and the *Scandal*; by keeping lands, and Tongues of Licentious People in Order.

. C. *I do not deny, but that a* Rigorous Law *may have some Profitable ence upon the* Looser Sort: *Yet still it falls heavy upon the* Innocent, *ll as upon the* Guilty. *To* Know, Believe, *or* Profess *are not in our r: And shall a Man be punish't for want of* Grace, *or* Under- ding?

. Though it is not in our Power to *Know*, and *Believe*, as we ase; yet to forbear *publishing* of our Thoughts, and *Acting* in Rela- to Them, is unquestionably in our Power. Neither is any Man e punish't for want of *Grace*, or *Understanding*: But yet it will ll, if those Defects may pass for an Excuse. All manner of Impie- hould then go Scot-free: for without Doubt, *Let Fools be Pri- dged, and all Knaves shall have need Ignorance.*

N. C. No Man can call *Jesus* the *Christ*, but by the *Holy Ghost*: Lib. of Consc. P. 27.
l you punish any Man for not having the *Holy Ghost*?

C. No Man that hath the *Holy Ghost* will deny *Jesus* to be the *Christ*: Will you punish any Man for denying *Jesus* to be *Christ*; that is to say, for not having the *Holy Ghost*?

N. C. *He that acts* against *his* Conscience, Sins.

C. And so does he that Acts *by* it, If in *Error*.

Lib. of Consc. p. 56.

N. C. Every Man is true to *God*, that is true to his *Conscience*, though it be *Erroneous*.

C. Will it not then follow, that a Man may worship the *Sun*, or the *Moon*, and yet *be true to God*, if That *Worship* be according to his *Conscience*? To clear This Point; Some *Consciences* are *Erroneous* upon the score of *Invincible Ignorance*; and That Insuperable Frailty is a fair Excuse: But Some *Consciences* again are *Erroneous* for want of due *Care*, *Search*, and *Enquiry*; Others, out of *Pertinacy*: And there is no *Plea* to be admitted for *These Consciences*.

N. C. *How do you know, but you may persecute* God, *in the* Conscience *of a True Believer, as* St. Paul *did, before his Conversion?*

C. If I may turn your own Reason against your self, I may do it, and yet be true to *God*; if in so doing, I am true to my Conscience. But still you confound *Conscience*, and *Practise*; whereas the *Civil Magistrate* pretends to no sort of *Authority*, or *Dominion* over the *Conscience*. And your Objection is of as little force any other way: For the *Magistrate* is no more *Infallible* in *One Case*, than in *Another*; and may as well Dread the Persecuting of *God*, in the *Conscience* of a *Murderer*, or any other *Criminal*, as in that of a *Heretick*.

N. C. *I think we have enough: But it may be, This* Toleration *will please us better in the* Exercise, *then it does in the* Speculation.

C. What Hinders then, but we may try it that way too?

SEC

SECT. VI.

OLERATION undermines the Law, and causes Confusion *both in* Church *and* State.

C. *WHy may not a* Toleration *do as well* here, *as in* France?

. How do you mean? Would you have his *Majesty* of *Great-ain*, Tolerate *Roman-Catholicks here*, as his Most *Christian Ma-* does *Protestants* in *France*?

. C. *You speak as if None were to be Tolerated but* Papists.

. Not I truly: But so it must be, if you'l have your *Toleration* the *French Fashion*. Can you shew me that any *Non-Conform-Roman Catholicks* are Tolerated *There*? Nay, Or that those of the *ion* do *Subdivide*, or break Communion among *Themselves*? Such nstance might stand you in some stead.

C. *But is it not More, To* Tolerate *a* Foreign Religion, *then* ulge *your* own? *To permit* Freedom of Worship *to those you re-* Hereticks, *then to* Relaxe *a little towards your* Orthodox *Friends?*

The Question is not, in Matter of *Religion*, whether to Fa- *Sound Faith*, or *Heresie*; but in *Reason of State*, whether is more sable, to *Tolerate* the Exercise of quite a *Different Religion*; Or *ration* from the *Church-Order Establish't*. Alas! In several Re- ns (and especially where the Professors are divided by mutual dice, and Principles of strong Opposition, (as in this Case too h they are) There's no great fear of gathering, and engaging ies, to the Disturbance of the Publick Peace. *There is a great* (as he says) *betwixt them.* And Men do not usually start from Extreme to another, at a Leap; But *to Tolerate One Church with- nother, is to Authorize a Dissolution of the Government both Eccles- l, and Civil.* And the Desection is the more Dangerous, because almost Insensible. As many as will leave you may; and every nter is *double: One lost*, to the *Government*; *Another gain'd*, to *chism*; Which will quickly bring down Authority to the Mer- the People. In fine, *By Toleration, a Kingdom is divided against* *and cannot stand.*

N.C. When you have taken Breath, Do me the Favour to make out what you ſay.

C. The Demand of a *Toleration*, is in it ſelf, the *Condemnation* of an *Eſtabliſh'd Law*; and not without hard Reflections neither, both upon the *Equity*, and *Prudence* of the *Law-makers*. So that at firſt Dash, here is the *Law nothing'd*: For *If any One Law may be queſtion'd by the Multitude, The Conſequence reaches to All the Reſt.*

N.C. We do not queſtion, either the Prudence *of the* Law-Makers; *Or the General* Equity *of the* Conſtitution. *Only where God hath not given Us* Conſciences *ſuitable to the* Rule, *as may Comply with Our* Conſciences.

C. Would you have a *Law* that ſhall Comply with all *Conſciences*? God Almighty Himſelf never made a Law that pleaſed all People.

N.C. It would be well then, that you ſhould bring all Men to the ſame Mind, *before you force them to the* ſame Rule.

C. But it would be ill, if there ſhould be *no Rule* at all, till we had found out One that *all People* ſhould ſay *Amen* to.

N.C. We do not ask the Vacating *of a Law, but the* Widening *of it.*

C. Why then you ask a worſe thing; for it were much better for the Publick, totally to *Vacate a Good Law*, then to ſuffer a *Contempt*, even upon a *Bad One*. If the *Reaſon* of ſuch a *Law* be gone, Repeal the *Law*. But to let the *Obligation fall*, and the *Law ſtand*, ſeems to be a *Soleciſm* in Government. You ſhould conſider, that *Laws* are not made for *Particulars*; but framed with a Regard to the *Community*: And they ought to ſtand *Firm*, and *Inexorable*. If once they come to Hearken to *Popular Expoſtulations*, and to ſide with *By-Intereſts*, the Reverence of Government is ſhaken.

N.C. But where's the Danger of Receding from that Inexorable Strictneſs.

C. Here it lies. It implies an Aſſent, both to the *Equity* of the *Complaint*, and to the *Reaſon* of the *Opinion* in Queſtion: (If not alſo a Submiſſion to *Importunity*, and *Clamor*.) And among many ill Conſe-

Consequences, it draws This after it, for One. If any *One sort of People* may be allow'd to challenge any *One Law*; *All other Sorts* have an Equal Right of Complaining against *All*, or any of the *Rest*. So that a *Toleration*, thus Extorted, does not only unsettle the *Law*; but ministers Argument to the Pretense of *Popular Reformation*. To say Nothing of the Credit it gives to the Disobedient, and Discouragement to those that keep their Stations: Beside what may be reflected upon the Magistrate, for Instability of Counsels.

Another Exception may be This: How shall we distinguish betwixt *Faction*, and *Conscience*? If it prove to be the *former*, A *Toleration* does the Business to their Hand. Nay, Suppose it the *latter*; and that, hitherto, there is Nothing but pure *Conscience* in the Case; What Security have We, that it shall not yet embroil us in *Mutiny*, and *Sedition*? Will not the *Tolerated Party* become a Sanctuary for all the *Turbulent Spirits* in the Nation? Shall they not have their *Meetings*, and *Consultations*, without Controul? And when they shall see the *Law* Prostituted to the Lusts of the Multitude; The *Order* of the Government *dissolved*; and the *Government* it self left *naked*, and *supportless*; What can We Expect shall be the End of these things, but *Misery*, and *Confusion*?

Nor is it all, that a *Toleration* is of manifest *Hazzard* to us: But it is *That* too, without any sort of *Benefit* in Return. Shall we be the *Quieter* for it? No. *One Grant* shall become a *President* for *Another*; and so shall *One Importunity* for *Another*, Till we are brought in the *End*, either to a *General License*; Or to *a General Tumult*. (No matter Which) The *Rejected Party* will be sure to mind you, that They are as good *Subjects*, and have as good *Claims* as Others, that are *Tolerated*; upon which disobliging score, there falls an *Odium*, and *Envy* upon the Government.

I think a Man shall not need the Spirit of *Prophesie*, to foretel these Events. For a *Toleration* does naturally *Evirtuate* the *Law*, and lead to a *Total Dissolution* of *Ecclesiastical Order*; and Consequently, to a *Confusion*, both in *Church*, and *State*.

N.C. *I do not find my self much press'd by any thing now offer'd*: If a Toleration unhinges the Law, *'Tis but making the* Law *a little* Wider, *and then that Block is removed. And so is the Fear likewise of bringing present* Importunities *into* President: *For All* Tolerable Liberties *may be comprehended within that* Latitude. *And as to the matter of Im-*

posing

posing Faction *for* Conscience, *such a Provision secures You, as well, as the Act for* Uniformity.

C. I have spoken as much as Needs to this Point: If you think you have any Right to a *Toleration*, make it out; and Approve your selves for a Generation of People, to Whom, the King may with *Honour*, and *Safety*, Extend a Bounty.

SECT. VII.

The Non-Conformists Plea for Toleration, upon REASONS of STATE.

C. THe Ordinary Motives to *Indulgence*, are these three. 1. *Reason of State.* 2. *The Merits of the Party.* 3. *The Innocence, and Modesty of their Practises, and Opinions.* What have you to say now for a *Toleration* upon *Reason of State*?

N. C. *The* Non-Conformists *are the* King's Subjects; *and What's a* King *without his* People?

C. By *Birth*, and *Obligation*, they are the *King's Subjects*; but if they be not so in *Practise*, and *Obedience*, They have no longer any Title to the Benefit of his *Protection*, and such *Subjects* are the worst of *Enemies.*

N. C. *You will not deny them now ever to be a* Numerous Party: *And a People of* Conduct, *and* Unity: *Which puts the Government under some kind of Prudential Necessity, to oblige so Considerable an Interest.*

C. If they be consequently *Dangerous*, because they are *Numerous*; The *Greater* the *Number* is, the *greater* is the *Hazzard*: And therefore because they are *many allready*, and will *encrease* if they be *suffer'd*, They are *not* to be *Tolerated.*

N. C. *But Men will be much more* Peaceable *when they are* Indulged, *then when they are* Persecuted.

C. Now I am perswaded, that the *Multitude* will be much quieter *without* a Power to do Mischief, then *with* it. But what is your Opinion of the *Honesty* of the Party?

N.C.

N. C. *I do seriously believe the* Nonconformists *to be an* Honest, Conscientious *sort of People.*

C. But they must be *Knaves*, to make Good Your Argument: for if they be *Honest*, They'l be *quiet without a Toleration*: If they be *Dishonest*, They'l be *Dangerous with it.* Consider again; If there be any *Hazzard*, it lies not in the *Number*, but in the *Confederacy.* A *Million* of Men without *Agreement*, are but as *One Single Person.* Now They must *Consult*, before they can *Agree*; and They must *Meet*, before they can *Consult.* So that barely to hinder the *Assembling* of these Multitudes, frustrates the *Danger* of Them. Whereas on the other side, *To Tolerate Seperate Meetings, is to Countenance a Combination.*

N. C. *Mistake me not; I do not say, 'tis likely they will be troublesome, in Respect of their* Temper, *and* Judgments; *but that they are Considerable enough to be so, in Regard of their* Quallity *and* Number.

C. Whether do you take to be the *Greater Number*; Those that singly wish to be discharg'd from the *Act of Uniformity*; Or Those that would have *no Law at all*? Those that are troubled because they may not *Worship* according to their *Fancy*; Or Those that are displeased because they cannot *Live*, and *Rule* according to their *Appetite*? The *Traytor* would have *One Law* discharg'd: The *Schismatick*, *Another*: The *Idolater*, a *Third*: The *Sacrilegious* Person, a *Fourth*: The *Prophane Swearer*, a *Fifth*: The *False Swearer*, a *Sixth*: The *Murderer*, a *Seventh*: The *Seducer*, an *Eighth*: And in fine: Not *One* of a *Thousand*, but had rather *Command*, then *Obey.* Shall the King therefore dissolve the *Law*, because there are so many *Criminals*? That were to raise an Argument *against Authority*, from the very *Reason* of its *Constitution.* Shall the People be left to do what they *list*, because a World of them have a Mind to do what they *should not*? Shall his Majesty give up his *Government*, for fear of some *Millions* (perchance) in his Dominions, that had rather be *Kings*, then *Subjects*? Less forceable, beyond Question, is the Necessity of the King's *Granting* a *Toleration*, (if you reckon upon *Numbers*) then That of *Renouncing* his *Sovereignty.* For doubtless, where there is *One Man* that is truly *Scrupulous*, there are *hundreds* of *Avaricious*, *Ambitious*, and otherwise *Irreligious Persons.*

N. C.

N. C. *Tell me, I beseech you; Do not you believe that there are* more Non-Conformists *now, then there were at the beginning of the Late War.*

C. Yes, I do verily believe, *Three to One.*

N. C. *Why then 'tis at least* Three *to* One *against You: For at That time, the Third Part of This Number was the Predominant Interest of the Nation.*

C. That does not follow; for you may remember, that at the beginning of the late War, The Party were Masters of the Tower, The Navy, of all Considerable Forts, Towns, and Magazins: They had a great part of the Crown and Church Revenues under their Command, and *London* at their Beck: Beside the Plunder of Malignants, and the Bountiful Contributions of the Well-affected. *Scotland* was already Confederate with them in *One Rebellion*; and they had made sure of *Another* in *Ireland* (by Persecuting the Earl of *Strafford*, who was the only Person Capable of Keeping them Quiet.) Which they further assisted, by a Gross Opposition of his Majesties Proposals, and Resolutions to suppress it. [*See the Kings Speech of Decemb.* 14. 1641. *and the following Petition concerning the same.*] Finally, for the better Countenance of their Usurpations, *the House of Commons* was drawn down into *a close Committee*, and the Votes of that *Junto* were Impos'd upon the Nation as the Acts of a Regular, and Complete *Authority*. This was their Condition *formerly*; but blessed be God, it is not so *at present*.

Ex. Coll. p. 2, 3.

Three Kingdoms are now at Peace; and we have a Parliament that is no Friend to the Faction. The King is Possest of a Considerable Guard, which his Royal Father wanted. The Militia is in safe Hands. His Majesty is likewise possest of his Regal Power, and Revenue: And his Capital City firm in its Obedience: To all which may be added, that although divers Particulars are as Wealthy as Pillage, and Pardon, can make them; Yet they want a *Common Stock* to carry on a *Common Cause*. The *Thimbles*, and *Bodkins* fail; and the Comfortable In-comes of *Irish Adventures*; *Moneys* and *Plate* upon the *Propositions*; *Confiscated Estates*; *Twentieth Parts*; and *Weekly Assessments*; and a hundred other pecuniary Stratagems are departed from them.

If it be so, that these People have None of these Advantages now remaining, by virtue whereof, they did so much Mischief before; What *Necessity* of *Tolerating* for fear of *Disobliging* Them?

If

N. C. *However; It is not for your credit, to ſay, theſe People want* Conduct, *by whom your ſelves have been worſted.*

C. The Men that worſted us, were a ſort of People, that Voted down Biſhops on the wrong ſide of the Parliament-houſe Door; That cry'd, *They would have no more Porter's Lodge at Whitehall*; and told his Sacred Majeſty in a Publique Declaration [*Auguſt* 8. 42.] That *The Pretenſe that his Perſon was there in Danger, was a Suggeſtion as falſe as the Father of Lies could invent.*—That Seiz'd the Tower, The Navy, the Kings Towns, Forts, Magazins, Friends, and Revenues; That Levy'd War againſt, and Impriſon'd his Sacred Perſon; uſurped his Sovereign Authority? Imbrued their Hands in his Royal Bloud; and in the very Pulpit, animated, and avowed the Unexampled Murder.

If *Theſe* be the People which you plead for, under the Notion of *Non-Conformiſts*, never trouble your ſelves to go *Nine Mile* about, for a *Toleration*: But *come roundly up to the Point, and deſire his Majeſty to deliver us his Crown.* If it be Otherwiſe, you have overſhot your ſelf in your Challenge; and it does not appear, that you are the *Numerous, Politick*, and *United Party* we took you for. If the *Non-Conformiſts were* the Principal *Conductors* in that Deſign, they are not *honeſt* enough to be *truſted*; and *I ſee no Reaſon of State, to Diſpoſe the King to Gratifie the Murderers of his Father.* If They were *not* ſo, it was none of *Their Conduct* that did the Work.

N. C *If* Societies, *and* Profeſſions, *ſhall be made anſwerable for the Failings of* Particulars, *All* Communities, *and* Fellowſhips *will be found Vulnerable alike*; *for there is no* Order, *or* Way, *without* Corrupt Preſidents *to't*: *And it is not enough to ſay, there were* Non-Conformiſts *of the* Party; *unleſs you prove, that what theſe* Non-Conformiſts *did, they acted upon a Principle,* Common *to* Diſſenters; *and that they did it as* Non-Conformiſts.

C. This is a *Defence*, inſtead of an *Anſwer*; as if I had now charg'd a *Combination* upon the *Non-Conformiſts*, when I only ask, if they were the *Managers* of it, or No? *This*, you neither *Confeſs*, nor *Deny*. And there let it reſt: Since the *Dilemma* lies indifferently againſt you, whether they were, or not, (as does already appear.) Touching the *Unity* you boaſt of, (I muſt confeſs) it is as eminent againſt your *Superiours*, as your *Diſagreements* are among your *ſelves*. And take all together, I ſee Nothing made out as yet, to prove, that the

Kingdom is likely to be either the *Better* for *Granting* a *Toleration*, or *Worſe* for *Refuſing* it. Moreover, We are not unacquainted with your *falſe Muſters*. *Nine Presbyteries*, of *Fifty*, made up One of your *General Aſſemblies*. And upon the *Conference* at *Hampton-Court*, in 1604. *of above* Nine Thouſand *Miniſters, there were but* Forty Nine *upon the Roll, that ſtood out, and were depoſed*: *Such a Noiſe* (ſays *Spotſwood*) *will a few Diſturbers cauſe, in any Society where they are Tolerated*. But what if a Man ſhould allow the *Non-Conformiſts* to be as valuable as you repreſent them? It is but a kind of *Pagan* Argument, to urge the Worſhipping of Them (as the *Indians* do the *Devil*) for fear they ſhould hurt us.

Spotſwood Hiſt. Scotl. p. 487. Ibid. p. 479

N. C. *They that have a Power to do* Hurt, *have commonly a Power to do* Good; *And no doubt of it, the* Non-Conformiſts, *under the Obligation of an* Indulgence, *would ſhew themſelves as ſerviceable to the Common Good, as any ſort of People whatſoever.*

C. What they *will* do, is uncertain; What they *have* done, is upon Record, in Characters of Blood. Give me but One Inſtance, even ſince the Reformation, where *England*, or *Scotland* was ever the better for Them (any otherwiſe, then by God's Extraordinary Working of Good out of Evil, and Take the Cauſe.

N. C. *I would it were put upon that Iſſue.*

SECT. VIII.

The Non-Conformiſts Plea for Toleration, from the MERITS of the Party.

C. WHat has your Party *Merited* from the Publique, that an Exception to a General Rule ſhould be Grauted in your Favour?

N. C. *Many of Us ventur'd All, to ſave the Life of the late King.*

C. And yet ye ventur'd more to take it away: For ye did but *Treat* for the *One*; and ye *Fought* for the *Other*.

N. C. *We ever abominated the Thought of Murdering him.*

C. Y

C. You should have abominated the Money too, for which ye Sold Him.

N.C. *Who sold him?*

C. The *Presbyterians* sold Him; and the *Independents* were the *Purchasers.*

N.C. *Did not the* Presbyterians *Vote His Majesties* Concessions *Ground for a* Treaty?

C. Yes; but it was upon Conditions, worse then Death it self. They deliver'd Him up too, when they might have preserved him: And they stickled for Him, when they knew they could do Him no Good.

N.C. *What End could they have in That?*

C. The very same End in —48, which they had in—41: To make a Party by it, and set up a *Presbyterian Interest* in the *King's Name.*

N.C. *All the World knows, We were so much afflicted for his Sacred Majesties Distress, that We had many Solemn days of* Humiliation *for it.*

C. So ye had for his *Successes* (when Time was) for fear he should get the Better of Ye: And you had your days of *Thanksgiving* too, for his Disasters.

N.C. *Pray'e let me ask You One Question now:* Who brought in this King?

C. They that would not suffer You to keep him out: That Party, which, by a Restless, and Insolent Loyalty, hindred your Establishment.

N.C. *And what do you think of the* Secluded Members?

C. We'l speak to that Point in another Place. But can you tell me What was the Ground of the Quarrel? I suppose I need not tell you What was the Event of it.

N.C. Religion, *and* Liberty.

C. Of Which Side were the *Tender Conſciences*? *For* the King; Or *Againſt* Him?

N.C. *We were ever* for *the King*; *Witneſs our* Petitions, Declarations, *and, in a moſt Signal manner, Our* Solemn League and Covenant.

C. Now I thought you had been *againſt* Him: becauſe You took away his *Revenue*, *Authority*, and *Life*: Unleſs you mean that you were *For* Him in your *Words*, as you were *Againſt* Him in your *Actions*.

N.C. There were many of Us, that lov'd the King as well as any of thoſe about Him.

C. According to the *Covenant* (That is) And does not your Party love *This King*, as well as they did the *Laſt*? I do not think but you love the *Biſhops* too.

N.C. *Truly when they are out of their* Fooleries, *I have no Quarrel to the* Men. *But what makes you couple the* Crown, *and the* Mitre *ſtill*? *As if no Man could be a* Good Subject, *that is diſſaffected to* Prelacy.

C. Why truly, I think you can hardly ſhew me any *One Non-Conformiſt* that ever ſtruck Stroke for the *King*; Or any true Son of the *Epiſcopal Order* of the Church, that ever bore Arms *againſt* Him.

N.C. *Are not you your ſelf ſatisfied that even* Cromwel Himſelf, *and divers of his* Principal Officers, *when the late King was at* Hampton-Court, *had Deliberations, and Intentions to* Save *Him*? *and that there were* Thouſands *in the* Army, *that had no* Unkindneſs *for his* Majeſty?

C. I do abſolutely believe, both the *One*, and the *Other*; and that the *Folly*, and *Heedleſneſs* of the *Common Souldier* contributed, in a High Meaſure to the *General Fate*: Nay, that his Late Majeſty was oppreſs'd, even by thoſe, that thought they fought *for* him, before they underſtood what they did. But yet let me Commend to your Obſervation, that theſe relenting *Intervals* in the *Heads* of the *Army*, did manifeſtly *Vary*, according to the Pulſe of their *Affairs*. Which evinces, that it was a *Deliberation*, upon the matter of *Convenience*, rather

ather then upon a Point of *Conscience*. But thus far however we re agreed; That *many* of the *Non-Conformists* were *engaged*; Whether upon *Ignorance*, *Interest*, or *Faction*, take your Choice! That is o say, upon which of these three you will found the *Merits* of your *arty*.

We are next to Enquire, How far your *Principles*, and *Actions*, will omport with the *Duties* of *Society*, and the *Ends* of *Government*.

SECT. IX.

The Non-Conformists Plea *for* Toleration, *from the* Innocence, *and* Modesty *of their* Opinions *and* Practises.

C. IN the Question of *Government*, and *Obedience*, there are many Points, wherein the *Non-Conformists* agree; many more wherein they *differ*: and not a few wherein they are altogether *Fluctuant*, nd *Uncertain*. We have Nothing to do (in this Place) with their *Disagreements*, or *Uncertainties*; save only in those Matters wherein ey are United by *Common Consent*: And to Determine what those e, will be a new Difficulty, unless you tell us before-hand, what *uthorities* we may depend upon. Your *Principles* must be *Known*, they cannot be *Examined*.; Wherefore, pray'e, direct us where we ay finde them.

N.C. Why truly in the History *of the* Reformation; *for this Controversie has been on foot from the very beginning of it, to this day.*

C. If you speak of the *Reformation beyond the Seas*, I do not finde ny thing there, that comes near our Purpose. Here is, first, pretended, a *Reformation* of a *Reformation*; Secondly, a *Conjunction* of *everal Parties*, and *Perswasions*, at utter *Enmity* one with another, in *Confederacy* against the Order of *Government*: Whereas in the reat Turn of Affairs *Abroad*, I see little more then a *Defection* from he Church of *Rome*, and People setling themselves in some *other way*, as well as they could. *Muncer's* Party in *Germany*, had (I confess) some resemblance of the Tumults here in *England*, that Usher'd in the Late War; both for the *Medly*, and the *Rabble*. In *Scotland* indeed, there was a Contest, for the *Reforming* of a *Reformation*; and it went high; bnt it was only a Struggle for the *Geneva-Discipline*: which Humour was brought over to *Us* too, and driven

on

on, for a while, under Q. *Elizabeth*, with much *Contumacy*, and *Bitterneſſe*. But our Caſe (in ſhort) was never known in the Chriſtian world, till the Late Troubles; and thither it is, that we muſt reſort for ſatisfaction to our preſent Enquiry. Now whether you'l be tried by the *Declarations*, *Votes*, *Orders*, and *Ordinances* of that Pretended *Parliament* that carry'd on the Quarrel; or by the undeniable *Doctrines*, and *Poſitions* of your own *Divines*; (and thoſe the very *Idols* of your *Party*) is left at your Election.

N.C. *As for the* Parliament, *let them anſwer for themſelves: We had no hand in their Proceedings. And for our* Miniſters, *They were but* Men, *and may have their Failings as well as other People. If you would know our* Principles: We are for Worſhiping according to the *Light* of Our *Conſciences*, for Obeying God *rather then* Man; *and for yielding all* due Obedience *to the* Civil Magiſtrate.

C. All This comes to Nothing. For you may make that *Light* what you pleaſe; and Qualifie that *due Obedience* as you liſt. What does all this Evaſion, and Obſcurity ſignifie; but that there is ſomewhat in the bottom, more then you are willing to own?

There are a ſort of People, that tell us, *The* War *raiſed in*—41, *in the Name of* King and Parliament, *was* Lawful. And *That the* Soveraignty *was lodg'd in the* Two Houſes, (Nay in the *People*) *in Caſe of* Neceſſity. *That* Kings *are but the* Peoples Truſtees; *Their* Power, Fiduciary; *and the* Duty *of* Subjects *only* Conditional. *That* Princes *may be* Depos'd: *Nay, and put to* Death, *in caſe of* Tyranny: And *That their* Perſons *may be* Reſiſted, *but not their* Authority. That *the* King *is* Singulis Major, Univerſis Minor: And that *the* People *may Enter into* Covenant, *for the* Reformation *of* Religion, without *the* Conſent *of the* Chief Magiſtrate, *nay*, againſt *his* Authority; *and Propagate* Religion *by the* Sword. *They make their* Appeals, *from the* Literal *Conſtruction of* Law *to the* Equitable; *from the* Law Written, *to the* Law *of* Nature, *and* Neceſſity.

A Man might ply you with freſh Inſtances upon this Subject, till to morrow morning; but here we'l ſtop: And pray'e ſpeak your Opinion now, of Granting a *Toleration*, to a *Party* that *Profeſſes*, and *Teaches*, *theſe Principles*: and *Acts* accordingly.

N. C. *What is all This to the* Non-Conformiſts? *Who are already come to an* Agreement; *that*, In the Queſtion of *Toleration*, The Foundation of *Faith*, *Good Life*, and *Government*, is to be *Secured*.

C. Very

T. Very Good. So that what *Party* soever shall be found Guilty of the *Positions* aforesaid, and of *Actions* answerable thereunto, cannot reasonably pretend to a *Toleration*, from the *Innocency of their Opinions and Practises*. Now to *Particulars*.

The POSITIONS of divers Eminent Non-Conformists.

I. The *War* raised by the *Two Houses* in the Name of *King and Parliament*, 1641. *was Lawful.*

[*I cannot see, that I was mistaken in the* main Cause, *nor dare I repent of it, nor forbear the same, if it were to do again, in the same State of Things.——And my Judgement tells me, that if I should do otherwise, I should be guilty of* Treason *or* Disloyalty, *against the* Soveraign Power of the Land, *Pag.*486. — *Baxters* Holy Commonweal. Printed 1659.

A King, *abusing his* Power, *to the Overthrow of* Religion, Laws, *and* Liberties, *may be* Controuled *and* Opposed: *This may serve to* justifie *the Proceedings of this Kingdom against the* Late King, *who in a Hostile way set himself to overthrow* Religion, Parliaments, Laws, *and* Liberties, *Pag.*10. — *Donglass's* Sermon, Preacht at *Scoone*, Ja 1. 1651 Printed 1660.

The Righteousnesse *of the* Parliaments Cause, *is as clear, as the Sun at Noon-day. And, like* the Law of God *it self, in these Excellent Qualifications of it, that it is* Holy, Just, *and* Good, *P.*6. — *F. Goodwins* Anti-Cavalerism.

II. The *Lords and Commons* are the *Supreme Power*; Nay, the *People*, in case of *Necessity.*

Parliaments *may judge of* Publique Necessity, *without the* King; (*If deserted by the* King) *and are to be accompted, by vertue of* Representation, *as* the whole Body of the State, *P.*45. — The Observator.

Whensoever a King, *or* other Superiour Authority, *creates an* Inferiour; *they Invest it with a Legitimacy of* Magistratical Power *to* Punish Themselves *also, in case they prove* Evil-doers, *P.*7. — Right and Might well met, *An.* 1648.

England *is a* mixt Monarchy, *and Governed by the* major part *of the* Three Estates *Assembled in* Parliament. *P.*111. — Parliament-Physick.

The Houses *are not only requisite to the Acting of the Power of making Laws, but* Co-ordinate *with his* Majesty, *in the very Power of Acting, P.*42. — *Ahabs* Fall.

Whenas a Part *of the* Legislative Power *resides in the* Two Houses, *as also a Power to redress* Grievances, *and to call into* Question *all* Ministers of State, *and* Justice, *and* all Subjects, *of whatsoever Degree, in case* — Interest of *Engl.* in matters of Religion, 1660.

case of Delinquency: *It may be thought, that a* Part *of the* Supreme [illegible] *though they have not the* Honour *of the* Title; *And that a Part of the* Supreme Power *is indeed capable of* [illegible]ng; *yet how it may be guilty of* Rebellion, *is more difficult to conceive.* P. 49.

The Peoples Cause stated, An. 1662.

The Delegates *of the* People, *in the House of* Commons, *and the* Commissioners *on the Kings behalf, in the House of* Peers, *concurring; do* very far binde *the* King, *if not* wholly, P. 112. *and when these cannot agree, but* break, *one from another; the* Commons *in Parliament assembled, are* Ex Officio, The Keepers of the Liberties of the Nation, *and Righteous* Possessors, *and* Defenders *of it, against all* Usurpers, *and* Usurpations *whatsoever.* P. 130.

III. *Kings* are but the *Peoples TRUSTEES*; Their *Power Fiduciary*; and the *Duty* of *Subjects, Conditional.*

Lex Rex: An 1644.

[*The* King *is but the* Servant *of the* People; *and his Royalty is only a Virtual Emanation from them*; *and in Them*, radically, *as in the* first Subject.] *So* Rutherford, Parker, Goodwin, Bridges, Milton, *&c.*

The People *can give* no other Power, *then such as* God *has given* Them: *And* God *has never given a* moral Power *to do* Evil. *All* Fiduciary Power, abused, *may be* repealed; *And* Parliamentary Power *is* no Other: *Which, if it be* abused, *The* People *may* repeal *it*; *and* resist *them*; Annulling *their* Commissions; Rescinding *their* Acts; *and* Denuding *Them of their* Fiduciary Power: *Even as the* King Himself *may be* denuded *of the* same Power *by the* Three Estates. P. 152.

Jus Populi, 1644.

Princes *derive their* Power, *and* Prerogative *from the* People; *and have their* Investures, *meerly for the* Peoples Benefit. P. 1.

Declarat. touching the 4 Bills, Mar. 13. 1647.

It is the King's *Duty to pass all such* Laws, *as* Both Houses *shall judge* Good *for the* Kingdom; *Upon a Supposition that They are Good, Which by them are judged Such.*

Vindiciæ contra Tyrannos. Printed 1648.

If the Prince *fail in his* Promise, *the* People *are Exempt from their* Obedience; *The* Contract *is made* Void, *and the Right of* Obligation *is of* no Force——*It is therefore permitted to the* Officers *of a Kingdom, either* All, *or some good* Number *of them, to* Suppress *a* Tyrant. P. 120, 121.

IV. *Princes* may be *DEPOSED*, and put to *DEATH*, in Case of *Tyranny.*

Tenure of Kings, 1249.

Every Worthy Man, *in Parliament, may, for the* Publick Good, *be* [illegible] *as the* Peer, *and* Judge *of the* King. P. 24.

Where

Where there is no opportunity *for the Interposure of* Other Judges, *the* Law *of* Nature, *and the* Law *of* Nations *allow* Every Man *to* Judge *in his* own Case. *P.* 34. *Godwins* Defence of the Kings Sentence.

If a Prince wants such Understanding, Goodness, *or* Power, *as the People judge necessary to the Ends of* Government; *In the* first *place*; *He is Capable of the* Name, *but not of the* Government. *In the* Second; *He* Depose's Himself. *In the* Third; *The want of* Power, Depose's *him. Theses* 135, 136, 137. Mr. *Baxters* Holy Commonwealth.

It is lawful for any, *who have the* Power, *to call to* Accompt, *a* Tyrant, *or Wicked King*; *And after due* Conviction, *to* Depose, *and put him to* Death, *if the* Ordinary Magistrate *have* Neglected, *or* Deny'd *to do it.* Tenure of Kings, 1649.

It is not impossible, for a King, Regis Personam Exuere; *In a* Natural *or* MORAL Madness *or Frenzy to turn* Tyrant, *Yea* Beast, *Waving his Royal Place,* Violently, Extrajudicially, Extramagisterially *to* Assault *his* Subjects, *as* Saul *did* David. *In this Case, Men think* Nature *doth* Dictate *it*; *and* Scriptnre *doth* Justifie *a* Man, *Se Defendendo Vim Vi repellere. P.* 23. A Survey of the grand Case. printed 1663.

The Real Soveraignty *among* Us, *was in* King, Lords, *and* Commons; *and if the* King *raise War against such a* Parliament: *The* King *may not only be* resisted, *but Ceaseth to be a* King. *Thesis* 358. Mr. *Baxters* Holy Commouwealth.

The Lord rent the Kingdom *from* Saul, *for sparing* One Agag; *and want of* thorough Extirpation *of all the accursed Things, He lost the Thanks for What He had done, and Kingdom also. P.* 27. Mr. *Faircloth* before the Commons.

Let no Law hinder *Ye*: *If* Law *be to be* broken, *it is for a* Crown; *and therefore, for* Religion.——*Ye are set over Kingdoms, to Root out, Pull down, Destroy, and Throw down*: *Do it quickly, Do it thoroughly.* M. *Sympson.*

By what Rule of Conscience, *or* God, *is a State Bound to Sacrifice* Religion, Laws, *and* Liberties, *rather then endure, that the* Princes Life *should come into any Possibilities of* Hazard, *by Defending them, against those that in his Name are bent to subdue them?* If he will needs thrust himself upon the Hazard, when He needs not, Whose Fault is that? Scripture and Reason for defensive Arms, 1643.

There never was a Greater Harmony of the Laws of Nature, Reason, Prudence, *and* Necessity, *to Warrant any Act, then may be found, and discern'd in that Act of* Justice *on the* Late King. *P.* 18. English Translation of the Scots Declaration.

Touching the Righteousness of the Sentence *past upon the* King; *Doubtless never was any Person under Heaven, Sentenc'd with* Death *upon more* Equitable, *and* Just *Grounds. P.* 90. Defence of the Kings Sentence. *Fo. Goodwin.*

Praised be God, Who hath deliver'd us from the Impositions of Prelatical Innovations, Altar-Genu-flections, *and* Cringings, *with* Crossings, *and* All that Popish Trash and Trumpery. *And truly* (*I speak* The Policy of Princes.

no more then what I have often thought, and said) The Removal of those Insupportable Burdens, Countervails for the Blood and Treasure shed and spent in these late Distractions: *Nor did I ever as yet hear of any Godly Men that desired, were it Possible, to Purchase their Friends, or Money again, at so dear a Rate, as with the Return of These: to have Those Soul-Burdening,* Antichristian *Yokes re-imposed upon Us. And if any such there be, I am sure, that Desire is no part of their Godliness; and I profess my self, in That, to be none of the Number. P.* 23.

V. The *Persons* of *Princes* may be *resisted*, though not their *Authority*.

Lex Rex. *The* Man *who is* King, *may be* resisted, *but not the* Royal Office: *The* King *in* Concreto, *but not the* King *in* Abstracto. *P.* 265. [*He may be* resisted *in a Pitch't* Battel, *and with* Swords, *and* Guns. 324. *That is*; *His* Private Will *may be* resisted, *not his* Legal Will. 269. *Neither is He in the Field, as a* King, *but as an unjust* Invader, *and* Gladiator. 334. *If He chance to be* Slain, *'Tis but an* Accident; *and who can help it?* 324. *He is guilty of his own Death; Or let Them answer for that brought Him thither, The* Contrary Party *is* Innocent. 273.]

Mr. *War's* Analysis of the Covenant. English Translation. *The* King's Authority *is with the* Two Houses, *though the* Person of Charles Stuart *be not there.*

His Capacity *was at* Westminster, *when his* Body *was upon the* Scaffold *at* White-hall, *&c. P.* 18.

VI. The *King* Is *Singulis Major, Universis Minor.*

Lex Rex. *The* King *is in* Dignity Inferior *to the* People. *P.* 140. *The* Sovereign Power *is* Eminently, Fontaliter; Originally, *and* Radically *in the* People. 156.

De Monarchia Absoluta. *Detrahere Indigno Magistratum etsi* Privati *non Debeant,* Populus *tamen* Universus *quin possit, Nemo, Opinor, dubitabit. It is not for* Private *Persons to Depose a Wicked Governour: But that the* Universality *of the* people *may Lawfully do it, I think no Body questions. Fixum Rutumque habeatur,* Populi *semper esse debere* Supremam Majestatem *P.*

VII. The *People* may enter into a *Covenant* for *Reformation*, without the *Consent* of the *Chief Magistrate.*

Mr. *Caryl* at taking the Covenant, 1643. *There is much* Sin *in* making a Covenant *on* Sinful Grounds, *and there is* more Sin *in* Keeping it; *But when the* Preservation *of the* Religion

Religion, *and the* Vindication *of* Just Liberties *meet in the* Ground, *Ye may* Swear, *and not* Repent; *Yea, if Ye* Swear, *Ye must* not Repent. *P.* 18. *Not only is* That Covenant *which* God *hath made with* Us, *founded in the* Blood of Christ; *but* That *also, which* We *make with* God. *P.* 33.

The Breach of the National Covenant *is a Greater Sin, then a Sin against a* Commandment, *or against an* Ordinance. 158.——*A Sin of so high a Nature, that God cannot in Honour but be avenged upon't.* 159. The Phœnix, *E. C.*

VIII. *Religion* may be *Propagated* by the *Sword.*

The Question in England *is, Whether* Christ, *or* Anti-Christ, *shall be* Lord, *or* King? *Go on therefore Couragiously*: Never can ye lay out your Blood in such a Quarrel. Christ *shed all his* Blood *to save* You *from* Hell. *Venture All* Yours, *to set* Him *upon his* Throne. *P.* 32. *Marshals* Sacred Panegyrick.

Cursed be he that withholdeth his Sword *from* Bloud; *that* spares, *when God saith* Strike; *that suffers those to* escape, *whom God has appointed to* Destruction. *P.* 24. Mr. *Case* before the Commons 1444.

In the 10 *of* Numbers, *you shall read, that* there were Two Silver Trumpets; *and as there were* Priests *appointed for the* Convocation of their Assemblies, *so there were* Priests *to sound the* Silver Trumpets *to proclaim the* War. *And likewise in the* 20 *of* Deuteronomy, *you shall find there, that when the Children of* Israel *would go out to War,* the Sons of Levi (*one of the* Priests) *was to make a* Speech *to Encourage them. And certainly, if this were the Way of God in the* Old Testament; *certainly, much more in such a* Cause *as* This, *in which Cause,* Religion *is entwin'd, and indeed so enterlac'd, that* Religion, *and* This Cause, *are like* Hippocrates *his* Twins, *they must* live, *and* dye together. Mr. *Calamy's* speech at *Guildhall*, 1643.

You have vowed in the Covenant *to Assist the Forces raised by the* Parliament, *according to your Power, and Vocation; and not to assist the Forces raised by the* King, *neither Directly, nor Indirectly. P.* 45. *Now let me exhort you, not only to chuse to serve God, and to serve his Church, and his Cause, in this most Just Defensive War, &c.* 46. Mr. *Calamy's* Noblemans Pattern. 1643.

In vain shall you in your Fasts, *with* Joshua, *ly on your* Faces, *unless you cry your* Achans *on their* Backs: *In vain are the High Praises of God in your Mouthes,* without a Two-edged Sword in your Hands. *P.* 31. Mr. *Herle* before the House of Lords. 1663.

The Execution of Judgement is the Lords Work, and they shall be Cursed that do it Negligently; and Curled shall they be that keep back their Sword from Blood in this Cause. *You know the Story of Gods Message unto* Ahab, *for letting* Benhadad *go up on Composition. P.* 26. M. *Strickland on a* Thanksgiving. 1644.

Whensoever you shall behold the hand of God, in the Fall of Babylon,

Mr. *Bridgei* on Rev. 4. 8. *ſay*; *True*; *Here is a* Babyloniſh Prieſt *crying out*, Alas! Alas! My Living; I have Wife and Children to Maintain. *I: but all this is to perform the Judgment of the Lord.* P. 30. *Though as* Little Ones, *they call for* Pitty, *yet as* Babyloniſh, *they call for Juſtice, even to* Blood.

IX. There lies *an Appeal* from the *Letter* of the *Law*, to the *Equity* of it; and from the *Law written*, to the *Law* of *Nature*.

Ex. Coll. P. 150. An. 1642. *Lex Rex.* *The* Commander *going againſt the* EQUITY *of the* Law, *gives* Liberty *to the* Commanded, *to refuſe* Obedience *to the* Letter *of it.*

There is a Court of Neceſſity, *no leſs then a Court of* Juſtice; *and the* Fundamental Laws *muſt then ſpeak*: *and it is with a People, in this Extremity, as if they had no Ruler.* P. 113.

Ibid. *The* People *have given the* Politique Power *to the* King; *and the* NATURAL Power *they reſerve to* Themſelves. 151.

Right and Might. *All* Humane Laws *and Conſtitutions are made with Knees, to bend to the* Law *of* NATURE *and* NECESSITY. P. 85.

Here is more then enough ſaid already; and to go on as far as the Matter would carry us, there would be no End on't.

You are now at Liberty, either to *deny* Theſe to be the *Poſitions* of the *Non-Conformiſts*; or to *juſtifie* the *Poſitions themſelves*; or to lay down your *Plea* for *Toleration*, upon the *Innocency* of their *Principles*.

N.C. *I am no Friend to* Theſe Poſitions: *Neither can I yet quit my* Claim, *unleſs you make it out, that* Theſe *are the* Principles *of the* Party, *which I take to be only the* Errours *of* Individuals.

C. Shew me the *Party*, and let me alone to prove Theſe to be Their *Principles*. But if you will acknowledg a *Party*, they are (as you ſay) but the *Errours* of *Individuals*; though all the *Non-Conformiſts* in the Three Kingdoms ſhould own them under their Hands.

You call your ſelves *Non-Conformiſts*, and ſo were they, that both began, and carried on the Late *War*. *Great Apprehenſions they had of*

Ibid. Coll. Pa. 2. *the Deſigns of the Popiſh Party.* [So have you.] Mightily offended they were at *the Immoderate Power of the Biſhops.* [You again.] *Petitioners for the taking away ſuch Oppreſſions in* Religion, Church Government; *and* Diſcipline; *as had been brought in, and Fomented by them.*

Ibid. [Your very Picture ſtill.] *And for Uniting all ſuch together, as joyn in the ſame* Fundamental Truths, *againſt the* Papiſts: *by removing ſome*

Oppreſſions

Oppressions, and Unnecessary Ceremonies, *by which, Divers weak Consciences have been scrupled, and seem to be divided from the rest.* [The very Platform of your Comprehension.] Thus far You march Hand in Hand: I need not tell you what followed upon't; but Your *Parts* are so much alike, that it looks as if We were now again upon *the first Scene of the same Tragedy.* For a Conclusion, *Conformity*, or *Inconformity*, seem'd at first to be the Sum of the *Question*: and the *Discipline* of the *Church* was made the *Ground* of the *Quarrel.* The *Ruling Party* in the Pretended *Parliament*, were *Non-Conformists*: The *Army*, *Non-Conformists*; The Pretended *Assembly of Divines* were *Non-Conformists*; The *City-Ministers*, and *Lecturers*, *Non-Conformists*; And by the *Solemn League and Covenant*, every Man that took it, was to be a *Non-Conformist*, upon pain of *Damnation.* Now take Your Choice, (since *Non-Conformists* you are) Whether you'l Range your selves under the *Parliament*; Your *Army*; Your *Assembly*; Your *City-Ministers*; Or Your *Solemn League and Covenant*: And let me bear the Blame, If I make it not as clear as the Day, That the *Principles* charg'd upon You, are the *Principles* of Your *Party.*

As to your *Practises*, they have been suitable to your *Positions*, and all those violences have been exercised upon the *Government*, that were first Dictated in the *Pulpit.* The *Lawfullness* of *Popular Insurrections*: Of *Deposing*, and putting *Kings* to *death*, under the cloak of *Reformation*; has been vented as *the Doctrine of Jesus Christ*, even by the *Oracles* of your *Cause*: Nay; and several of them (at present) *eager Asserters* of the *Equity* of a *Toleration.* And what has been the fruit of these *Unchristian Lectures*; but the *Subversion* both of *Church* and *State*: And the *Murder* of a *Pious*, and *Gracious Prince*, under Pretence of *Doing God and the Kingdome Good Service?*

N. C. *These are* Actions (*I confess*) *not to be warranted*; *but yet my Charity perswades me, that a great part of the Mischief they did, proceeded rather from* Necessity, *then* Inclination.

C. Will ye see then what they did afterward, when they were at *Liberty* to do what they listed?

They had no sooner Murdered the *Father*, but immediately (*a*) They made it *Death to Proclaim the Son.* (*b*) *They abolish'd Kingly Government.* (*c*) *Sold the Crown-Lands.* (*d*) *Declared it Treason to deny the Supremacy of the Commons.* (*e*) *Nulled all Honours and Titles granted*

Scobell Act, &c.
(*a*) Pat. 2. p. 3.
(*b*) p. 7.
(*c*) p. 51.
(*d*) p. 65.
(*e*) p. 178.

granted by the King since—41. (f) Made Scotland One Commonwealth with England, &c.

(f) p.293.

Have they now kept any better touch with the *Liberty* and *Property* of the *Subjects*? Let their Proceedings Witness for them; (a) As their Tax upon the Fifth and Twentieth Part. (b) Excise upon *Flesh, Victuals, and Salt.* (c) A new Excise upon allom, Copperas, *Monmouth-Caps, Hops, Saffron, Starch, &c.* (d) A Loan of 66666 l. 13 s. 4d. for Supply of the Scots. (e) An Assessment for the Maintenance of the Army. (f) The House of Peers Abolish't; and a Monethly Tax of 90000 l. for the Army. (g) A Monethly Tax of 120000 l. (h) An Imposition upon Coal. (i) A Monthly Assessment of 60000 l. Not to clog the Discourse with over many Particulars: We'l see next, what They have done, toward *the Moderating of the Power of Bishops, and the Removal of Unnecessary Ceremonies.* (k) The *Arch-Bishop of* Canterbury *suspended, and his Temporalities* Sequestred. (l) *Monuments of Superstition Demolish't*; (That is in short, an *Ordinance* for *Sacriledge*). (m) The *Book of* Common-Prayer *laid aside, and the* Directory *Commanded instead of it.* (n) *Arch-Bishops and Bishops abolish't, and their Lands settled in Trustees.* (o) *Their Lands exposed to Sale.* (p) *Festivals abolish't.* (q) *Deans and Chapters,* &c. *Abolish't: And their Lands to be sold.*

(a) Scotch Acts, &c. p.41,
(b) p.60.
(c) p 73.
(i) p.75.
(e) p. 123.
(f) p.1. part 2.
(g) p 149.
(h) p.153.
(i) p.400.
(k) p.42.
(l) p.53.
(m) p 75.
(n) p.99.
(o) p. 101.
(p) p 128.
(q) Par. 2. p.16.

This is Your Way, Of *MODERATING* the *Power* of *Bishops*, and of *REMOVING UNNECESSARY CEREMONIES.* And This is the *History* (in Little) of the *Opinions*, and *Practises* of your Party; Drawn from matter of *Fact*; Provable to a Syllable; and deliver'd without any Amplyfication of the Matter.

N C. *Ill things have been done, there's no Question on't; But they have been done by* Ill Men: *And 'tis not a* Toleration *of* Faction *that We pretend to, but a* Toleration *of* Conscience.

C. Which *Toleration* (upon farther search) will be found to be a meer *Utopian Project*, or *Worse.*

SECT.

SECT. X.

The Non-Conformists *demand a* Toleration, *which is neither* Intelligible *in the* Whole, *nor* Practicable, *so far as it may be* Understood.

I. IT makes a great Noise in the World, the Out-cry of the *Non-Conformists*, for *Toleration*, *Indulgence*, *Liberty of Conscience*, *Comprehension*, *&c.* Let them but set it down in a *Clear*, *Practicable*, and *Intelligible Proposition*, and I dare say, They shall have it for the asking.

N. C. *We do Propound*, That Reformed Christianity may be set- Disc. of Relig. Title pag.
ed in its DUE LATITUDE.

By *Reformed Christianity*, I suppose you intend the *Protestant Religion:* But your *DUE LATITUDE* is of a *Suspicious Intimation.* Do not you remember a *Declaration* of the *Two Houses* (*April* 9. 1642.) *for a DUE, and Necessary Reformation of the Government, and Liturgy of the Church*: And *Nothing to be taken away, either in the One, or in the Other, but what should be found evil, and justly Offensive; Or, at least, Unnecessary, and Burdensome?* This *Due Reformation* ended (as you may remember) in a *Total Extirpation* of Both *Liturgy* and *Government*: And we see nothing to the contrary, but *Your DUE LATITUDE* may signifie the very same thing with *Their DUE REFORMATION.* Pray be a little Clearer. Ex. Coll. p. 135.

N. C. *Then to put all out of doubt?* I would in the *first* place have *An Establish'd Order*: Secondly, *A Limited Toleration:* Thirdly, *A Discreet Connivance.* Disc. of Relig. part 1. p. 28.

The Parties comprehended in the Establishment, *to be of* Importance in the Publique Interest; *and* of Principles congruous to such Stated Order in the Church, as the Stability of the Commonwealth requires.

I would have the Toleration, *to Extend to Those that are* of Sound Belief, *and* Good Life; *yet have taken in some* Principles of Church-Government less congruous to National Settlement. Disc of Relig. part 1. p 38.

And for Connivance, *It is to be remitted to* Discretion.

C. What

C. What is all this now, but an *Univerſal Toleration*, in a *Diſguiſe? Some* to be *Comprehended* within the *Eſtabliſhment? Others* to be *Tolerated*; And the *Reſt* to be *Connived at.*

Again; Your *Eſtabliſhment* is to be of a *Latitude*, to take in ſeveral ſorts of *Diſſenters*, under ſuch and ſuch *Qualifications.* They muſt be *of Importance to the Publique Intereſt*; and *of Principles Congruous to ſuch Stated Order in the Church, as the Stability of the Commonwealth requires.* Ask the *Diſſenters Themſelves* concerning their own *Qualifications*, and They'l tell you, that they are *all* of them of *Important Intereſts*, and of *Congruous Principles*: So that this way, you are ſtill upon an *Univerſal Toleration.* But on the *Other* Side, if You Conſult *Authority* about your *Comprehenſion*, The Preface to the Act for *Uniformity* will tell You, that the *Eſtabliſhment* is *as wide already* as the *Peace* of the *Nation* will well *bear.* If you'l Acquieſce in *This Judgment*, the Caſe is determined to our Hand: If you *Appeal* from it, You caſt your ſelves ont of the Pale of your own Project, becauſe of your *Principles Incongruous to the Reaſon of Government.*

N. C. *But it appears to us, that the* Stated Order *of the* Church *may be* widen'd *without any Check to the* Stability *of* Government.

C. And what will this avail You, if it appears *otherwiſe* to the *Governours Themſelves*? If *They* may be *Judges*, the *Strife* is at an *End*; but if you think to help your ſelves by Tranſlating the *Judgment* to the *People*; *After that Day, let us never expect any other* Law, *then the* Dictate *of the* Rabble. It removes the very *Foundations* of the *Government*, and Carries Us headlong into *Anarchy*, and *Confuſion*, without Redemption.

If a Man ſhould ask you now, about Your *Importance in Publique Intereſt*; *Firſt*; as to the *Intereſt* it ſelf, Whether you mean an *Intereſt* of Raiſing *Men*, and *Moneys*; Or *What Other? Next*; as to the *Degree*, and *Meaſure* of your *Importance*; How many *Regiments* of the *One*, and How many *Millions* of the *Other*, makes up that *Importance*? Would you not take Time for an Anſwer?

And then, We are as much at a Loſs about Your [*Such Stated Order in the Church as the Stability of the Commonwealth requires*] You give Us no Satisfaction at all, *Wherein* the *Stability* of the Commonwealth conſiſts; Or *What Stated Order* in the *Church* that *Stability* requires: But here is a kind of a *Moot Point* caſt in, betwixt *Authority*, and the *People*, *Which* of the Two ſhall *Determin*, upon That *Congruity*, and *Convenience.*

Your

Your *Limited Toleration* too stands or falls upon the *Same Bottom*, with Your *Comprehension*: That is to say, Who shall *Judge* of the *Sound Belief*, and *Good Life* of the *Pretendents* to that *Indulgence*.

As to your *Connivence*, You say Nothing of it your self; and I shall Reflect as little upon it.

Let me not only Observe Upon the Whole; that if you had really a Mind to set Us right, Methinks, You should not Trifle Us with these *Ambiguities*, and *Amusements*: But rather endeavour by some *Pertinent*, *Intelligible*, and *Practicable Proposition*, to bring Us to a better Understanding. Say, *What Injunctions* you would have *abated*; *Name* the *Parties* You would Recommend for their *Importance of Interests*, *Congruity of Principles*, *Sound Faith*, and *Good Life*, Teach us how to *know* these *Qualities*, *Where* to *look* for them, and *Who* shall *Judge* of Them. Let it be made out, That the Present *Sollicitors* for *Tender Consciences*, are duly *Authorized*, and *Commissi-on'd* to Act as the *Trustees* of the *Respective Parties*. Do This; and Matters may be brought yet to a Comfortable Issue: But so long as you place the *Conditions* of your *Indulgence* out of the *Reach* of *Ordinary Proof*, and indeed, of *Humane Knowledg*, Every Man that is *Excluded*, shall dispute his Title to the *Comprehension*, without any Possibility of being Confuted? to the *Scandal* of *Religion*, and to the *Perpetual Trouble*, Both of *King*, and *People*.

N. C. *To set forth the Propounded Latitude, in the Particular Limits thereof, were Presumptuous, both in Reference to Superiors, and to the Party Concerned in it.*

C. As if it were not a greater *Presumption*, to *Alienate* the Affections of the *People* from their *Superiors*, by Reflecting upon the *Iniquity* of the *Government*, then by the Tender of some *Rational Medium* of *Accord*, to Dispose the Hearts of *Superiors* to a Compliance with the *Prayers*, and *Necessities* of the *People*. But there is more in these *Generalities*, and *Reserves* then the Multitude are well aware of; and am afraid, it will be as hard a matter, to bring you to an *Agreement* about the *Particular Parties* to be *Tolerated*, as about the *Model* it self. Disc. of Rel. par. 2. p. 22.

SECT. XI.

The Non-Conformists *demand a* Toleration *for no body knows* WHOM, *or* WHAT.

C. THe *Non-Conformists* are the *Party* that desire a *Toleration*; Pray let me ask ye, What are their *Opinions*? What are their *Names*? For, I presume, you will not expect a *Toleration*, for *No Body knows What*, or *Whom*. Are they *all of a Mind*? If They were *Tolerated Themselves*, Would they *Tolerate One Another*? Are They come to any Resolution upon Articles? Are They agreed upon any *Model* of *Accommodation*? Do They know What They would be At? Or is it in the Wit of Man, to Contrive a *Common Expedient* to *Oblige* them?

N. C. *There's no Body says, that they* are All of a Mind; *Or that it is* Possible *to* please *them* all; *Or* Reasonable *to* Endeavour *it. There are Divers among them, whose* Principles *will never endure any* Order *either in* Church, *or* State. *But what is the* Sober Part *the Worse for these* Extravagants? *Those I mean, who are ready to Justifie themselves; even according to the Strictness of your own Measures.*

C. If You are for such a *Toleration*, as shall *Exclude* the *Wild*, and *Ungovernable Sects of Dissenters*; How comes it, that, in Your *Writings*, and *Argumentations*, You still plead the *General Cause* of *Non-Conformists*, without any *Exception*, or *Distinction*?

N. C. You are not to fasten a Charge of this Quality upon Us; that have already submitted Our selves, not only to the Moderation *of a Limited* Indulgence, *but to* your own Conditions *also, under that very* Limitation.

C. This you have done, I must confess, in *General Terms*; But still I say, as to *Particulars*, Your *Discourses* are of such a Frame and Bias's, as to give *Credit*, and *Encouragement*, to *Every Sect* of the *Whole Party.*

Disc. of Relig. Par 2. P. 45. N. C. I am of a *Perswasion* but not of a *Party:* and whatsoever my *Perswasion* be, it is *Moderate*, *Catholick*, and *Pacifick*,

C. A

C. And so is every Man's, if his *own Word* may be taken for his *own Perswasion*. But why are ye so *Nice*, and *Cautious*, in the owning of a *Particular Way*, and *Profession*; and yet so *Franck*, and *Open*, in a *Clamor*, for the *Whole Party*? You Complain that you are *persecuted* and yet *Obstruct* the Means of your own *Relief*. *Some*, Ye say, are to be *Indulged*; *Others*, *Not*. How shall *Authority Distinguish* of Which Number You your selves are; so long as you remain under this *Concealment*? Are You for the *Presbyterians*?

N. C. *I am not ashamed of their Company, that are Commonly called* by That Name: *Yet I have no Pleasure in such Names of Distinction. Neither my Design, nor my Principles, engage me to maintain the* Presbyterial Government. Disc. of Relig. part 2. p. 45.

C. Are You *Independent* then?

N. C: *Neither. But yet* I am (*as I told you*) for *Tolerating* Those of *Sound Faith*, and *Good Life*, That have taken up some Principles of *Church Government* less Congruous to *National Settlement*. Disc. of Relig. part 2. p. 38.

C. What Do you think of the *Anabaptists*, *Brownists*, *Quakers*, &c?

N. C. *Why truly*, So it is, That *Prudent*, and *Pious Men* may be of *Exceeding Narrow Principles*, about *Church-Order*, and *Fellowship*: Toward Whom, *Christian Charity* pleadeth for *Indulgence*; and, We hope, *Political Prudence* doth not gainsay it. Ibid.

C. So that you are *For All Parties*, but not *OF Any*. Which *Generality* gives to Understand, that *your Business* is rather a *Confederacy*, then a *Scruple*.

N. C. *Make That Good if you can.*

SECT. XII.

The Conjunct Importunity *of the* Non-Conformists *for a* Toleration, *is not grounded upon Matter of* Conscience.

N. C. *You are the first Person certainly that ever undertook to make Proof of a* Conscience.

C. And yet Our Saviour tells Us, (in This very Caſe of *Hypocriſie*) *the Tree may be known by its Fruits*: But however: the beſt way of Proving a Thing Feaſible, is the Doing of it.

The *Non-Conformiſts* refuſe Communication with the *Church*: What is it They boggle at?

(a) Diſc. of Relig. Par. 2. (b) Peace-Offering. (c) Indulg. & Toler. (d) Diſc. of Relig. par. 1. (e) Peace-Offering. (f) Indulg. & Toler.

N.C. (*a*) *They do eſteem the* Ceremonies *an Exceſs in the Worſhip of God.* Pag. 31. (*b*) [*And Diſſent from the Preſent Eſtabliſhment of Religion, only in things relating to* Outward Order, *and* Worſhip. Pa, 12. (*c*) *About the Choice of ſome Peculiar Ways of Worſhip.* Pa. 12. (*d*) *But as to the* Engliſh Reformation, *Eſtabliſhed by* Law, *They heartily Embrace it, and Aſſent to the Doctrine of Faith conteined in the Articles of the Church of* Englaud. Pa. 22. (*e*) *They have no* New Faith *to Declare*: *No* New Doctrine *to Teach*; *No* Private Opinious *to Divulge*; *No Point, or Truth to Profeſs, which hath not been Declared, Taught, Divulged, and Eſteem'd, as the* Common Doctrine *of the* Church *of* England, *ever ſince the Reformation.* Pa. 11. (*f*) *They come up to a Full Agreement, in all* Material *Things, with Them, from whom they Diſſent.* Pa. 30.

C. If They *Agree* in all *Material* Things, it follows, that they *Divide* about Matters *Inconſiderable*: and Break the *Order, Peace,* and *Unity* of the Church for *Trifles.* (Things *Indifferent*, and relating to *Outward Order*, and *Worſhip.*)

Diſc. of Relig. par. 3.

N.C. *In* Preſcribed Forms *and* Rites *of* Religion, *The* Conſcience *will interpoſe, and concern it ſelf*; *and cannot reſign it ſelf to the* Dictates *of* Men, *in the Points of* Divine Worſhip. *And* Thoſe Injunctions, *which to the* Impoſers, *are* Indifferent; *in the* Conſciences *of the* Diſſenters, *are* Unlawful. *And What Humane Authority can warrant any One to put in Practice, an* Unlawful, *or* Suſpected *Action?* Pa. 26.

C. If This be really *Conſcience*; You will be found as *Cautious* in venturing, deliberately, upon a *Suſpected* Action, in *all other Caſes*, as you are in *This*: But what if it ſhall appear, that This Fit of *Tenderneſs* only takes you, when you are to pay an *Obedience* to the Law; and that you are as *Bold* as *Lions*, when you come to *oppoſe* it? Will you not allow us to think it poſſible, that there may be ſomewhat more, in the *Importunities*, and *Pretences* of the *Non-Conformiſts*, then *Matter of CONSCIENCE?*

'Tis a *Suſpected Action* to *Kneel* at the *Sacrament*; but *None*, to hold

old up your *Hands* at the *Covenant*. You make a *Conſcience* of diſ-laiming the *Obligation* of *That Covenant*, in Order to the *Security* of he *Government*: But None at all, of *Leaguing* your ſelves in a *Con-piracy*, for the *Subverſion of it*. Where was your *Tenderneſs*, in *Suſ-ected* Caſes, when, to Encourage *Rapine*, *Sacriledge*, and *Rebellion*, vas the Common Buſineſs of your *Counſels*, and *Pulpits*? When it vas *ſafer* to *Deny* the *Trinity*, then to *Refuſe* the *Covenant*. When he *ſame Perſons*, that ſtarted at a *Ceremony*, made no Scruple at all, f Engaging the Kingdom in *Blood*; and laying *Violent Hands* upon heir *Sovereign*. Is not This, *Straining at a Gnat and ſwallowing a Camel*?

N. C. *The* Non-Conformiſts, *I know, are charged with Principles,* Diſe. of *hat detract from Kingly Power; and Tend to advance Popular Faction.* Relig. *is True, They have been* Eager Aſſerters *of* Legal Liberties. Pag. Par. 1. o. But Theſe are Things gone and Paſt, and Nothing to our Pre-nt purpoſe. *The Wiſe Man ſays*, He that repeateth a Matter, ſe-arateth very Friends. *A looking back to former Diſcords, mars the* Ibid. *oſt hopeful Redintegration. Acts of* Indemnity, *are Acts of* Oblivion. *ſo, and muſt be ſo obſerved.* Pa. 41.

C. The *Non-Conformiſts* (The Sole Actors in the late War) were ly *Eager Aſſertors* (it ſeems) of *Legal Liberties*. You do not deal Gingerly with the *Biſhops*, in the Point of *Ceremonies*, as to let em come off, with a Character of *Eager Aſſerters* of *Legal Authori-s*. So that herein alſo, *Your Conſciences ſtumble at Straws, and leap er Blocks.*

Now, Whereas You will have it, that a Reflection upon *former iſcords*, is a Violation of the Act of *Indemnity*, and Impertinent Our Purpoſe: My Anſwer is; *Firſt*, That I do not revive the emory of *former Diſcords* as a *Reproach*; But I make uſe of ſome In-ances out of former Paſſages, to make Good my Aſſertion: That our *Conjunct Importunity* for a *Toleration*, is not grounded upon *Con-ience*. And to ſhew yon that your Practiſes, and Profeſſions gain ne upon Another, for *Conſcience is all of a Piece*? Not *Tender*, and *elicate* on the *One* ſide, and *Callous*, and *Unfeeling*, on the *Other*. *Secondly*, Suppoſe We ſhould make a little Bold with the Act of *blivion*: I think We have as much right to do it, as You have to ll foul upon the Act of *Uniformity*. Unleſs you conceive, that the ercy you have received by One Law, gives You a Priviledge of In-ading all the reſt. As to Authority; it is One and the ſame in Both; nd if there were any place for Complaint againſt the Equity of a

Legal

Legal Establishment, it would lie much Fairer against the Act of *Indemnity*, on the behalf of the *Royallists*, (that have ruined their Estates and Families in the Defence of the Law; and yet after all, are thereby condemned to sit down in Silence aud Despair) Then against the Act of *Uniformity*, on the Behalf of the *Non-Conformists*; Who by the *One Law*, are secured in the Profits of their late *Disobedience*; And by the *Other*, are taken into the Arms of the *Church*, according to the *Ancient*, and *Common Rule*, with the Rest of His Majesties *Protestant Subjects*: The Same Rule, I say; saving where it is Moderated with *Abatements*, and *Allowances*, in Favour of Pretended *Scruples*.

N. C. *Whereas you make the* Non-Conformists *the* Sole Actors *in our* late Confusions, *You run your self upon a great Mistake: For*——it hath been manifested to the World, by such as Undertook to Justifie it, when Authority should require, [*That the Year before the King's Death, A Select Number of* Jesuits *being sent from their* whole Party in England, *Consulted both the Faculty of* Sorbonne, *and the Pope's Council at* Rome, *touching the* Lawfulness *and* Expediency, *of Promoting the Change of Government*, by makiag away the King, *Whom They Despaired to turn from his Heresie: It was Debated, and Concluded, in* Both Places, *That for the Advancement of the* Catholick Cause, *It was* Lawful, *and* Expedient *to Carry on that alteration of State. This Determination was effectually pursued by many* Jesuits, *that came over, and Acted their Parts in several* Disguises. Pa. 15.

Disc. of Re'sg. par. 1.

C. If This be *True*, and *Proveable*; (as You affirm it is) You cannot do the *Protestant Cause* a more important Service, then to make it out to the *Parliament*: *Who* (You know) *have judg'd the Matter Worthy of their Search, and have appointed a Committee to receive Informations*. Pa. 2. Nay, which is more, You are a Betrayer of the Cause if you do it not. *The WHOLE PARTY in England*, do you say? *Prove out This, and you kill the whole Popish Party at a Blow.*

Disc. of Relig. par. 1.

This was *the Year before the King's Death*, it seems: Was not that within the Retrospect of the Act of *Indemnity*? If so, tell me I beseech you, Why may not *We* take the same Freedom with the *Non-Conformists*, that *You* do with the *Papists*.

N. C. We shall never have done, if you lash out thus upon Digressions. Pray keep to the Question.

C. As

C. As cloſe as you pleaſe. What if a Man ſhould ſhew You a Conſiderable Number, of the Eminent, and Active *Inſtruments in the late War*, to be now in the Head of the preſent Outcry for *Toleration*? (Take This into your Suppoſition too, that *Theſe very Perſons* promoted Our Troubles, *This very Way*; and Proceeded from the *Reformation* of *Diſcipline*, to the *Diſſolution* of *Government*) Are We bound in Charity to take all their *Pretentions* of Scruple for *real Tenderneſs* of *Conſcience*?

N.C. *Beyond all Queſtion*; *Unleſs you can either Evidence their* Error *to be* Unpardonable, *or the* Men Themſelves, Impenitent.

C. Why then let *Aneſius* determine betwixt Us. [*Peccata illa, quæ publice fuerunt nota, debent etiam Confeſſione publica damnari; quia ad quos malum ipſum Exempli Contagione pervenerat, ad eos etiam Pœnitentiæ ac Emendationis Documentum, ſi fieri poſſit, debet tranſmitti.*] *PUBLIQUE SINS* require *PUBLIQUE CONFESSION*; To the End, that as many as were *miſled* by the *Example*, may be *ſet right* again by the *Retraction*, and *Repentance*. This Concluſion pronounces all Thoſe of *the old ſtamp*, that abuſed the People *formerly*, under Colour of *Conſcience*; and are now at Work *again*, upon the *ſame Pretext*, without a *Publique Recantation*, to be in a State of *Impenitency*: and gives Us reaſonably to preſume, that if their *Conſciences* can *Swallow*, and *Digeſt* a *Rebellion*, there is no great Danger of their being *Choak'd* with a *Ceremony*. *De Conſcientia, lib. 3. cap. 15.*

Another Thing is This; You do not plead for *Particular Judgments*; (In which Caſe, a plea of *Conſcience* may be allow'd) But *every Man* urges the Equity (in Effect) of a *Toleration* for *all the Reſt*. which Number, You your ſelves do, ſeverally, and joyntly, acknowledge, that there are a great many People of *Inſociable* and *Intolerable Principles*; ſuch as in *Conſcience* are not to be admitted. And yet herein alſo, You profeſs to be guided by Impulſes of *Tenderneſs*, and *Piety*; although in Oppoſition to the whole Courſe of Your former *Declarations*, and *Proceedings*, that riſe np in Judgment againſt You.

N.C. *If you grant, that there may be a Plea for* Particulars, *I ſhall not much trouble my ſelf about* Generals.

That Point ſhall come on in due time. But let us look a little further yet, into the *General Cauſe*; for if it be not *Conſcience*, it is *Confederacy*.

SECT.

SECT. XIII.

The Conjunct Importunity *of the* Non-Conformists *for a* Toleration, *is a manifest* Confederacy.

C. THis appears, *First*, from the *Method* of their Proceedings; *Secondly*, from the Natural *Prospect*, and *Tendency* of that *Method*; *Thirdly*, from the *Nature*, and *Quality* of their *Demands* and *Arguments*; *Fourthly*; from the *Way*, and *Manner* of their *Addresses*, and *Applications*; *Lastly*; from their *Agreement* in Matters of *Dangerous Consequence* upon the *Peace* of the *Government*.

As to their *Method*; The *Non-Conformists* of *This Age* tread in the very steps of their *Predecessors*: and This you may observe throughout the whole History of Them; even from the first time that ever the Pretence of Popular Reformation set foot in his Majesties Dominions, unto This Instant. This is not a Place for a Deduction of Particulars at length; But a Touch from Point to Point, will not be much amiss. Wherefore, if you please, Give me a Brief Accompt of the *Non-Conformists*. First, *What kind of People they are*; Secondly, *What It is They would have*; Thirdly, *What will the Kingdom be the better for Granting their Desires*? Fourthly, *What are their Grievances*, as the Case stands with them at present? Fifthly, *What are they for* Number, *and* Resolution?

Disc. of Relig par. 1. Indulg. & Toler. p. 7.

N. C. *They are a People Zealous of Religion*, Pa. 43. *An Intelligent, Sober sort of Men, and Numerous among all Ranks*, P. 25. *Peaceable, and Useful in the Commonwealth*; *Sound in the Faith*; *Men of Conscience*; *Evident Opposers of all Errors Pernicious to the Souls of Men, and of an Evil Aspect upon the Publique Peace.*

Spotswoods Hist. of Scotland, p. 320, 322

C. Very Good: And were not the Conspirators that Seiz'd King *James*, at *Ruthuen*, (1582.) as much as all This amounts to? If You will believe either *Themselves*, or the *Assembly* at *Edinburgh* in their behalf.

Petition to the Queen. p. 15. Gilby. King's

The Reforming *Non-Conformists* under Queen *Elizabeth* were *Unreprovable before all* Men; *Her Majesties most Loyal Subjects, and God's Faithfull Servants*: [*Most Worthy, Faithful, and Painful Ministers*; *Modest, Watchful, Knowing in the Scriptures, and of Honest Conversation*; (*Learned, and Godly*; says the *Admonitioner*, Pa. 25. And *Martin Senior* calls them, *The Strength of Our Land*, and *the Sinew of her Majesties Government.*

The

The *Scotch Covenanters*, in 1638. outdid All This, for *Zeal to his Majeſties Perſon and Authority: The True Religion, Liberties, and Laws of the Kingdom.* Kings large Declar. p. 66.

And the *Two Houſes* at *Weſtminſter*, In 1642. come not behind Them, in their Profeſſions, for *the Defence, and Maintenance of the True Religion; The King's Perſon, Honour, and Eſtate, and the Juſt Rights, and Liberties of the Subject.* Ex. Coll. p. 498.

Here's Your *Character*: Now to Your *Demands*, What is it you would have?

N.C. (*a*) *A Reformation of Church-Government, Liturgy, and Ceremonies.* (*b*) *A bearing with weak Conſciences*: (*c*) and *A Relaxation of the Preſcribed Uniformity.* (*a*) Two Papers of Propoſals, pa. 5. (*b*) Petition for peace, pa. 20. (*c*) Diſc. of Relig. Preface. Ex. Col. 19.

C. And This you will find to have been the conſtant Pretence of the *Non-Conformiſts*, if you Conſult their Story, from One End to the Other. [*Not to let looſe the Golden Reins of Diſcipline, and Government in the Church; But to Unburthen the Conſciences of Men, of Needleſs, and Superſtitious Ceremonies, Suppreſs Innovations, and Settle a Preaching Miniſtry*, &c.

Put the Caſe now, that you had your *Asking*; *What would the Kingdom be the better for it?*

N.C. It will be the better for the *King, Church, Nobility*, and *Gentry*. [And *there is no Nation under Heaven, wherein ſuch an Indulgence, or Toleration as is deſired, would be more Welcome, Uſeful, Acceptable; Or more Subſervient to Tranquillity, Trade, Wealth, and Peace.* Diſc. of Relig. Indulg. & Toler. p. 31.

C. *Reformation no Enemy to Her Majeſty and the State*, is the very Title of a Deſperate Libel, Printed 1590. againſt *Both*. And the *Humble Motioner* tells You, that *it is for the Advantage of the Queen, Clergy, Nobility, and Commonalty; That the Wealth, and Honour of the Realm will be Encreaſed by it, &c.*

This was the Stile too of Our Reformers, in 1642. *The Securing the Publique Peace, Safety and Happineſs of the Realm*; And *the Laying the Foundation, of more Honour, and Happineſs, to his Majeſty, then ever was Enjoy'd by any of his Royal Predeceſſors.* Now ſpeak your *Grievances*. Ex. Coll. p. 3. Ibid. 21.

N.C. *We are Excommunicated, Outlawed, Impriſoned, Baniſh'd, Famiſh'd, Starved*; and *Begger'd*. P. 8. *Proceeded againſt with Outward Puniſhments*, Indulg. & Toler.

misfortunes, Pecuniary, and Corporal, Nay Death it self, P. 9. [And all this while *Trade languishes, Rents fall, Money scarce*, P. 26. *Never a greater Separation; Never a more General Dissatisfaction.* P. 27.

Spotswood Hist. Scotl. p. 327. Pray'e say: Was it ever better, since *Non-Conformists* came into the World? Was not King *James a Favourer of the Enemies of God's Truth, and of Dissolute Persons? A Discountenancer of Godly Ministers? A Promise-Breaker to the Church; and a Perverter of the Laws*; Insomuch that *No man could be assured of his Lands, and Life?*

Was it any better even under the Celebrated Government of Q. *Elizabeth*? (*a*) There were *Citations, Degradings*, and *Deprivations*. (*b*) *Some in the Marshalsey; Some in the White-Lion; Some in the Gatehouse at Westminster; Others in the Counter, Or in the Clink, Or in Bride-well, Or in Newgate.* [*How many Good Mens Deaths have the Bishops been the Cause of? How many have they driven to leave the Ministry, and live by Physick? Or to leave their Country?* [*Poor Men have been miserably handled, with Revilings, Deprivations, Imprisonments, Banishments: and Out of This Realm, they have all the best Reformed Churches through Christendom against them.* [*If This Persecution be not provided for, great Trouble will come of it.*

(*a*) Petition to her Majesty, p. 25.
(*b*) Second Admonit. P. 37.
Ibid. p. 25.
First Admonit. p. 2.
Second Admonit. p. 59.

How your Party demean'd Themselves toward the *Late King*, of Blessed Memory, in the matter of *Calumny*, and *Reproach*, You may read at large in that Grand, and Infamous Libel; *The Remonstrance of the State of the Kingdom*, Decemb. 15. 1642.

Ex. Coll. p. 3

But after all This; What are these People, for *Number*, and *Resolution*, that make such a Clutter?

Indulg. & Toler. N. C. Thousands *of the Upright of the Land.* [Petition for Peace Pag. 21.] Multitudes *do* Dissent, *and* Resolve to Continue so doing *Whatever they suffer for it.* Pa. 20. *And to forego the Utmost of their Earthly Concernments, rather then to Live and Die in an Open Rebellion to the Commanding Light of God in their Consciences.*——*To Ruine Men in their* Substantials *of BODY, and LIFE, for* Ceremonies; *is a Severity, which ENGLISHMEN will not, long time, by any means, give Countenance unto*, Pa. 23. [*To Execute* Extremity *upon an Intelligent, Sober, and Peaceable Sort of Men, so* Numerous *among all Ranks, must prove* Exceeding Difficult, unless it be Executed by such Instruments as may strike Terrour into the whole Nation. *P.* 25.

Disc. of Rel. par. 1

C. Was not Queen *Elizabeth* told *of* Thousands, *and* Hundreds of Thousands, *that sighed for the* Holy Discipline? *And that since neither Parliament, nor Convocation-house would take it into* Consideration

Tho

They might blame Themſelves, if it came in by ſuch means, as would make all their Hearts Ake? *The Truth will prevail* (ſays the *Demonſtrator*) *in ſpight of your Teeth, and all the Adverſaries of it.*

The moſt Unnatural, Cauſeleſs, and Horrible Rebellion, that This or (*perhaps*) *any other Age in the World hath been acquainted with* (To borrow the Words of his Late Majeſty) was *Prefaced* with *a Petition in the Name of all the Men, Women, Children, and Servants of* Edinburgh, *againſt the* Service-Book: *And Another, in the Name of the Noblemen, Gentry, Miniſters, and Burgeſſes, againſt the* Service-Book, *and* Book of Canons; *Proteſting* afterwards, *that if any Inconvenience ſhould fall out, by reaſon of Preſſing theſe Innovations, it was not to be Imputed to Them, that ſought all Things to be Reformed by Order.* Large Declaration, p 53. Ibid. p. 41, 42. Ibid p. 52.

This Commotion in *Scotland*, led the Way to *Our* ſucceeding Broils in *England*; Which were promoted by the like Artifices. Great Numbers *of his Majeſties Subjects, Oppreſt by Fines, Impriſonments, Stigmatizings*; *and* Many Thouſands *of Tradeſmen, and Artificers, Empoveriſh't by a Generalty, and Multiplicity of Vexations.* [Great Numbers *of Learned, and Pious Miniſters Suſpended, Deprived, and Degraded.* In fine, from *Pamphlets*, they advanced to *Petitions*; from *Petitions*, to *Tumults*; and from thence, into a Formal State of *War*. Ex. *Coll.* p. 8. Ibid. p. 9.

N. C' *So that from This* Agreement *in* Method, *You will Pretend to Infer a* Conformity *of* Deſign.

C. From This *Agreement* in *Method*; and from the *Natural Tendency of this Method*, I think a Man may honeſtly Conclude, it can be Nothing elſe: and I doubt not, but upon a Sober Examination of the Matter, I ſhall find You of the ſame Opinion.

The moſt *Sacred* of all *Bonds* is That of *Government*, next to That of *Religion*; and the Reverence which we owe to *Humane Authority*, is Only Inferior to That which we owe to *God Himſelf*. This being duely weighed, and that the *Leſſer Obligation* muſt give place to the *Greater*. (As for Inſtance) *Reaſon of State*, to Matter of *Religion*, and *Humane Laws* to the *Law Divine*: What has any Man more to do, for the Embroyling of a Nation, but firſt to Puzzel the Peoples Heads with *Doubts*, and *Scruples*, about their Reſpective Duties to *God*, and *Man*; and then, to Poſſeſs them, that *This*, or *That Political Conſtitution*, has no Foundation in the *Holy Scriptures*? To bid Them *ſtand faſt in the Liberty wherewith Chriſt hath made them Free*, Galat. 5. 1. And Finally, to Engage the *Name* of *God*, and the *Credit* of *Religion* in the Quarrel?

N. C. *And do not you your ſelf believe it* better to Obey God, then Man?

C. Yes; but I think it beſt of all to *Obey Both*: *To* Obey *God*, for *Himſelf*, in *Spirituals*; and *Man*, for *God's ſake*, in *Temporals*, as he is *God's Commiſſioner*. But tell me; Are you not Convinced, that the moſt likely way in the World to ſtir up *Subjects* againſt their *Prince*, is To Proclaim the *Iniquity* of his *Laws*, and then to Preach *Damnation* upon *Obedience*?

N. C. *What if it be? Does it follow, becauſe* Religion *may be made a Cloak for a* Rebellion, *That therefore It is never to be Pleaded for a* Reformation.

C. Truly I have ſeldom known a *Conſcientious Reformation*, accompanied with the Circumſtances of Our Caſe. Here is, *firſt*, a *Character* of the *Non-Conformiſts*, drawn by *their own Hand*; and ſet off with ſuch Flouriſhes of *Purity*, and *Perfection*, as if the *Scribes and Phariſees Themſelves* had ſit for their *Picture*. In the *Second Place*, You demand, partly, a *Reformation*; partly, a *Toleration*: And in the *Third*, You aſſure Us, that *all England ſhall be the better for't*. (Of Theſe Two Points hereafter.) In the *Fourth*, You enlarge upon your *Grievances*; and inſtead of applying to the *Government*, on the behalf of the *People*, You are clearly upon the Strein of *Appeal* to the *People* from the Rigour of the *Government*. Your *Text* is *Liberty of Conſcience*; But the *Streſs* of your *Diſcourſe* lies upon *the Liberty of the Subject*: The *Decay* of *Trade*, *Scarcity* of *Money*, *Fall* of *Rents*, The *Subſtantials* of *BODY*, and *LIFE*, *Impriſonment &c.* Upon the Whole; Your Writings want nothing but *Form*, of *a Direct Indictment of King and Parliament for Perſecution, and Tyranny*; And would very well bear the *Tranſlation* of their *being led on by the Inſtigation of the Devil, not having the Fear of the Lord before their Eyes.* If You can defend this manner of Proceeding, pray do it.

Matth. 23. 23, 24.

Diſc. of Relig.

N. C. *What can be of greater Concernment to Government, then to Diſcern and Conſider the State of their People, as it is indeed? And Why may it not be Minded of Subjects, and ſpoken of, without any Hint, or Thought of* Rebellion? Pag. 27.

C. But What can be of greater *Miſchief* to *Governours*, then under

der Colour of *Remonſtrating* to *Them* the *State of their People*, at the Same time, to *diſſaffect* the *People*, by an Odious Accompt of the *Errors*, *Misfortunes*, and *Calamities* of the *Government*? *Governours are not to be told their Faults in the Market-Place*; Neither are *Miniſters of the Goſpel*, by your own Rules, to be admitted for *Privy Counſellors*. This is ſpoken as to the *Good Office* of your *Information*.

As to the *Intention* of it, I am not ſo bold, as to judge your *Thoughts*; But if You had *any Driſt at all* in it, and *Conſider'd* what You *did*, I do not ſee how You can acquit your ſelf of *Evil meaning*. *Suppoſe the Whole Invective True*; and that you *ſuffer for Righteouſneſs*, (to make the Faireſt of it) What *Effect* do you expect theſe Diſcourſes may have upon the *People*? and *what* upon the *Magiſtrate*? Will not every Man conclude, that the *Engliſh* are the Wretched'ſt *Slaves* upon the Face of the Earth? Neither *Liberty of Religion*, nor of *Perſon*, for any Man that makes a *Conſcience of his ways*, The Whole Nation, Groaning under *Beggery*, and *Bondage*. Now *ſee what Effects theſe Impreſſions may reaſonably produce*; *and Thoſe Effects are as reaſonably to be taken for the Scope of your Intention*.

Turn now to the *Magiſtrate*, and ſay; What Proportion do you find betwixt theſe Rude *Diſobligations upon* the *Government*, and the Returns of *Grace*, and *Favour* You deſire ſo Earneſtly *from* it? On the Other ſide; if your *Report* be *Falſe*, Your *Deſign* appears ſtill to be *the ſame*; Only with the Aggravations, of more *Animoſity*, and *Malice in Purſuance* of it. But *True*, or *Falſe*, it is Nothing at all to the Buſineſs of *Toleration*, but a *Palpable Tranſition* from matter of *Conſcience*, to matter of *State*.

This is the Courſe, in General, of Our Advocates for *Toleration*; and by the Deſperate Sallies, they make, from *Religion*, to *Government*, in their *Pamphlets*, a Man may gueſs what it is they would be at in their *Pulpits*.

N.C. Oppreſſion makes a Wiſe man mad; *and 'tis not Generous to Deſcant upon every thing, that is bolted in* Heat, *and* Paſſion, *as if it were a formed Diſcourſe, upon* Deliberation, *and* Counſel.

C. But it is a ſtrange thing (my Good Friend) for ſo many Men to be *Mad at a Time*; and to be *Mad the ſame Way too?* If you will have it, that they mean juſt *Nothing at all*, I am content; But if they mean *any thing*, and all agree in the *ſame Meaning*; It can be nothing elſe but a *Confederacy*.

The next Point makes it more Evident; that is to ſay, The Marſhalling

Marſhalling of their *Numbers*, and their *Thouſands*; The Boaſt of their *Intereſt*; in all Parties, and of the *Difficulty* to *Suppreſs* them: The *Proclamation* of their *Reſolution* to Live and Die in the defence of their *Opinions*, with an *Innuendo*, of the *Magiſtrates* Meddling with them *at their Peril*. What can be the End of this *Rhodomontade*; but to ſtartle the *Government*, on the One Side, and to animate the *Multitude*, on the Other? It is no Argument at all for an *Indulgence*, that they are *Many*, *Powerful*, and *Reſolute*; But point blank againſt it: Unleſs they can approve themſelves to be *Regular*, *Governable*, and *Honeſt*. To Sum up all; Here are *Faults* found *in* the *Government*; and the *People* Tamper'd into a *Diſlike* of it; So that here's a *Diſpoſition* to a Change, wrought *already*.

No ſooner is the *Multitude* perſwaded of the *Neceſſity* of a *Reformation*; but behold the *Manner* of it; It muſt be either by a *Thorough-Alteration*, a *Comprehenſion*, a *Toleration*, or a *Connivance*. And for the Principal Undertakers, You may put your Lives in their Hands; for (if they do not ſlander Themſelves) They are as *Godly*, an *Intelligent Sort of People*, as a Man ſhall ſee in a Summers Day. Now, for the *Introducing* of This *Reformation*, there is no way, but *to ſet up the Word of God, againſt the Law of the Land*: By the *Un-Biſhop-*
Acts 5. 38. *ping of Timothy, and Titus*; and giving the People a Sight of the *Jewiſh Sanhedrim*, and *Gamaliel's Dilemma*, through a Pair of *Reforming Spectacles*; By which they diſcover the *Divine Right* of *Presbytery*, with One Eye; and *That* of *Univerſal Toleration* with the Other; and ſo become *One* in the *Common Cauſe* of Maintaining *Goſpel Worſhip*, againſt *Humane Inventions*.

The next Care is, to Gratifie the *Common People*; for there's nothing to be done, till they come; and there is no Reaſon in the World, that the poor Wretches ſhould venture Soul, Life, and Eſtate, *Gratis*! This is Effected, by the Doctrine of *Liberty of Conſcience*. For Grant but every Man a *Right*, of *Acting*, according to the *Dictate* of his *Conſcience*, and he has Conſequently a *Liberty* of *Doing* Whatſoever he ſhall pretend to be according to *That Dictate*; And of *Refuſing* to do, whatſoever he ſhall ſay is *againſt* it: By which Invention, *the Laws of the Kingdom* are ſubjected to *the Pretended Conſciences of the People*; and the *Multitude* are made *Judges* of the *Controverſie*.

Now comes in the *Joynt-Struggle* of the *Non-Conformiſts* for a *Toleration*. *This*, if it may be *obtain'd*, puts them in a Capacity of doing the *Reſt*, *Themſelves*. But in Caſe of *Oppoſition*, Their laſt Reſort is to a *Muſter* of their *Forces*; A Computation of their *Strength*, and

and *Intereſts*; Which is the Very ſame Thing, as if they ſhould ſay, in ſo many Syllables; *Gentlemen*; *You ſee the Parliament does not Regard Us: We have a Good Cauſe, and Hands enow to do the Work, in ſpight of their Hearts*: *UP AND BE DOING.* After This; There wants Nothiug, but the Word, *The Sword of the Lord, and of Gideon*, To Crown the Euterprize. If *This* be not a *Conſpiracy* tell me *What Is.*

N.C. *You ſay, It is, and We deny it.*

C. There are ſtrong Preſumptions alſo of a *Confederacy*, to be gathered from the *Nature*, and *Quality* of your *Demands.* You deſire a *Comprehenſion*, a *Toleration*; But then you place the *Conditions* of it, out of the Reach of *Ordinary Proof*, and indeed, of *Humane Cognizance*, (as is ſhew'd already) So that No Body knows, who are to be *Comprehended*, and who *left out.* This looks, as if your Buſineſs were rather to *enflame* the Difference, then to *compoſe* it. And then, when you are preſt to *Name*, and *Specifie* the *Parties* you plead for; (ſince by your own Confeſſion, ſeveral are to be Excluded) You fly ſtill to the *Generalities*, of *Important Intereſts*, and *Congruous Principles*, and ſo leave the Matter utterly uncabable of any Clear, and Logical Reſult; Unleſs you will allow *Governours* the *Inſpection* of their *Subjects Hearts*: Or Teach us how to Reduce *wild*, and *Uncertain Notions*, under the Proſpect of a *Steady Law.* But the Reaſon of your Dealing thus in the dark, I ſuppoſe may be This: Your *Deſign* is to be carry'd on under the *Countenance* of the *Common Cauſe*, wherein, all thoſe Perſons are *United* againſt the *Government*, that would otherwiſe ſpend their *Animoſities*, *One* upon *Another*, and break into a thouſand Pieces among Themſelves. Now for you to declare *for* any *One Party*, were Virtually, to *declare againſt* all the Reſt, and Diſſolve the *Combination.*

Touching the *Manner* of their *Addreſſes*, I ſhall only add, (to what is paſt) that they are *Invectives*, *againſt* thoſe that *cannot* relieve them, without any *Formal Application* to thoſe that *can*: And tend Naturally to the *Tumultuating* of the *People*, without any Colour of Contribution to their *Benefit.*

Of their *Agreement* in Matters of *Dangerous Conſequence*, enough is ſpoken already, to put it paſt all contradiction, That *Their Conjunct Importunity for a Toleration, is a Manifeſt CONFEDERACY.* Wherefore let us now proceed from the *Driſt*, and *Deſign* of their *Pretentions*, to the *Morality*, and *Reaſon* of Them.

SECT.

SECT. XIV.

The Non-Conformists Joynt Pretences FOR *A* Toleration *overthrown, by the Evidence of their* Joynt-Arguments, Professions, *and* Practises Against *it.*

C. DO *as you would be done by*, is the Precept, both of *Gospel*, and *Nature*. With what face then, can you *ask* a *Toleration* from *That Government*, which of all Others, your selves *refused* to *Tolerate?* From *That Prince*, to whose Blessed *Father* (in the Depth of his Agonies) you cruelly deny'd the *Use*, and *Service* of his own *Chaplains?* [A greater Rigour, and Barbarity, then is ever used by *Christians* to the *Meanest Prisoners*, and *Greatest Malefactors*. But They that Envy my being a *King* are loth I should be a *Christian*? While they seek to deprive me of all things else, they are afraid I should save my Soul.] These are the Words of that Pious Prince in his last Extremity.

EIK. BAS. p. 207.

N.G. *That Rigour was the Barbarism of a* Faction, *Not the Principles of the* Party.

C. Hear your *Party* speak then. [*It is much, that our Brethren should* separate *from the* Church; *but that they should endeavour to get a* Warrant, *to* Authorize *their* Separation *from it, and to have Liberty (by Members out of it) to weaken, and diminish it, till, (so far as lies in them) they have brought it to Nothing; This we think to be plainly* Unlawful.

London Ministers Letter to the Assembly, *Jan.* 1 1645.

Toleration *would be the Putting the Sword in a Madman's hand; A Proclaiming Liberty to the Wolves, to come into Christ's Flock to Prey upon his Lambs.*

Harmony of the *Lancashire* Ministers, p. 12.

Extirpate all Achans, *with* Babilonish Garments, Orders, Ceremonies, Gestures; *Let them be rooted out from among Us. You of the Honourable House*, Up; *for the Matter belongs to You.* We *even* All the Godly Ministers of the Country will be with you.

Mr, *Faircloth* on Josh. 7. 25.

Toleration *makes the Scripture a Nose of Wax: A Rule of Faith to all Religions.*

Rutherfords Free Disp. p. 360.

Liberty *of* Conscience, *and* Toleration *of all, or any Religion, is so Prodigious an Impiety, that this Religious Parliament cannot but abhor the very Naming of it.*

Bayly's Diffwasive Bpist. Ded. 1645.

Such a Toleration *is utterly repugnant to, and Inconsistent with the Solemn League and Covenant for Reformation.*

Sion house to the Assembly, 1645.

It

It is unreasonable (says the Defender of the *London Ministers* Letter to the Assembly) *that* Independents *should desire That* Toleration *of* Presbyters, *which they would not* give *to* Presbyters. For *With what face can I desire a Courtesie from Him, to whom I do openly profess, I would deny the same Courtesie?* Does not this hold as well for Us, as it did for You? Anti-Toleration, p. 16. &

N.C. *You must not Impose the Judgments of* Particular Persons *upon Us, as Instances of* Publique Authority.

C. What do ye think then of your *National Covenant*? Was *That* an Act of *Authority*? Wherein you bind Your selves by an *Oath*, to settle *an Uniform Presbytery to the Exclusion of all other Forms of Church-order*, or *Government whatsoever*; (under the Notion of *Schism*) and of *Prelaey* by *Name*? Are your *Consciences FOR Toleration* Now, what were so much *Against* it *Then*? Nay, there are many among you, that reckon your selves under an *Obligation*, to pursue the *Ends* of that *Covenant*, even to this very Day: And do you think it Reasonable, for a Government to grant *Priviledges*, and *Advantages* of *Power*, and *Credit*, to a Party, that owns it self under an *Oath of Confederacy* to endeavour the *Extirpation* of it?

N.C. *You mean I suppose of* Church-Government.

C. I mean of Both *Church*, and *State*. Was it not the Test of the *King's Enemies*, as well as of the *Bishops*? Was it not made *Death without Mercy*, for any Man, having taken the *Solemn League and Covenant*, to adhere to his *Majesty*? *The League and Covenant* (says *Rutherford*) *was the first Foundation of the Ruine of the Malignant Party* in England. And whoever refuses to *Disclaim* it, must be rationally understood, still to Drive on the *Intent* of it. So that to *Tolerate* the *Non-Conformists*, is to *Tolerate* the *Sworn Adversaries*, both of *Royal* and *Episcopal Authority*: Nay, to *Tolerate Those* that have Sworn to *persist* in that Opposition, all the Days of their Lives; Over and above the *Tolerating* of those upon *Pretence* of *Conscience FOR* a *Toleration*, that *deny* to *Tolerate* all other People, upon as strong a Pretence of *Conscience AGAINST* it. The Kirks testimony against toleration p. 10.

Where was This Spirit of *Moderation* toward *the weak Brethren* the *Total Suppression* of the Book of *Common-Prayer*; and the *Imposing* of the *Directory*, to be Observed *in all the* Churches *within This Kingdom*? [No *Ruling Elders*, but such as have taken the *National* Acts and Ordinances, par. 1. p. 97. Ibid 165.

Covenant. No *Electors* of *Elders* neither, (by the Ordinance of *March* 14. 1645.) but ſuch as have taken the *National Covenant*.

Ibid. 371. [No *Ordination*, without a *Teſtimonial* of having taken the *Covenant* of the Three Kingdoms. None to be Admitted, or Entertained in the *Univerſities*, without taking the Solemn *League and Covenant*, and the *Negative Oath*; and Upon Conditions of *Submiſſion*, and *Conformity* to the *Diſcipline*, and *Directory*.

Nay further: You will find in the *Four Bills*, and *Propoſitions* ſent to his Majeſty in the *Iſle of Wight*, (*March* 1647.) when the Two Parties, *Presbyterian*, and *Independent* were upon ſo hard a Tugg;

P. 30, 31. That the *Presbyterian Government*, and *Directory* ſeem'd to be *reſolv'd upon* in *one Line*, and *unſettled* again, in *the very next*. By a Proviſion: *That no Perſons whatſoever ſhould be liable to any Queſtion, or Penalty, for Non-Conformity to the Form of Government, and Divine Service appointed in the Ordinances* (then in Force;) *but be at Liberty to Meet for the worſhip of God; ſo as nothing might be done to the diſturbance of the Peace of the Kingdom.* Yet in This *Criſis* of Affairs; they could clap in another ſtabbing *Proviſo* againſt *Us*, upon the neck of That;

☞ *i.e.* that *this Indulgence ſhall not extend to* Tolerate *the Uſe of* the Book of Common-Prayer, *in any Place whatſoever*. And at this rate you treated the *Epiſcopal Party*, throughout the whole Courſe of your Power.

N. C. *And good cauſe for it; were not they the moſt likely of all others to diſappoint our Settlement?*

C. Agreed. But as to the matter of *Conſcience*; Did you *well*, or *Ill* in't; Or rather, was there any thing of *Conſcience* in the Caſe?

N. C. *Certainly it was very fit for the* Civil Power *to look to it ſelf. And the Power* Eccleſiaſtical *was no leſs concern'd to exact a Conformity to the Laws, and Ordinances of* Chriſt.

C. How can you ſay This, and conſider what you ſay, without blushing? If you did *well*, in *Refuſing* to *Tolerate* the *Epiſcopal way*, becauſe you thought it not *Right*; the Reaſon is as ſtrong for *Our way*, that have the ſame Opinion of *Your's*. If you did *well* on the *Other* ſide, out of a *Political Regard* to the *Publique Peace*, ſo do we now, upon *That very ſcore*. So that you muſt either confeſs, that *You* did *Ill, Then*, in *Refuſing* a *Toleration* to *Us*; or otherwiſe allow that *Authority* does *well, Now*, in not permitting it to *You*.

N. C. *There might be ſome Plea for a little Strictneſs more then ordi-*

nary, in the Heat of an Eager, and Publique Contention: But methinks a Persecution *in* Cold Blood, *does not savour of the Spirit of our* Profession.

SECT. XV.

The Non-Conformists Joynt-Complaints *of* Hard Measure, *and* Persecution, *confronted with their own* Joynt-Proceedings.

C. WHat is it that you call *Hard Measure*, and *Persecution*?

N.C. *Your Unmercifull* Impositions, *upon* Tender Consciences, *by* Subscriptions, Declarations, &c. There are few Nations under the Heavens of God (as far as I can learn) that have more *Able, Holy, Faithfull, Laborious*, and *Truly Peaceable* Preachers of the Gospel, (Proportionably) then Those that are now *cast out* in *England*, and are like in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland* to be *cast out*, if the *Old Conformity* be still urged. [Ours is not a *wicked, Prophane, Drunken* Ministry. Petition for peace. p. 4 1661. M. *Calamy* of the Ark p. 21.

C. That is, by Interpretation: *God we thank Thee, that we are not as other Men are.—Nor even as these Publicans.* But to the Matter.

These People that you speak of, are set aside for *not Obeying* the Law: But What do you think of those, that were turn'd out of their Livings, because they would not *Oppose* it? And they were *dispossest* too, by some of *the present Complainants themselves*: Who first came in at the *window*, and now are turn'd out at the *Door*. No less then *a Hundred and fifteen* were Ejected here in *London*, within the Bills of Mortality (besides *Paul's* and *Westminister*) And the rest of the Kingdom throughout, was purged after that Proportion. Nor was it thought enough to *Sequester*, unless they *starv'd* them too; for they were not allow'd to take the Employment, either of *School-Masters*, or *Chaplains*, but under heavy *Penalties*. In *South-Wales*, the *Gospel* was as well *Persecuted*, as the *Ministry*: the *Churches shut up*, and the People let loose to the Lusts and Corruptions of Unbridled Nature. The Only Pretence of *Justification* that the *Reformers* had, was that *Unchristian*, and *unmanly Libel*, *WHITE'S CENTURIES of Scandalous Ministers*; wherein, without any Respect, either to *Truth*, or *Modesty*, They have Exposed so many Reverend Names, to *Infamy*, and *Dishonour*, for the better Colour of their own Sacrilegious Usurpations. But take This along with you, that

Loyalty in those Days past for a Punishable, and Notorious *Scandal*.

N. C. *These were Acts of* Policy, *and let* Statesmen *answer for them. But to have Men cast out of the Church, because they will not* Subscribe, *and* Declare, *contrary to their* Consciences, *is doubtless a most* Unconscionable Severity.

And What is it in the *Subscription* (I beseech you) that you stumble at? As to the Acknowledgment of *his Majesties Supremacy*, I suppose, you would not be thought to stick at That. And in Matters of *Doctrine*, you make Profession to *joyn* with us: So that about *the Lawfulness of using the Book of Common-Prayer, and your own Submission to the Use of it*, is the Only Question. Your Exceptions likewise to the *Declarations* seem to be very weakly grounded, unless you make a Scruple of Declaring your selves for the *Uniformity* of the *Church*, Or for the *Peace* of the *Civil Government*: In which Cases you cannot fairly pretend to be trusted in *Either*. But not to Extravagate. You are against the *Imposing* of *Subscriptions*, and *Declarations*, you say.

N. C. *I am against the very* Imposition it self, *upon any Terms*: *But when they are prest upon* Grievous Penalties, *they are utterly* Intolerable.

C. And yet when the *Common-Prayer* was *abolish't*, there was a *PENALTY*, of *Five Pound*, for the *first* Offence; *Ten* for the *Second*; And a *Years Imprisonment*, without Bail or Mainprize, for the *Third Offence*, upon any man that should use it. So that Here was an Interdiction of *Our* way of *worship* upon a *PENALTY*; and no notice taken of Invading the *Liberty* of *Our Consciences*. By the same Ordinance, of *August* 23. 1645. was also commanded the Exercise and Order of the *Directory*; and *That* upon a *FORFEITURE* too: with a *PENALTY*, from *Five Pound* to *Fifty*, upon any Man, that should Preach, Write, or Print any thing to the Derogation of it. Now Here was *Rigor*, you see, on *Both Sides*: But no *Clamour*, upon the Matter of *Conscience* in *this case* neither.

How many of Our Ministers were Poyson'd in *Peter-House*, And *Other Prisons*, either for *worshipping according* to their *Consciences*, or *refusing* to Act *against* Them! No Man was admitted to his Composition without *SWEARING*; No Man to live in the Parliaments Quarters without *SWEARING*.

Neither were We only debarr'd the *Common Rights* of *Subjects*, and

and the *Benefits* of *Society*: But the *Comforts* of *Religion* were denied Us; And an *Anathema* pronounced upon Us for Our *Fidelity*. The *General Aſſembly* in *Scotland* Ordain'd, *that known Compliers with the Rebells, and ſuch as Procured Protections from the Enemy; or kept Correſpondence, or Intelligence with Him ſhould be* Suſpended *from the* Lord's Supper, *till they manifeſted their Repentance before the Congregation.* [*Gilleſpy's Uſeful Caſes of Conſcience*, Pag. 19. 20.] His late Majeſty, in his *Large Declaration* of the Affairs of *Scotl.* p. 199. tells you, That *Men were beaten, turn'd out of their Livings, Reviled, Excommunicated, Proceſs'd, for NOT SUBSCRIBING the Covenant.* And again, *Pa.* 202. That *there was an Oath given at a* Communion *at* Fife, *not to take* the King's Covenant, *nor* any other, *but their* own. Now, hear the *Commiſſioners* of the *General Aſſembly*, *July* 25. 1648. *His Majeſties* Conceſſions, *and* Officers *from the* Iſle of Wight, *are to be by the Parliament declared* Unſatisfactory; *unleſs his Majeſty give aſſurance by SOLEMN Oath, under his Hand, and Seal, for Setling* Religion *according to the* Covenant; *before his Reſtitution to his Royal Power.*

But that I am loth to overcharge you, I could give you the Hiſtory of the *Spiriting* ſeveral Perſons of Honour for *Slaves*; *the Sale of three or fourſcore Gentlemen to the* Barbadoes; beſide *Plunders, Decimations*, and infinit other Outrages, both Publique, and Private. Give me leave to mind you now a little, of ſome few of Your General Proviſions for the Deſtruction of the *King's Party*, and the Extirpation of that *Family*, and *Government* to which Providence has once again Subjected you.

(*a*) *An Ordinance for* Sequeſtration *of Delinquents Eſtates.* (*b*) *Delinquents Diſabled to bear any Office, or have any Vote in Election of any Mayor, &c.* Here's *Eſtate*, and *Legal Freedom* gone already: Now follows *Baniſhment* from One Place, and *Confinement* to Another. (*c*) *Delinquents muſt be removed from* London *and* Weſtminſter, *and Confined within five Miles of their own Dwelling.* (*d*) Correſpondency *with* Charles Stuart, or his Party, *prohibited, under Pain of* High Treaſon; and (*e*) *Death to any man, that ſhall attempt the revival of his claim, or that ſhall be aiding or aſſiſting, comforting or abetting, unto any perſon endeavouring to ſet up the title of any of the* Iſſue *of the* Late King.

(*a*) *Scobels* Acts par. 1. p. 37.
(*b*) *p.* 135.
(*c*) Par. 2. p. 10.
(*d*) p. 175.
(*e*) p. 372.

Where were the *Able, Holy, Faithful, Laborious*, and *Truly Peaceable Preachers of the Goſpel, with the tender Conſciences* you talk of, when theſe things were a doing; Truly neither better nor worſe, then up to the very Ears, a great many of them, in the main Action.

Some

Some Preaching up the *Conscience* of the War; Others wheedling the City out of their *Money* to *maintain* it; and calling for more *Blood* in *Prosecution* of it. Till in the conclusion, the *King*, and the *Government*, fell in the *Quarrel*: And the *Pulpits* all this while at hand, to *Patronize* the *Reformation*.

N.C. *This Ripping up of Old stories, does but widen the Breach, without doing any Good at all.*

C. If you would not *hear* of these things again, you should not *do* them again.

N.C. *Then it seems the* whole *must suffer for some* Particulars.

C. No not so. But neither must the *Whole* go *Scot-free* for some *Particulars*. Would you have me open my door to a troop of Thieves because there are four or five honest men in the company? That there are divers *Conscientious*, and well-minded men among the *Non-Conformists*, I make no Question; But I am yet positive in this, that the *Non-Conformists*, in *Conjunction*, are in a direct *Conspiracy*; and when they come once to *agree* in a *Publique complaint*, It is no longer *Conscience*, but *Faction*; this by the By.——Now to the matter before us; I have given you a Breviate of *your own Proceedings*, in the very Case of your present *complaints*. Lay your hand upon your heart, and bethink your self, who are the *Persecutors*.

N.C. *Let the* Persecution *rest where it will*; *I am fully perswaded, that there is no Setting of this Kingdom in a State of* Security, Peace, *and* Plenty, *without an* Indulgence, *or* Toleration.

SECT. XVI.

The Non-Conformists *tell us, that* Liberty of Conscience *is the* Common Interest *of* This Kingdom; *but* Reason *and* Experience *tell us the* Contrary.

C. THat we may not spend our selves in *Repetition*, *Cavil*, or *Confusion*, take notice, that 'tis the *General Cause* of the *Non-Conformists*, which is coming under debate. For *that Toleration* which the *whole Party* desires, must needs be a *Toleration* of the *whole Party*:

Party: And *that* I *Oppoſe*; in confidence, that I have *Reaſon*, and *Experience* on my ſide. We have ſpoken already, as to the *Unlawfulneſs*; and ſomewhat likewiſe, to the *dangerous Conſequences* of it: Together with the *unruly Opinions*, and *Practices* of ſeveral of the Pretenders to it. We are now to look a little further into it, with a more Immediate regard to the *Common Intereſt* of the *Kingdom*, which we may place in the Concernments of *Religion*, *Government*, *Peace*, and *Plenty*.

To begin with *Religion*: I do not underſtand, how that which delights in *Unity*, ſhall be advantaged by *Diviſion*, and *Fraction*.

N.C. *As if there could be no* Unity *of* Doctrine, *without* Uniformity *of* Diſcipline. *The Precept is*; One Lord, One Faith, One Baptiſm: *And not* One way, One Form of worſhip.

C. I might tell you, that it is of *Ancient*, and *unreprovable Practice*, for every *National Church* to appoint *its own Plat-form* of *Service*, and *Ceremonies*; And to require *Obedience*, and *Conformity* to *that Model*, and to *Thoſe Rights* reſpectively, from all its Members. But this I ſhall not inſiſt upon. There is *no Precept* (you ſay) for any *One Way*, or *Form*. But can you ſhew me, that an *Uniformity* of *Service*, and *Rituals* is any where *forbidden*?

N.C. Not in *Particular*: *But* in the *General Prohibition* of all *uncommanded Worſhip*, Pag. 26. Diſc. of Relig. par. 1.

C. The matter in ſhort is this. Either we *have a Rule* in the *Goſpel* for the *manner* of Our *worſhip*; Or we have *none*. If there be *no way* of *Commanded Worſhip*, left us, by *Chriſt*, and his *Apoſtles*; And all *uncommanded worſhip* be (as you ſay) *forbidden*, there muſt be *no appointed Worſhip at all*; and *then*, every man is at *Liberty*, not only to *worſhip* after what *manner* he pleaſes, but (effectually) to chuſe, whether he'l *worſhip* or *no*: Which brings in all ſorts of *Hereſies*, and *Blaſphemies*; and countenances even *Athieſm it ſelf*. Now, on the other hand; If there be any *Particular manner of worſhip Preſcribed* in the *Word of God*; from *that particular manner*, we muſt not preſume to vary, by a *Toleration* of any *other way* then *that*: or of *more*, then *One*. Beſides, that it undermines the *Foundation* of all *Communities*, to deny the *Civil Authority* a Right of Interpoſing in ſuch caſes, as are neither *Commanded*, nor *forbidden*, by *God*.

Let us next conſider the *Probable Effects* of a *Toleration*, in reſpect of the *Parties* pretending to it. Which are, either *Presbyterians*; Or

Or (in a sense of contradistinction) *Independent*. The *former* are for a *Snbordination* in Churches: the *Other* for an *Independency*: (according to their *Denomination*) *these* are for *gather'd Congregations*; the *Other*, for *Parochial*.

I will not trouble you with the Argumentative part of the differences betwixt them; about the *Subordination*, or *Coordination* of *Churches*; The *Redundance*, or *Defect* of *Church-Officers*; The *Receptacle* of *the Power of the Keys*, and the like: But nakedly, and briefly, shew you the *kindness* they have for *One another*; The regards they have for *Christian Charity*, in the menage of the Quarrel; and then leave you your self to Judge, what may be the *Event* of such a *Toleration*, as to *Religion*.

The *Sectaries* (says *Edwards* in his *Gangræna*) agree with *Julian* the *Apostate*, P. 54.] They are *Libertines*, and *Athiests*, P. 185.] *unclean*, *Incestuous*, P. 187.] *Drunkards*, P. 190.] *Sabbath-Breakers*, *Deceivers*, P. 191.] Guilty of *Gross Lying*, *Slandering*, *Juggling*, *Falsifying their Words and Promises*: Excessive *Pride*, and *Boasting*, P. 192.] *Insufferable Insolence*, *Horrible Affronts to Authority*, p. 194.] There never was a more *Hypocritical*, *False*, *Dissembling*, *Cunning* Generation in *England*, then many of the *Grandees* of those *Sectaries*. ——They Encourage, Protect, and Cry up for *Saints*, Sons of *Belial*, and the *Vilest* of *Men*, P. 240.] *Gangræna's Second Part*, 1646.—See Now the *Other Party* do as much for the *Presbyterians*.

The Presbyterian Government is *Anti-Christian*, *Tyrannical*, *Lordly*, *Cruel*, a worse *Bondage* then under the *Prelates*; A *bondage* under *Task-Masters*, as the *Isralites* in *Ægipt*: A *Presumptuous*, *Irregular Consistory*, which hath no Ground in the Word of God, *Barrow*, P. 79.] A *Vexatious*, *Briery*, *Thorny*, *Persecuting Presbytery*. [Pulpit Incendiary, P. 26.] *Formidable to States*, and *Free Kingdoms*. [Mr. *Nye*.] The *Assembly* is *Antichristian*, *Romish*, *Bloody*, the *Plagues*, and *Pests* of the Kingdom; *Baal's Priests*. [Gangræna's Second Part, 230.] *The Seed of God in this Nation has had two Capital Enemies*, *The* Romish Papacy, *and the* Scotch Presbytery. [*Sterry's* England's Deliverance, P. 7.] An *Anabaptist* said, that *He hoped to see Heaven and Earth on fire, before* Presbytery *should be settled*; [Edwards his Gangræna.] *Barrow* calls the *Consistorians*, *Dangerous*, and *Pestilent Seducers*; *Ravening Wolves*, which come to Us in *Sheeps Cloathing*.]

This is enough to shew you the Mutual, and Implacable *Enmity*, and *Opposition* of the *Two Grand Parties*, which, you are now perswading

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ing your ſelf, might be gratified, by a *Common Indulgence*. Let me further Mind you, that the *Strife* ended not there Neither, but proceeded to *Blood*: And that, ſo ſoon, as they had maſter'd the *Government*, in a *Combination*, under the Maſque of *Reformation*, and *Conſcience*; *They parted Intereſts*, and upon the very *ſame Pretext*, Engaged in a *Second War*; and fell foul, *One* upon the *Other*. Wherein they ſufficiently Manifeſted to the World, that they fought, not for *Forms*, and *Ceremonies*? but for *Booty*, and *Dominion*. No leſs to the *Scandal* of the *Religion* of *England*, then to the *Ruine* of the *Monarchy*.

N. C. *You are not to ſtop my Mouth with Inſtances of* Tumults, *and* Factions, *in a Peaceable Plea for* Religion, *and* Conſcience.

C. Do not you know that *Toleration* is as good, as an *Iſſue* in a Government? *All the Vicious Humours in the whole Body flow that way.* But Suppoſe it *Conſcience*? Are the *Diſſenters* ever to be *Reconciled*? Shall we not have *New*, and *Monſtrous Opinions* Propagated daily? And will it not be every Man's Buſineſs, to Advance the Credit, and Authority of his own Party? Where is the *Bond* of *Peace*, in this *Exerciſe*, and *Latitude* of *Diſſention*? The *unity* of the *Church*, in this *Multiplicity* of *Profeſſions*? Which is the *True Religion*, among ſo many *divided*, and *contradictory Pretenſes* to it? Or rather; Is there *any Religion at all*, where there is neither *Chriſtian Charity*, *Stability* of *Principles*, *Reverence*, or *agreement*, *in God's Worſhip*.

N. C. *I hope you will not deny the* Proteſtant Intereſt *to be the* Intereſt *of the* True Religion: *and undoubtedly*, the bringing of the Proteſtants into an Union among Themſelves, is the Advantage of every Proteſtant State,] *and of* Proteſtancy *it ſelf*. Liberty of Conſcien. p. 58.

C. Paſt all Diſpute; and an *Uniformity of Worſhip* brings them into that Union; Which is never to be attained, while the World endures, by a *Liberty of Conſcience*. How was the *Proteſtant Intereſt* (I beſeech you) *united* in the late *Diſſolution of Government*; When *Every Man did that which was Right in his own Eyes*? Examine the Story well, and you will find Reaſon to believe, that *the Church of Rome* has gain'd more upon Us, ſince That *unſettlement of Eccleſiaſtical Order*, then perchance from the firſt hour of the *Reformation*, even unto That very Day. For *Liberty of Conſcience*, did no leſs bring a *Civil War* upon the *Proteſtant Religion*, then the pretended *Liberty of the Subject* did upon the *State*. It turned *every Man's hand againſt*

his Brother. Every Man had a *Religion* to Himself, and *every Man's Conscience* (as I told you) *was his Bible*; and we are still to presume, that *like Causes will produce like Effects.*

It is also remarquable, that the *lowdest*, and *boldest Declamers* against the *Orders* of the *Church*, proved likewise, the most *Pragmatical*, and *Audatious Invaders* of the *Civil Peace*; The *Antecedent Schism* serving only for a *Prologue* to the *Ensuing Sedition.*

Disc. of Rel. par. 1. p. 40.

N. C. *This Arraignment of their supposed* Principles, *about* Government, *may haply proceed upon Mistake. There is Reason to think, that the many late Disputes, about* Prerogative, *and* Liberty *are* Controversiæ ortæ, non primæ; *that they had their Rise from something else, which lies at the Bottom.*

C. This is but *Peradventure I, Peradventure No.* For if a Man may *haply* be in a *Mistake*, he may *haply* too be in the *Right.* I will grant ye likewise, that the Disputes about *Prerogative*, and *Liberty*, had their *Rise* from *somewhat else*, which lay at the *Bottom.* That is to say; It was not *Purity of Religion, Reformation of the Liturgy, Retrenching the Exorbitant Power of Bishops*, or *Scruple of Conscience*, (as they pretended) that wrought the *Subversion* of *Church*, and *State*; but it was the *Design*, which lay at the *Bottom*, of Carrying on the Great Work of *Overturning the Government*, uuder Countenance of that Plausible *Imposture*, and *Disguise.*

Disc. of Relig. par. 1. p. 41

N. C. Inclinations *and* Interests, *more then* Speculative Opinions, *will be found to have born the Sway, and Caused those Active Motions, on the One Hand, and the Other. These* Dogmata, *or* Problems *about* Obedience, *and* Government, , *do but little, where Mens* Affections, *and* Concernments *do not give them* Spirit, *and* Vigor.

C. It is most Certain, that *Problems* draw no *Blood*; and we do not read that ever any Man's *Throat* was cut, with a *Speculation*, or a *Syllogism*; But yet, *Inclinations*, and *Interests* (you allow) may do much, towards *Mischief*: So that, I have what I desire, if I am but able to make it out, that *Liberty of Conscience*, will most indubitably, *beget strong* Inclinations *in the People, to shake off the Yoke of* Government; and that they will not want specious *Appearances* of *Interest* so to Do.

First; The *Servants* of *Jesus Christ* (as the *Non-Conformists* peculiarly

liarly stile themselves) have this Advantage of the *Subjects* of *Temporal Princes*; that they serve the *Better Master*: and the *Dignity* of their *Spiritual Profession* supersedes the *Duty* of their *Political Allegeance*. (So often, as they shall think Good, to stand upon That Privilege) By Vertue of which *Prerogative*, they do not only Claim an *Exemption* from the *Obligation*, and *Reach* of *Humane Laws*; But a *Commission* also, and *Authority*, to *Reform those Laws*, (in Case of *Error*, and *Corruption*) according to the *Standard* of the *Gospel*. Now to this *Principle*, and *Doctrine*, do but add *Liberty of Conscience*; and the *People* have *Law*, and *Magistracy* at their *Mercy* already. For *First*; they reckon themselves no further *answerable* either to the *One*, or to the *Other*, then they find them *Warranted* in, and *Grounded* upon *the Word of God*. And *Secondly*; they may chuse whether or no, they will find any *Law*, or *Magistrate*, whatsoever, to be so *Warranted* or *Grounded*; And consequently, whether there shall be *any Government*, or *No. One Ma'ns Conscience* cannot allow *This*, or *That Injunction* to be *according* to *God's Word*: It may be *Lawful* to *Another*, but it is not so to *Him*; and *He* calls for *Indulgence*, and *Moderation*. *Another Man's Conscience* swears by the most High God, that it is *point blank against* it; and nothing will serve *Him*, but utter *Extirpation*. And whatsoever they call *Conscience*, must pass for *Current*. Every Man is to govern himself by *his own Opinion*, not by *Another bodies*. It is no longer *Liberty of Conscience*, if a Man shall be *run down*, and *concluded* by *Prescription*, *Authority*, *Consent of Fathers*, *Scripture*, *Reason*, and the like, without being *Convinc'd*.

N. C. *I thought you would have shewed me in what manner, or by what means* Liberty of Conscience *comes to turn the* Hearts, *and* Interests *of* Subjects *against their* Superiours, *as you said you would.*

C. A little Patience, and I'le be as good as my Word. It has brought us to this pass, already, you see, that it has cast the *Government* upon the *good Nature* of the *Multitude*, and made it purely *dependent* upon the *Breath* of the *People*, whether it shall *Stand*, or *Fall*. So that (in short) the matter in Question, falls under these *Two Considerations*, *First*, Whether a *People*, left to *Themselves*, either to be under the *Restraint* of *Laws* or *not*, will not rather agree to *cast off a Government*, then to *defend it*. *Secondly*; Whether they will not, likewise, find a very fair appearance of *Interest*, and *Advantage*, in so doing. The *Former*, I think, will easily be Granted, by any Man that does but advise either with the *Common Practises*

of the *World*, or with *Humane Frailty*: Taking the *World*, either in *Individuals*, or in *Parties*.

What ſays the *Artificer*, the *Tradeſman*, the *Farmer*? Why ſhould *we* be put upon Extremities of *Hard Labour*, *Courſe Fare*, *Riſing early*, and *Going to bed late*? (and all little enough to keep our Families from ſtatving.) any more then *ſuch*, and *ſuch*; that lie wallowing in *Eaſe*, *Abundance*, *Luxury*, and *Riot*? But *this we may thank the Law for*; that has *Appropriated* thoſe *Poſſeſſions* to *Particulars*, which *God Almighty* gave us in *Common*. Why ſhould *we* be the *Drudges* of the Kingdom? (ſays the *Day Labourer*) the *Law* is *their Enemy* too, becauſe it keeps them in Awe, that they dare not Steal. It is the ſame Caſe, with *Traytors*, *Felons*, *Vagabonds*, and all *Criminals*. And ſo it is with *Factions*, and *Aſſociated Parties*; *we* might ſet up *This Government*, or *This Church*; and *we*, *'Tother*, (ſay they) if it were not for thoſe Accurſed *Laws*, that make it *Death* to Endeavour ſuch an *Alteration*. This is a True and Naked Accompt of the Peoples *Thoughts*, and *Reaſonings*, in the Point of *Liberty*, and *Obedience*: and a ſufficient Proof of their *Inclination* (not againſt *This*, or *That*; but) againſt *any Eſtabliſhment*: It being the main End of *Government*, to ſecure the *Community* againſt the *Encroachments*, and *Attempts* of *Particulars*: Though to the very great *Damage*, and *Ruine*, many times) of *Private Perſons*, and *Parties*.

If you be ſatisfied now, that the *People* do not Naturally *love Government*, you need not doubt but they will judge it their *Intereſt* to *Remove* it: Every *Male-Content*, entertaining himſelf with hopes of mending his Condition upon the Change. But Alas! This is not an Undertaking for *Single Perſons*, *Small Parties*, or *Petty Factions*, by *Themſelves apart*; but ſome *Common Medium* muſt be found out, for the *Uniting* of them *All*; which, indeed, is amply provided for, in the Project of *Liberty of Conſcience*: and does not only *facilitate* the Work, by drawing the *Diſaffected* into a *Body*; but it does alſo *Countenance*, and *Encourage* it, by *Authoriſing* the *Separation*.

Indulg. & Toler. p. 24. N.C. But to me, it ſeems, on the Contrary, that an *Indulgence would ſet the Peoples Minds at Liberty from Fears and Contrivances, for the avoidance of Impendent Dangers; and encourage them to engage the Utmoſt of their Endeavours and Abilities, in the Buſineſſes of Peace, and Security.*]

C. As to the *Security*, and *Peace* of the *Publique*, if enough be not already ſaid, you may repair to the Hiſtory of our late Broils, for the

the rest: Where you will also find the Condition of *Particulars*, to have been every jot as *Distracted*, and *unquiet* (in proportion) as That of the *Government*.

You are to expect *Schism* in *Corporations*, *Companies*, *Families*; as well as in *Religious-Congregations*: *Divisions*, as well betwixt *Parents*, *and Children*; *Masters*, *and Servants*; as betwixt *Rulers*, *and Subjects*: *Feuds* betwixt *Man*, *and Wife*; betwixt *Brethren*, *Kindred*, *Friends*; and all these *Differences*, variously Influenced, according to the *Benignity*, or *Malignity* of their *Divided Opinions*. Nor will it be any wonder, upon admittance of *this Liberty*) to have as many *Religions* in a House, as *Persons*: where the *Husband* draws *one way*, the *Wife another*; and the rest of the *Family* have *their ways* by *Themselves*, too. And this goes on, (to the utter Extermination of *Order*, *Duty*, and *Quiet*) till they have throughly wearied themselves, with Tossing, and Tumbling from *one Sect*, or *Profession*, to *another*. And then, when they are at their wits End, they commonly take up in the *Church of Rome*, with an *Implicite Faith*,, in the Conclusion.

Now if what I have said, may be of force sufficient to prove, that *Liberty of Conscience*, is *destructive*, both of *Religion*, and *Government*; and of the *Peace* of the *Kingdom*, as well *Private* as *Publique*. I cannot see how it should advance us, (as is earnestly suggested) in the Business of *Trade*, and *Plenty*.

N. C. We shall never have a Flourishing *Trade* without it: *Because the Pressure in these things falls generally more upon the* Trading sort of men, *then any in the Nation. We may see it in the Great City, and in all Corporations: It makes many give over* Trading, *and Retire*; *It makes others remove into* Holland, *and other Forreign Parts*; *as it did heretofore from* Norwich, *to the Irrecoverable Prejudice of our* Cloathing Trade, *upon the like Occasion*; *And it certainly prevents all* Protestant Strangers *to come to* Live and Trade among us. Liberty of Consciens. p. 58, 59.

C. The Pressure (you say) *falls most upon Traders*: I answer, that you begin with a *Non Constat*; for *the Thing it self does not appear*. And then, you make *Traders more Scrupulous* then the rest of the Nation, who are not Generally understood to be *more Conscientious*; as having diverse Temptations in the way of their Employments, to strein a Point of *Conscience* now and then; and they are but *Men*, as well as their *Neighbours*. If your *Observation* be *Right*; We may thank the *Non-conforming Ministers*, who have had the handling of them.

Your

Your urging, that *want of* Liberty *makes many give over* Trading, *and Retire*, does not agree with their Obſervation, that place their wonder on the other ſide, that ſo many *Hold*; conſidering the Circumſtances of a long, and Expenſive *War* with the *French*, and *Dutch*. (The moſt Expenſive that ever this Kingdom undertook.) And Two of the moſt dreadful, and deſtroying *Judgments* that ever Almighty God laid upon this Nation, *i. e. Peſtilence*, and *Fire*, one upon the neck of another.

You object, *the Removal of others into* Holland, *as formerly*. Indeed it is not for the Credit of your Cauſe to mind us of thoſe that formerly left us. Take the Pains to read *Bayly's Diſſwaſive*, Pa. 75. and there you ſhall ſee what work they made in *Holland*: Even ſuch, that *Peters* himſelf was Scandalized at it; quitted his Congregation, and went to *New-England*. *Bridg*, *Sympſon*, and *Ward*, renounc'd their *Engliſh Ordination*, and took *Ordination* again from the *People*. The *People* after this, *depoſed*, Mr. *Ward*; and the *Schiſm* betwixt *Sympſons Church*, and *Bridg* his, was ſo fierce, that their Miniſters were fain to quit their Stations; and the *Dutch Magiſtrate* forc'd to interpoſe the *Civil Authority* to quiet them. In *New-England*, their humour, and Behaviour not much Better (according to the Report of the ſame Author, *Pag.* 60, 61,) Of *Forty Thouſand Souls*, not a *Third Part* would be of any Church; and ſuch *Hereſies* ſtarted, as a Man would tremble to Recite. If only ſuch as *Theſe* forſake us, the Land has a good Riddance.

Further; If it was *to the Prejudice of our Cloathing Trade*, (This Separation) Who can help it? It was Their Fault to betray the Intereſt of their Country, by teaching the Myſtery to *Forreigners*; but no blame at all can be reflected upon the *Government*, for Refuſing *Toleration* to ſuch *Lawleſs*, and *Unruly Libertines*.

Now *as to the hindring of* Proteſtant Strangers *from coming over to us, and Trading with us*, It is a clear Miſtake, to imagine the Church of *England* to be ſuch a *Bugbear* to thoſe of the *Reformation abroad*, as is pretended. (Which ſhall hereafter be made appear) It is not the Act of *Uniformity* that hinders *Strangers*, but the want of an Act of *Endeniſation*; which, perchance, the Wiſedom of future Times will find convenient, for the *Supply*, and *Repair* of that *Depopulation* which is brought upon us by our *Colonies*.

But to come to an Iſſue. How was it with *Trade*, when *Conſcience* took the *full Swinge*? It brought on a *War*; and ſo it muſt again, or a *Standing Army* to *prevent* it. How many Families were ruin'd, on the *one ſide*, with pure *Benevolence* to the *Cauſe* in *Contributions*,

butions, and *Entertainment*, to *the Devourers of Widows Houses*, and *the Captivaters of silly Women?* and on the *other side*, as many were undone with *Taxes*, and *Plunder*. How went *Trading* on, when all Business was neglected, but Gallopping up and down to *Lectures*, to hear *News*, and *Sedition?* When *Prentices* robb'd their *Masters*, and took *Sanctuary* in the *Service?* When *Publique Faith* was a *Tradesmans* best *Security*; and the whole Nation held *Life*, and *Estate*, at the good Pleasure of a *Close Committee?*

N. C. *Let* Liberty of Conscience *be once Fitly given, and the Root of all Mens hopes, and Pretentions, that desire Publique Mischief, is pull'd up.* Liberty of Conscienc p. 58.

C. *Fitly*, will be well indeed; But (with your Favour) what is the *meaning* of *Fitly*? How shall we agree upon the *Dos*? Unless you intend, that the *Magistrate* is to continue *Giving* till the *Subject* shall leave *Asking*. And that must be: For, If ever he thinks of *holding his hand* sooner, he had better have done *nothing*.

N. C. *But what* Colour *will there be for any further* Exception?

C. The very same they have now. *New Scruples* will bolt *New Demands*: And Beside; I should be glad if you would furnish me with any one Instance, where the *Non-Conformists* were ever the *better* for *Indulgence*.

SECT. XVII.

This Kingdom *has been still the* worse *for Indulging the* Non-Conformists, *and the* Party *never the* better. *Which evinces, that* Uniformity *is the* True Interest of this Government, *and not* Toleration.

C. UPon *Queen Elizabeth*'s coming to the *Crown*, Those *Non-Conformists*, that fled, in *Queen Mary*'s Days, and *Separating* from the *English Congregation* at *Francfort*, went off to *Geneva*, came back again for *England*: and with their *Libels*, *Clamours*, *Private Consultations*, and *Meetings*, gave Trouble enough to the *Government* for the *Ten first Years* of *her Majesties Reign*; who was, at that time, so beset, with the *Roman Catholicks*, on the *One Hand*, and the *Puritans* on the *Other*, that she thought it well, upon that Pinch, to

save

Soveraign Self, without Exercising *Rigor*, and *Severity* upon *either Party*. This *Impunity* gave them the Confidence, a while after, to declare themselves for the *Geneva Discipline*, and (in the Fourteenth of Her Reign) by an Audatious *Pamphlet* (under the Title of *An Admonition*) to press the *Parliament* to a *Reformation*. The Principal *Abetters* of this *Libel* were *Discover'd*, and *Clapt up*; And soon after, out comes a *Second Admonition*; telling the *Parliament*, in *Plain English*, that, if *Authority* would not, they must set it up *Themselves*. And it was not long, ere they were as good as their Words, by *Erecting* several *Formal Presbyteries* up and down the Kingdom. (As appeared, upon Undeniable *Proof*, and *Confession* of *Parties* to the *Combination*.) They had their *Synods*; their *Classical*, and *Provincial Conferences*; Pronounc'd their *Decrees*; Concurring in the main against *Bishops*, *Ceremonies*, and *Common Prayer*. They had their *Agents* throughout the *Kingdom*, upon a strict *Survey* of the *Value* of every *Benefice*; the *Number* of *Parishioners*; Their *Quality*, manner of *Life*, and *Conversation*. Their Book of *Discipline* was long upon the Anvile; but at length, (about 1586.) it was *Finished*, *Communicated*, and *Subscribed*: with a *Promise*, to *observe* it *Themselves*, and *to use all Lawful*, and *Convenient Means to further, and advance it*. In Conclusion; the whole Matter came to be Detected; *Cartwright*, *Snape*, and several of the *Ringleaders*, were *Examin'd* and *Committed*: whereupon, *Coppinger*, *Arthington*, *Hacket*, *Wigginton*, *&c.* Entred into a *Conspiracy* for their *deliverance*; and *to have the blood of every Man that should dare to give his Vote against them, in the* Star-Chamber; *nay, to Depose the Queen her self, in Case of her Refusal, to promote the Reformation*. And all this, not without *the Privity, and tacit approbation of the most considerable Ministers of the Party*.

Cam' dens El. &. 1591.

This was the blessed Fruit of *Lenity*, and *Forbearance* under *Queen Elizabeth*; The *Law Justled* out by a *Faction*; a *Plot* upon the *Life* of the *Queen*, and *Counsel*, carried on, under Colour of *Religion*, and *Reformation*.

N. C. *Still I perceive, you pick out the foulest* Cases, *and* Instances *you can lay hold on, to Match with* Ours.

C. Is it not rather *your Misfortune* to write after the *foulest Copies*? But to the Business: What would you say, *if his Majesty now in being, had Queen Elizabeth's Game to play*? Apprehensions of his *Life*, from *Jesuits*, Both *Protestant*, and *Papist*? The *whole Generation* of the *Non-Conformists United* against his *Person*, and *Government*, as well in *Judgment*,

Judgment, as in *Faction*? (which are here divided into a Thousand Disageeements) You would (beyond all peradventure) give the *Government* for *lost*, without an immediate Recourse to an Act of *Indulgence*, and *Accomodation*, to preserve it. Bnt the *Policy* of *Those Times* made Choice rather of *another Course*; Some were *Imprison'd*; *Others*, Put to *Death*; according to the Demerit of the Offence.

N.C. *Are you for Punishing* Inconformity *with* Death *then*?

C. No, by no means; *Hacket*, you know, was not put to *Death* for *Inconformity*, but for *Treason*. And pray let me give You a Brief of his Story, as *Cambden* delivers it.

He was *born* at *Oundle* in *Northamptonshire*; a *Poor*, *Insolent*, *Ill-natur'd*, and *Illiterate Fellow*. He married a *Widow*, spent her Fortune in *Riot*; and when he had nothing else to Trust to, betook himself to the *Imposture* of *Religion*, and an *Affectation* of the *Geneva Discipline*: So far Ingratiating himself with several of the Prime *Zelots* of *That Profession*, that they did him the Honour to make Him of their *Council*, in their *Grand Design*, (to the *Execution* whereof, He also pretended an *Extraordinary Call*, and *Commission* from *Above*) He was (in Conclusion) *Apprehended*, *Charged* with *Treason*, found *Guilty*, *Condemn'd*, and *Executed*. *Cambdens Eliz.* 1591.

Now to shew you the *Devil himself*, in the shape of *an Angel of Light*, This *Hacket*, as He was upon the *Hurdle*, in the way to his *Execution*, never left Calling upon Almighty God, with *Hideous Outcries*: And now behold (says he) the Heavens are Open, and the Son of the Most High coming down to Deliver me. Ibid. When he was come to the Place of Execution, He prosecuted his Blasphemies, with more Horrid Exclamations: I Heavenly and Almighty God, Thou that art the Alpha, and Omega, Lord of Lords, and King of Kings; Thou Eternal God, that knowest me to be the True JEHOVAH, that thou hast sent; Shew some Miracle from Heaven, for the Conversion of These Infidels; and save me from my Enemies; Or if thou dost not, **I'le set the Heavens on Fire, and with these very Hands cast Thee out of Thy Throne.**

I should have scrupled the bare *Recital* of these *Blasphemies*, were it not for the Desire I have, to possess you with a Due Consideration of those *Execrable Abuses*, that are frequently Imposed upon the World, under the *Visor* of *Religion*. The *Condition* of the *Kingdom* was doubtless very *sad*, that had such *Turbulent Spirits* to deal withal; and yet we find, that by *One Severe Law* (of the 35th of the *Queen's Reign*) Her Majesty gave her *Self*, and her *People*, *Quiet*, as to That Particular, for the whole *Remainder* of her Life.

The *Penalties* (as I remember) were These: [*Imprisonment without Bail or Main-prise, for being Present at Unlawful Conventicles; the Offender to be discharged, if within Three Months, He made his Open Submission, and Acknowledgement, in the Form by the said Statute appointed. But in Case of Recusancy to Conform within That time, He was required to Abjure the Realm. And in Case of Refusing to Abjure; Or of not Departing within a limited Time; Or of Returning without Licence, to be proceeded against as a Felon, without Benefit of Clergy.*]

Disc. of Rel. par. 1. p. 40.

N. C. And yet you see, for all your *New-modelling* of *Corporations*; *Prohibiting* of *Conventicles*, *Removing Non-Conformists five Miles from the Place of their Usual Supports, and Influences*: *Nevertheless, the State Ecclesiastical hath advanced little in the Esteem, Acceptance, or Acquiescence of the People.*

C. This is very True; and if *Other Laws* for the Prevention of *Capital Crimes*, were no better *Excuted*, then *That* for *Uniformity*, Your Argument would lie as fair every jot, for the *Toleration* of *Murder*, as it does now for *Schism*. But however, it succeeded well with *Queen Elizabeth*; and not worse with *King James*, as appears by the Story.

His Majesty (under *Twelve Years Old*) took the Government of
Ann. 1577 *Scotland* into his Hand. The Year following, the Ministers presented a Form of *Church Policy*, to the Parliament then Sitting; and upon the *Debate*, matters were agreed, as far as Possible, without Prejudice to the *King's Authority*, and the *Liberty* of the *Subject*: And These Points were either *referr'd* to further Consideration, or *pass'd over* in Silence. The *Assembly* took snuff at this Dilatory way of Proceeding, and, without more adoe, pass'd a Vote, *for doing their own Business, without asking the Parliament leave.* They began with the *Arch-Bishop* of *Glasgow*: and presently fell upon the whole *Order*, requiring Them to renounce their *Temporal Titles*, Their *Civil Jurisdiction*;

diction; To decline their *Votes* in *Parliament*, and to ſubmit themſelves to a *Retrenchment* of their *Epiſcopal Revenues*. Their next ſtep, was the *Demoliſhing* of the *Cathedral* at *Glaſgow*: But when the *Quarriers* were juſt entring upon the Work, the *Tradſmen* of the Town, in an Uproar, threaten'd the Undertakers, and ſo they quitted it: But not without a Complaint to the Council, of the Inſolence of the *Mutineers*; Which came to This Iſſue, his Majeſty juſtifi'd the *Tradſmen*, and forbad the *Miniſters* any further meddling in the Deſtroying of *Churches*. And This was all the Cheque they had for ſo lewd an Outrage.

In 1579. The King wrote to the *Miniſters*, not to prejudge the Deciſions of the *Parliament*, then approaching, by the Concluſion of their *Aſſembly*; and to Forbear the Practice of any *Innovations*, till their *Meeting*. Whereupon, inſtead of *Complying*, they proceeded to a Poſitive *Reſolution* of *Adhering* to their *Former Concluſions*; Queſtion'd the *Arch-Biſhop* of *St. Andrews*, for giving his *Voice* in *Parliament*; and ſoon after, by an Act of *Aſſembly*, They commanded the *Biſhops*, under Pain of *Excommunication*, not to Exerciſe the Office of *Paſtors*, in any ſort whatſoever, without *Licence* from the *General Aſſembly*; and further directing, the *Patrimony* of the *Church* to be ſo diſpoſed of, as they ſhould judge Reaſonable at their next *Convention*: Thus, by Degrees, growing *Bolder* and *Bolder*, upon *Forbearance*.

The Particulars of their *Uſurpations* would be too tedious; I could otherwiſe tell you of their *Juſtification* of the *Treaſonous Seizure* of the *King* at *Ruthuen*; Their *Propoſitions*, and *Complaints* in 1583. with the King's *Gentle Return*; Their *Covenant*, and *Seditious Practices*, even to the Encouraging, and Avowing of *Open Rebellion*. And ſtill the more *Pliant*, and *Eaſie* his Majeſty was, the more *Contumacious*, and *Untractable* were theſe People. In the End; What with the *Tumult* at *Edinburgh*, in 1596. and the *Miniſters Band* of *Confederacy*, immediately upon it; The King was forced upon a Reſolution of *Rigor*, and *Severity*; *and* (as *Spotſwood* obſerves) *he received little or no Oppoſition thereafter*.

At his Majeſties Entry upon the Government of *England*, the Ceremonies of his firſt *Reception*, and *Inauguration* were Carried over, but He was aſſaulted with *Petitions*, and *Importunities* about the *Reformation* of the *Government*, and *Liturgy* of the *Church*, in the Name of Thouſands of Godly, Learned, and Conſcientious Men, that could not Conform: Whereupon, a *Proclamation* was Iſſued for a

Conference to be held at *Hampton Court*, in *January*, 1604. So many *Bishops*, and *Deans* appointed for the *Church*; and for the *Petitioners*, there appeared, Dr. *Reynolds*, Dr *Sparks*, Mr. *Knewstubb*, and Mr. *Chadderton*.

The Points in Controversie, were Particularly, and Solemnly Debated; and in the End, such Satisfaction given even to the *Plaintiffs* Themselves, that they all promis'd Obedience; and Dr. *Sparks* became, afterward, an *Advocate* for the Orders of the *Church*, and wrote a *Treatise* for *Conformity*. *Knewstubb* indeed boggled a little, and desired to know, *How far an Ordinance of the Church was Binding, without Offence to Christian Liberty*? Upon which General Question, The King turn'd short, and Answer'd him; *Le Roy's aviser a*: *Let us have no more of* Those Questions, *How far you are bound to* Obey, *what the Church has once* Ordained: But *Conform* at your *Peril*.

While the Business was fresh, they made a faint Pretense of Appealing to *another Conference*: but upon second Thoughts, they let it totally fall, and never gave the King any further Trouble upon That Subject.

Thus far, you see, the *Government* has been *preserv'd* by strictness of *Order*, and *Uniformity*. We come now to those Fatalities of *Tenderness*, and *Relaxation* that *destroy'd* us.

N. C. *You never consider, that the* Non-Conformists *are more* Numerous, *and* Powerful *now then formerly they were, by many Degrees: and that the Dissenters Cause has got Ground upon the Church Interest ever since. But follow your Discourse.*

C. In the *First* of *the late King*; was exhibited, in Parliament, *A Petition*, (among other Matters) *for the Propagation of the Gospel, and the Restoring of Silenc'd Ministers*; to which, his Majesty, return'd a *Gracious*, and *Yielding Answer*, which produc'd a *Remonstrance* of *Miscarriages* in *Government*; Insomuch, that his Majesty was forced to *Dissolve That Parliament*.

In the *Second* Year of his Reign; He call'd *another Parliament*, which pursu'd the same Method, and went a little Higher then the Former: So that the King was fain to *Dissolve That* too.

In the Year following; the King call'd *Another*; and upon their *Meeting*, went somewhat a quicker way to work with them: Minding them, in a short and pertinent Speech, of their Past Failings; advising them to steer a more Peaceable Course for the Future, and not to put him upon Extremities, to provide for the safety of his People.

People. This change of Stile, and *Resolution*, in his Majesty, drew Immediately from the *Commons* a Grant of *Five Subsidies*. The King was too Generons, and Candid to take That *Present* for a *Bait*; and Relapsing into his former Temper of *Charity*, and *Softness*, was presently accosted with *The Petition of Right*; which after some *Difficulty*, and *Demur*, His Majesty *passes*: And after *This*, followed a *Petition*, *Remonstrance*, and *Protestation*, which put an End also to *That Convention*.

Look now a little into the *Scotch Affairs*, and observe the Growth of the *Non-Conformists Demands*, from one thing to another; till in the End, by virtue of what the King Granted them, they possest themselves of all the Rest. *In their* Tumults (says his Majesty) *they complain'd only of the* Service Book. *In their* Petition *exhibited to the* Council; *they complain'd of the* Service Book, *and* Canons. *In their* Covenant *they complain of, and* Abjure *the* Five Articles *of* Perth. (*although Establiish't, first by a* General Assembly, *and then by* Parliament) *After This, they complain of the* High Commission; *And then, of* Prelats *Sitting in* Civil Judicatories. Kings large Declar. p 73.

Hereupon, *His Majesty Commissions* Marquis Hamilton, *with full Power, and Authority, to Conclude, and Determine all such Things as should be found for the Good, Quietness, and Peace of that Kingdom*: Directing him also to take the mildest Course that might be, for the Calming of those Commotions. And what effect had this *Peaceable Inclination* of his Majesty, upon the *Covenanters*, but to blow them up into more Seditious, and Bolder Practises, against the King's Authority, and the Publique Peace? They pursue their Demands, and Clamour for a *Free General Assembly*, and a *Parliament*. His Majesty gives them all their Askings: Indicts a *Free General Assembly*, and a *Parliament*; *Discharges* the *Service-Book*, the *Canons*; *High-Commission*; The urging of the *Five Articles* of *Perth*: *Commands* the *Subscribing* of the *Confession of Faith*, and the *Band* thereto annexed; in the very Form which they pretended to Impose; And offers them an Act of *Indemnity* for what was past. In all which *Condescentions*, the King's *Patience*, and *Mercy* only served to *heighten*, and *confirm* those Men in their *Undertakings*, and to expose his *Royal Dignity*, to *Contempt*. In the Conclusion, the King had so far gratified their Importunities, that they had nothing left to Quarrel upon, but His Majesties refusing to *Abolish Episcopacy*, and to admit the Authority of their *Lay-Elders*. Large Declar. p. 77. Ib. p. 197.

From hence, they broke out into open *Rebellion*; and (when the King had them directly at his Mercy) upon the Interview of two Armies

Armies near *Berwick*, ſuch was his *Tenderneſs*, that upon their Supplication for a *Treaty*, he Truſted them again, and Concluded a *Pacification*; whereof the *Covenanters* obſerv'd not ſo much as *One Article*.

Upon his return to *London*, his Majeſty (as is elſwhere obſerved) paſſes the *Triennial Bill*; *Aboliſhes* the *Star-Chamber*, and *High-Commiſſion Court*: paſſes an Act for the *continuance* of the *Parliament*. Not to inſiſt upon the ſeveral other *Conceſſions*, concerning *Ship-money*, *Foreſts*, and *Stannary Courts*; *Tunnage* and *Poundage*, *Knighthood*, &c.

Now in *Requital* of theſe *Benefits*, the Faction *Claps up*, and *Proſecutes* his Majeſties *Friends*; *Preſers*, and *Enlarges* his *Enemies*; *Rewards* the *Scots*; Enterteins their *Commiſſioners*; Votes Them their *Dear Brethren*, for *Invading* Us; Calls in all *Books*, and *Proclamations* againſt them. They take away the *Biſhops Votes*; Impoſe a *Proteſtation* upon the people; Take away Earl of *Strafford*'s Life; charge Twelve of the *Biſhops* with *Treaſon*; Declare the King's *Proclamations* to be *Falſe*, *Scandalous*, and *Illegal*; keep his Majeſty out of his own *Towns*; and Seize his *Arms*, and *Ammunition*. They preſent Him with Nineteen *Propoſitions* for the *Reſignation* of his *Royal Authority*. They Vote a *General*, and Raiſe an *Army* againſt him. They Uſurp the Power of the *Militia*, and give the *King Battel*; *Levy Moneys*; and Declare the *Queen* Guilty of *Treaſon*.

After all Theſe Uſurpations upon the *Civil Power*, They are put to't to bring the Cauſe of *Religion* once again upon the Stage: They enter into a *Covenant*; and call in the *Scots* again; They *Aboliſh* the *Common Prayer*; ſecure the *Perſon of the King*; Share the *Revenues* of the *Church*, and *Crown*. They *Sequeſter*, *Raviſh*, and *Impriſon* his Majeſties *Adherents*; and in the Concluſion, *Sell*, *Depoſe*, and *Murder* their *Soveraign*.

This was the Fruit of that Pious, and Unfortunate Prince his *Clemency*, and *Indulgence*.

Now to bring the Inſtance home to the preſent Times: What could be more *Pious*, *Gracious*, or *Obliging*, then his Majeſties *Declaration* concerning *Eccleſiaſtical Affairs*, in Favour of the *Non-conformiſts*? All that was poſſible for the King to do, in Conſiſtence with *Conſcience*, *Honour*, and the *Peace* of his *Dominions*, His Majeſty has therein given them a frank Aſſurance of (with their *Lives*, and *Eſtates*, over and above, in the Act of *Oblivion*; And are they one jot the *Quieter* for all This? No, but the *Worſe*: for no ſooner was the King's Tenderneſs, in that Particular, made publique, but the

Generality

Generality (even of those that had lately Entred into a Regular, and Dutiful *Compliance* with the *Orders* of the *Church*) started into a *New Revolt*: which proves sufficiently, the *Benefit*, and *Necessity* of a strict *Rule*, and the *hazzard* of a *Toleration*: For rather then abide the *Penalty* of the *Act*, they could *Conform*; but upon the least Glimpse of a *Dispensation*, they *Relapse* into a *Schism*.

Neither do I find, that they were less Troublesome, *before* the Act of *Uniformity*, when they Preach'd at *Randome*, then they have been *since*; Nor, to say the Truth, that they have much more Cause of *Complaint*, *Now* then they had *Then*. For what are they the worse, for a *Penalty*, that is never *Executed*?

But if you will have a True Measure of their *Moderation*, and *Good Nature*: I pray'e take notice of their Proceedings upon *His Majesties Commission, for the Review of the Book of Common-Prayer. We will appoint* (says his Majesty, in his *Declaration* concerning *Ecclesiastical Affairs*) *an Equal Number of Learned Divines of* Both Perswasions, *to* Review *the same, and to make such* Alterations *as shall be thought most* Necessary. So that the *Alterations* were to be agreed upon by *Both Parties*, and found likewise to be *Necessary*. Now instead of *Alterations, jointly agreed upon*, They Publish a *Complete Liturgy* of *their own*; indeed a *New Directory*; but under the Title of *The Reformation of the Liturgie* (which in all their Books, signifies *ABOLITION*) Give me the favour, next, to observe upon some of their *Necessary Alterations*, They have turn'd *WEDDED Wife*, into *MARRIED*. *DOEST THOU Believe*? into *DO YOU Believe*? *All this I STEDFASTLY Believe*, into *All this I UNFEIGNEDLY Believe*. These are some of the *Important Scruples*, that are cast into the *Balance*, against the *Unity* of the *Church*, and the *Peace* of the *Kingdom*. What is This, but to make *Sport* with *Authority*, and *Conscience*? *Laws* must be *Suspended*; *Princes Vilified and Importun'd*; because forsooth, the *Godly Party* may not be *Govern'd* by *Laws of their own making*: Nay, by *Words* of their *own chusing* too; So that we are like to have a *Schism*, for *Syllables*, as well as for *Ceremonies*. For what is the Difference betwixt *Wedded* and *Married*, but that the *One* wears the Stamp of the *Law-Makers*, and the *Others* of the *Law-menders*? The Liturgy.

Is it not now evident, that they are the *worse* for *good usage*? And that they have ever been so? You see the Effects of keeping to a *Rule*, in *Queen Elizabeth*, and *King James*: And we have since felt, to our Cost, the Effects of a *Relaxation*: which abundantly satisfies me, That *Uniformity is the true Interest of this Government, and not Toleration*.

N.C.

N. C. Uniformity *is the* Interest *of This Kingdom, as it is of* any other, *where there is any fair Possibility of Procuring it. But the Principles of* Dissent *have taken such Root in This Land, that you may as well think of* Depopulating *the* Nation, *as of* Uniting *it, upon the Points in Question.*

C. But I am otherwise perswaded; and that the Party of *Non-Conformists is* not so considerable, as you make it.

SECT. XVIII.

The Party *of* Scrupulous, *and* Conscientious Non-Conformists, *is neither* Numerous, *nor* Dangerous.

C. I Am apt to believe that Party is not so *Numerous* as you represent it for many Reasons. First; I take *English Mens Consciences*, and their *Neighbors*, to be much of a *Make*: And I do not find the Subject of *Our Controversie*, to be made matter of *Conscience*, by any *other sort* of *Christians* whatsoever, out of his Majesties Dominions.

N. C. *'Tis well we have Good Authority to the* Contrary. *The* Preface *to the* Directory *assures us, that* The *Liturgy* used in the Church of *England*, hath proved an Offence, not only to the Godly at *Home*; but also to the *Reformed Churches Abroad. And* Smectymnuus *tells the* Parliament, (Pag. 10.) *that* there is such a vast difference between *It*, and the *Liturgies* of all other *Reformed Churches*, as that it keeps them at a Distance from us.

C. We'l talk of That anon; and in the mean time (with your good leave) pursue what we have now before us. Another thing that perswades me the *Conscientious* number of *Dissenters* cannot be very great, is This. The *Law* has made an Ample *Provision* for their *Relief*: Leaving *every Houshold*, with *Four more*, at Liberty to Worship according to their own way. So that the *Laity* has no Pretense of Complaint; Especially, those that plead for the *Ordination* of their own *Ministers*, and maintain, that *Seven Persons make a Full, Ministerial, and Completely Organiz'd Church.*

A Man might make an Exception to your *Accompt* too, upon the score of *Old Reckonings*; for you have ever had the faculty of *Multiplication.*

plication. Your *Thouſands* at *Hampton-Court*, came to a matter of *Nine and Forty*: And we remember very well, your old way of *Perſonating Petitions*, from *Multitudes* of the *Godly*, and *Well-affected*, in both *City* and *Country*; when, effectually, the poor Innocent Papers never Travell'd farther, then from the *Cloſe Commitee* to the *Lobby*.

N. C. *If you will not* Credit Report, *believe your* Eyes. *Do you not find our* Meetings Thronged, *and many of yonr* Churches Empty?

C. Somewhat, of Both, I muſt Confeſs: but yet I am likewiſe inform'd, that you *ſhew* divers of theſe *Meetings*, as *Peters* did his *Rings*, and *Bodkins*, at *ſeveral Places*, ſeveral times over and over, to make a *Noyſe*, and increaſe the *Reputation* of your *Party*.

To contract the Diſcourſe. There is a loud *Clamour*, and the *Miniſters* make it. And theſe too, that ſtickle in the Cauſe, none of the moſt Conſcientious neither, unleſs they have a *Goſpel* we never heard of, to *Juſtifie Diſobedience* in *Themſelves*; the *Provoking* of it in *Others*; The *Diſturbing* of the *Publique Peace*, and the Sowing of *Diſſention* betwixt *Prince*, and *People*: Which is manifeſtly the *Scope* of their *Writings*, and *Deſign*.

N. C. *That Undertaking goes ſomewhat too far, to pronounce upon their* Deſigns. *Do you pretend to know their* Hearts *then*?

C. Yes; and with very good Authority, If a Man may be allow'd to judge what Reaſonable Men aim at, from *deliberate Words*, and *Actions*, that lead naturally, to ſuch and ſuch Certain Ends. And this Humour (I tell ye) of *Aſperſing* the *Government*, and *Teizing* the *Multitude*, runs through all their Papers. I durſt appeal to your own Soul, Whether you your ſelf can Imagine, that a *Twentieth Part* of the preſent *Plaintiffs* in matter of *Conſcience*, are truly acted, and poſſeſt with that *Scrupuloſity* they pretend to. Alas! Alas! You talk of *Conſcience*: 'Tis not what every Man *Thinks*, or *Says*, that is Preſently *Conſcience*. We are Impos'd upon by *Phanſie*, *Artifice*, or *Deluſion*. *Some deceive themſelves*, and *Others conſen us*. In one word, Whatſoever is not of *Conſcience*, in this *Medly*, is *Faction*: And undoubtedly, the *Conſcientious Party* has but a ſlender ſhare in the Mixture.

As *That Party* is not *Numerous*, ſo neither is it *Dangerous*, upon Principle of *Honeſty*, and *Religion*. No Man of *Conſcience*, can either *deſire* to *Embroyl* the Kingdom, or *expect* to be the *Better* for't.

But still *have a care how ye take every thing for Gold, that Glisters. Conscience* was the *Subject* of the *last Quarrel*; *Religion*, the *Pretext*; *Popery* the *Bug-bear*; And the Issue of it was Dreadful. Consider with your selves; You have many of the *same Persons* to lead you on; And *They* have the very *same Matter* too, to work upon. *You meant no hurt to the last King*, you say; And yet you ruin'd him: You may perchance *Intend* as *little Harm* to *This*, and yet *do him* as *much*. And what amends is it, when the Government is laid again in *Dust*, and *Desolation*, to cry, *You were Overseen? If you had thought it should ever have come to This, you would have cut off your Hands, or Tongues*; and I know not what. Look Back; and Tremble at the Course you are now upon; for *you are* Questionless, *in the very Track of the late Rebellion*. And one may, without Breach of Charity, conclude, that *No Man that was an Active Instrument in the last War, can acquit himself of a most Prodigious Impiety, and Ingratitude, in reviving, and prosecuting the same Interest, and Method now against the* SON, *by which he notoriously contributed toward the Death of the* FATHER.

SECT. XIX.

The Non-Conformists Appeal, *from the* Government, *and* Discipline *of the* Church *of* England, *to the* Judgement, *and* Practise *of the* Reformed Churches Beyond the Seas; Examined, *and* Submitted *to* Censure.

C. IT is observable, that throughout the whole Quarrel against the *Orders*, and *Government* of the *Church* of *England*, the *Non-Conformists* still fly for *Countenance* to the *Judgment* of the *Reformed Churches*, *Abroad*: And so likewise in the Question of *Toleration*, they Insist much upon the *Practise*, and *Tenderness* of *Other Churches*: As if the *Ecclesiastical State* of *This Kingdom*, were as *Singular*, for *Tyranny*, and *Corruption*, as, in Troth, the *Litigants Themselves* are for *Contumacy*, and *Disobedience*.

Ex. Coll. p. 604. In the *Answer* of the *Two Houses* to the *Scots Declaration*, 1641. This Government by *Arch-Bishops*, *Bishops*, *&c.* is Declared to be *Evil*, justly *Offensive* and *Burdensom* to the Kingdom; a great Imposition to the *Reformation*, and growth of *Religion*: and *Resolved* it is, that *it shall be taken away*, with a regard to the Introducing of *another Government*, more apt to procure an Union, with the Church of *Scotland*, and *Other Reformed Churches Abroad*. And the *Ministers*, in

P. 13. the

the *Petition for Peace*, ſing the ſame Note too: *If Men* (ſay they) *muſt be caſt out of the* Church, *and* Miniſtry, *becauſe they are not Wiſer then the Paſtors of moſt of the Reformed Churches, &c.* As who ſhould ſay; *The Church of England* is the *only Proteſtant Church* in the *Chriſtian World*, that Pretends to this way of Proceeding; and the *Proteſtants Abroad*, are all of the *Non-Conformiſts ſide*. Let this Matter be fairly Examin'd I beſeech you, and we ſhall quickly ſee where the Fault lies.

In the firſt Place; What is the Judgment of the *Reformed Churches abroad*, touching the *Engliſh Epiſcopacy?*

N. C. *You may read their* Judgments *in their* Practiſes: *Or 'tis but looking into the* Reformation *in* France, Holland, *and the* Neighbourhood, *and you may reſolve your ſelf, in the Point.*

C. Truly I find nothing at all to your *Advantage*, which way ſoever I look;

Luther himſelf diſtinguiſhes betwixt *Popiſh Tyrants*, and *True Biſhops*, and profeſſes to Condemn them as *Popiſh*, not as *Biſhops*. *Apol. Conf.* p. 137.

The Authors of the *Auguſtane Confeſſion* profeſs; that they would willingly preſerve the *Eccleſiaſtical*, and *Canonical Politie*, if the *Biſhops* would ceaſe to *Tyrannize* over their *Churches*. *De Refor. adverſ. Eccleſ.* p. 95.

Bucer declares himſelf wholly, for *Biſhops*, and *Metropolitans*: And *Melanchthon* to *Luther*; *You would not Imagine* (ſays he) *how ſome People are nettled, to ſee* Church-Polity *reſtored*: *as if it were the* Romiſh Sovereignty *again. Ita de* Regno ſuo, *non de* Evangelio, *dimicant Socii noſtri. As if the* Quarrel *were* Dominion, *not* Religion.

Calvin acknowledges, that *the Ancient Government*, *by* Arch-Biſhops, *and* Biſhops; *and the* Nicene Conſtitution *of* Patriarchs, *was for* Orders *ſake, and* Good Government. And delivers himſelf to *Cardinal Sadolet*, with an *Anathema* upon *the Oppoſers of that* Hierarchy, *which ſubmits it ſelf to* Jeſus Chriſt.

Zanchie (the Compiler of the *Gallican Confeſſion*) obſerves a Change of *Name*, rather then of *Office*, throughout moſt of the *German Churches*: As *Super-Intendents*, and *General-Super-Intendents*, in the place of *Biſhops*, and *Arch-Biſhops*; Acknowledging that *by the conſent of* Hiſtories, Councils, *and the* Ancient Fathers, Thoſe Orders *have been Generally* allowed *by all* Chriſtian Societies. *Where they are in Exerciſe, let them continue; and where, by the Iniquity of the Times, they have been aboliſh'd, they ought to be reſtor'd.*

Beza (the rigid Successor of *Calvin*) in excuse to the *Arch-Bishop* of *Canterbury*, for meddling beyond his Sphere:—*We do not charge* (says he) *all* Arch-Bishops, *and* Bishops, *with* Tyranny.—*The Church of* England *hath afforded many* Learned *Men, and many Glorious Martyrs of That Function. If That Authority be there still, may a perpetual Blessing go along with it*, This, in the Name of *the whole Church of Geneva*, and Addressed, *To the Primate of all England*, Totius Angliæ Primati. *Saravia*, arguing for the *Hierarchy* out of the *Apostles Canons*, *Beza* returns him This Answer. *This is no more, then what we wish might be restor'd to all Churches.* [Quid aliud hic statuitur, quam quod in omnibus locis, Ecclesiis restitutum cupimus?

Beza cont. *Sarav.* p. 116.

View of the Government. p. 5. Ibid p. 6.

The Three Kingdoms of *Swede*, *Denmark*, and *Norway* (as Mr. *Durell* observes) retein the *Order* still, of *Bishops*, and *Arch-Bishops*. In the *Protestant Cantons* of *Switzerland*, there is also a *Subordination* of *Ministers*. And so in the *Palatinate*; in *Hessen*; the Duke of *Brandenburgh's* Territories; *Anhalt*, *Bremen*, *Poland*, *Lithuania*, &c.

Ibid p. 122

Come we now into *France*, *Holland*, and *Geneva*. And first here *Mr. du Bosc* of the *Reformed Church* of *Caen*. *Well ordered* Episcopacy *hath most Important, and Considerable Utilities, which cannot be found in the* Presbyterian Discipline.

Ibid. p. 125

Mr. Gaches, one of the *Ministers* of *Charenton*. *The best Men in our Churches* (says he) *have honour'd the* Prelates *of* England.—*The Name of* Schism *may do more harm to the Church in one Year; then the Excess of* Episcopal Authority *can do in an Age.* And again: *Sin hath brought in the* Necessity *of* Government; *and the* Failings *of* Ministers *make the* Order *of* Bishops Necessary.

Ibid. 138.

Ibid. 140.

Mr. le Moyn, of *Roven*, pronounces it to be *want of* Prudence, *and* Charity, *if any seek the ruine of* Bishops, [*I trust that his Majesty will be sure to re-establish the* Authority *of the* English Church, *and use his Power for a perfect Re-union of all the* Reformed Churches; *which that he may Effect, His Majesty must preserve his* Bishops.

Ibid. 146.

I hold it impossible (says *Mr. Gayon* of *Bourdeaux*) *that* England *can ever be* quiet, *and* flourish, *but under the* Episcopal Government.

Ibid 118.

In *Holland*, *Bogermannus*, (the *President* of the *Synod* at *Dort*) upon a Suggestion from the Bishop of *Landaff*, how fit a Remedy *Episcopacy* would be for the Suppression of *Heresies*, and *Schism*, made this Reply; *Domine non sumus adeo fœlices*] We are not so happy, My Lord. And for *Geneva*, we have the Voices of the Principals of that Church also, for the *Authority*, and *Advantage* of *Episcopal Government*. So that if you be no better *Seconded* against our *Ceremonies*, then you are against our *Bishops*, you have the whole Stream

of

of *Protestant Divines* against you. This is according to what I have formerly had occasion to deliver, upon *This Subject.*

N. C. *We do dissent, upon just Reasons, from the* Ecclesiastical Hierarchy, *or* Prelacy, (*Disclaimed in Covenant*) *as it was Stated, and Exercised in These Kingdoms; yet do not, nor ever did renounce the* True, Ancient, Primitive Episcopacy, *as it was* Balanced, *or* Menaged *by a* Due Commixtion *of* Presbyters *therewith.* Petition for peace, p. 5.

C. We are not here to Debate the *Quallifications*, and *Limits* of the *Episcopacy* you pretend to: but to proceed, having made it appear, that the *Hierarchy*, which (under Colour of *Reduction*, or *Commixtion*) you formerly *rooted out*, and are now again *undermining*; is That very *Hierarchy*, which you have now heard *Reverenced*, and *Recommended* by so many *Venerable Testimonies.* Or, if after all this, you can but produce *one Publique Act* of any *Protestant Church*, beyond the Seas, in favour of your Claim, do it; and save your Party the Credit, of not being *Single*, and *Particular* in your *Schism.* What have you next to say against our *Ceremonies*?

N. C. *All the* best Reformed Churches *of* Christ, (*who only are Competent Judges in this Case, and to whose* Judgment, *and* Example, *we ought rather to Conform our selves, in* Ceremonies, *then to the* Synagogue *of* Anti-Christ) *do esteem those* Ceremonies, Needless, Inexpedient, *and Fit to be* Abolished: *How the Churches of other Countries approve of them, may appear sufficiently by this, that they have banished the use of them out of their Assemblies.* The Old Non Conformist, p. 21.

C. Are they only *Needless*, *Inexpedient*, and *Fit* to be *Abolish'd* then? I thought you would have found them absolutely *Unlawful*, *Idolatrous*, and upon pain of *Damnation*, not to be *Retained.* According to this Measure, what will become of the whole Frame of our Government, if it shall take you in the head, to say the same thing of every *Law*, and *Constitution* of the Land? *Ceremonies* will not down with you, because they are *Needlesse*, *Inexpedient*, &c. I beseech you, shew me the *Needfulnesse* of *Killing*, and *Plundring*, or the *Expedience* of *Dissolving Publike Laws*, and *Depopulating Kingdoms*: and yet these are Matters you can *swallow*, even without *chewing*, *needlesse* and *Inexpedient*? Softly, I beseech you; you are for teaching your *Governors* more *Wit*, as well as more *Religion*, and *Conscience.*

N. C.

N.C. Keep to your *Text* I pray'e; for we are not now upon the *Lawfulnesse* of the *English Ceremonies*; but upon an Enquiry, what *Entertainment* they receive in the *Judgement*, and *Practise* of *other Reformed Churches*, without engaging our selves in any other consideration of their *Reason*, and *Convenience*. I say, *they are banish'd out of their Assemblies*, and *you* are at *Liberty* (if you can) to prove the *Contrary*.

C. Let us first see how far we agree upon the allowance of any *Ceremonies* at all, and where to place the *Right* and *Authority* of Imposing them.

The Church of England *thinks it convenient, that every Country should use such* Ceremonies *as they shall think best, to the setting forth of Gods Honour, and Glory, &c.* which is according to the sense of *Other Reformed Churches*, as appears by their several *Confessions*.

With *Us* agrees, first, the Church of *Helvetia*. [*Churches have always used their Liberty in* Rites, *as being things* Indifferent, *which we* Cap. 27. *also do at this Day.* That of *Bohemia* likewise; [Humane Traditi- Cap. 15. ons, *and* Ceremonies, *brought in by a good Custom, are with an uniform Consent to be retained in the Ecclesiastical Assemblies of Christian* Art. 32. *People, at the Common Service of God.* The *Gallican*; [*Every Place their* Peculiar Constitutions, *as it shall seem meet for them.* The *Bel-* Art. 32. *gique*; [*We receive those Laws that are fit, either to cherish or maintain Concord, or to keep us in the Obedience of God.* That of *Ausburgh*; Art. 15 [Ecclesiastical Rites, *which are Ordein'd by* Man's Authority, *and tend to Quietness, and Good Order in the Church, are to be Observed*, That Art. 20 of *Saxony*; [*For* Order *sake, there must be some* Decent, *and* Seemly Cap. 14. Ceremonies. That of *Swethland*; *Such Traditions of Men, as agree with the Scriptures, and were Ordained for Good Manners, and the Profit of Men, are worthily to be accounted rather of God then of Man.*

N. C. *The Question is not, about an* Agreement *in* Ceremonies *that may be Exercised without* Offence, *either to* God, *or* Man; (*according to your Instances*) *but about their Liking, or Distike, of those in Practise among us*: *As the* Surplice; *Kneeling at the* Communion; *The* Cross *in* Baptism, *and the like.*

View of the Government, p. 5. C. As to the *Surplice*; *Mr. Durell* tells you, that the *Churches* that *Conform* to the *Confession* of *Augsburgh*, have the very same *Ceremonies* with the *Church* of *England*: And *Surplices* in many Places. And further; that a *National Assembly* at *Charenton*, Anno. 1631. *hath*

hath declared, that there is neither Idolatry, *nor* Superstition *in That Worship.* The *Protestant Ministers* also in *Bohemia, Lithuania, Prussia,* make no Scruple at all of *Preaching* in *Surplices,* whensoever they are called upon to *Preach* where *Surplices* are used. Nay, *Calvin* himself, does not approve of *Hooper's* violent *In-conformity* in that Point. [*De Pileo, &c.* Veste Linea, *maluissem* (*ut illa etiam non prebem*) *non usque adeo ipsum pugnare: Idque nuper suadebam.* And let *Mr. Baxter* pin the Basket. *Some Decent Garment is necessary; either the Magistrate, or Minister himself, or the Associated Pastors must determine what. If the Magistrate or Synod tie all to one Habit,* (Suppose it *Indedent*) *yet this is but an Imprudent use of Power, and the thing it self being* Lawful, I would *Obey,* and *use that Garment.*

Ibid. p. 24, 25.

Ep. Bullinger. fol 98.

Baxters Five *Disputarions, disp.* 5 *ca* 2. *sect.* 40.

N. C. *You only make mention where it has been* used, *and* permitted; *but you take no Notice where it has been* Rejected. *And then the Personal* Authorities *you cite, in* favour *of it, declare their* Judgments *to be still* against *it.*

C. But only so against it, as not to Allow of a *Separation,* upon *That Scruple.* Now whereas you object the *Refusal,* or *Rejection* of *it,* elsewhere: It does not follow, that every Church *disallows,* what it does not *Practise*: And it shall content me, to find the *Practise* of *many Churches for* us, and *None, against* us.

As to *Kneeling* at the *Communion*; the *Bohemian Churches* use that *Posture,* and so do the Churches of *Poland.* With whom, the *French,* and *Dutch* do so far agree, as *In hoc Ritu, suam cuique Ecclesia Libertatem salvam relinquere.* To leave every Church at its own Freedom, in that Particular.] *Mr. Baxter* in his *Five Disputations,* does also profess, *that rather then disturb the Peace of the Church, he would* Kneel *too*; How hardly soever he may think of the Imposition. So that in the Case of *Kneeling,* likewise, we have several of the *Reformed Churches* that joyn with us in the *Practise* of it, and not so much as any *one* of them, that appears in our *Condemnation.*

Touching the Use of the *Cross* in *Baptism*; (beside the undeniable *Antiquity* of the Custom) you may hear from *Mr. Durell,* that *The Reformed Churches of the Confession of* Augsburgh, *do for the most part use it*; *and that at* Paris, *many Children of the* Church *of* Charenton; *have been Baptized in the Chappels of the* English Embassadours *there, according to the* Rites *of the Church of* England. And moreover, that only

View of the Government, pa. 41.

only the *Non-Conforming Engliſh*, and *Scotch oppoſe it.* I could enlarge my ſelf, upon very good Authority, to the juſtification of our way of Worſhip, *throughout*, in every *Particular* of your *Exceptions*; but I will rather chuſe to encounter *all your Objections at once*; by proving, that the *Proteſtant Churches, Abroad*, have as great a *Reverence* for the *Authority, Rites*, and *Ceremonies* of the *Church* of *England*, in the whole Frame of the *Conſtitution*, as they have a *Kindneſs* for the *ſeveral Parts* of it, which they do *ſeverally Exerciſe* among *Themſelves.*

I muſt ſtill be beholden to the Induſtry of the Reverend *Durell*, who has much obliged us with a clear, and Methodical Manifeſtation of the *Agreement* of the *Church of England*, (as it is now Eſtabliſhed by the *Act of Uniformity*) with *other Reformed Churches beyond the Seas.*

View of the Government, p.63. Sir *John Colladon* (one of his Majeſties Phyſicians in Ordinary) *had the Honour to Congratulate his Majeſties Reſtauration, from the City and Church of* Geneva, *and from the* Proteſtant Cantons *in* Switzerland. *Upon his departure, he put this* Quære *to the Rulers of the ſaid Church*; Whether he might Lawfully Joyn with the Church of *England*, in Publick Worſhip, and receive the Holy Sacrament according to the uſual Rites thereof? *It was anſwered, that he might; and that it was not to be queſtion'd.*

Ib.p.73. Here is alſo, *a whole* French Reformed Congregation, that hath *Conformed to the* Rites *and* Ceremonies *of the* Church *of* England, to the great ſatisfaction of the Divines at *Rouen, Paris, Geneva, Bourdeaux*, &c. And ſince the Eſtabliſhment of this Church, divers Miniſters have come over from *Geneva, France, Germany, Poland, Lithuania, Piedmont*; *Students, Elders, Private Perſons:* and none of them ever yet refuſed, either to *aſſiſt*, or *conform.*

Ib p.90. Ib.p.92.

Ib.p.64. *Mr. de Laune, Miniſter* of the *Wallons Church* at *Norwich*; and *Mr. Calendrin* one of the Miniſters of the *Dutch* Church in *London*, have divers times Officiated in *Engliſh Congregations*, according to the Book of *Common Prayer* of the Church of *England*] without any Scandal, either Given, or Taken.

Nay, ſo far are they from *diſowning* us, that the *French Divines* hold them for *Schiſmatiques*, and *Puniſhable*, that refuſe Communion with us. Bucer *thanks God with all his Soul, to ſee the* Engliſh Ceremonies *ſo pure.*

Ib.69. *Scripta Anglica.* p.445.

N.C. And have they, I beſeech you, their *Set Forms*? Their *Peremptory Impoſitions*? Their *Declarations*, and *Subſcriptions*?

C. Yes,

C. Yes, yes; all this, and more for *Set-Forms*, methinks you ſhould rather tell me *any one Reformed Church* that wants a *Set Form*, then put me to the trouble of *Naming* all that have. *Calvin* and *Beza* are Poſitive for them. *Geneva* much more ſevere for the Obſervance of them, then we are here; *Inconformity* there, is cauſe of *Baniſhment* for a *Year*: and the *Gallican Church* makes it a matter of *Excommunication*. In *Geneva*, *Calvin* eſtabliſh'd his *Diſcipline* by an *Oath*, both upon *People*, and *Paſtors*, *to obſerve that Form for ever after*. The Miniſters take an *Oath* of *Canonical Obedience* in *Hungary*; And the *French Divines* are not admitted, without *Subſcription*. There's no Impoſing upon *Publike Laws*, with *Private Scruples*: No bandying allow'd, betwixt *Conſcience* and *Authority*: *He that will not ſubmit to the Orders of a* Community, *away with him* (ſays *Calvin*.) It is not enough to take cheque at the *Conſtitutions* of the *Church*, under colour of a weak *Conſcience* (or ſo pretended) but you muſt be fully ſatisfied, that the *Conſtitution* is *Wicked In It Self*. Nay, *Calvin* caries it further. Suppoſe it really *miniſters Matter of Offence*; (ſays he) *That will not ſerve to vacate the Obligation*, unleſs it be alſo found to be *Simply*, and *In It Self Repugnant* to *the Word of God*. [*Quia tamen Verbo Dei per ſe non Repugnat, Concedi poteſt.*] To provide againſt *Evil conſequence*, is the *Magiſtrates* Duty, not the *Subjects*. *Hobkers* Eccl. Pol. Preface.

N. C. *The* Worſhip *of God, is in it ſelf* Pure, *and* Perfect, *and* Decent, *without having any ſuch* Ceremonies *affixed thereunto*; [*And many Faithfull Servants of the Lord, knowing his Word to be a Perfect Rule* of Faith, *and* Worſhip, *have ever been exceedingly fearful of Varying from his* Will, *and of the Danger of Diſpleaſing him, by* Additions, *or* Detractions, *in ſuch Duties.* Two Papers of Propoſals, p. 7, 8.

C. You will hardly find any honeſt Preſident for this *Nicety*. (*Calvin* would have given it a *worſe Name*) *Teſtatum Velim* (ſays he) *me non de* Ceremoniis *Litigare, quæ* Decoro *ſervant, &* Ordini *ſervant: vel etiam* Symbola *ſint, & Incitamenta ejus quam Deo debemus Reverentiæ*. He Declares himſelf, you ſee, not only for *Ceremonies*, of *Order*, and *Decency*; but for *Ceremonies of Significancy*, and *Incitement* to *Reverence* and *Devotion*. And in another Place, Eyrone (Inquies) *nihil Cæremoniarum ruditeribus tribuam, adjunctam Eorum ſuperſtitiam? Id ego non dico, omnino enim illis eſſe ſentio, hoc Genus Adminiculi.*] Will you allow of *no Ceremonies* then at all (you ſay) for the *Inſtruction* of the *Vulgar*? You do not hear me ſay ſo; for I am clearly of opinion; that they are of very great *uſe*, and *ſervice* to the People. Inſtit. lib. 4. c. 9 ſect. 14.

Upon the Main; The *English Non-Conformists*, (as *Mr. Durel* well observes) are a sort of People by themselves; and *Non-Conformists* at *Geneva*, and *Frankfort*, as well as at *Canterbury*, or *London*.

M. C. *But still, methinks, whatsoever our* Consciences *are as to the way of* Publick Worship, *we might yet be Indulged with an Allowance of Serving God among our selves. Why should a* Toleration *do worse Here, then in* Holland?

C. I might *Answer* you with another *Question*. Why should a *Commonwealth* do worse *Here*, then in *Holland*? Or Why should a *Standing Army* do worse *Here*, then in *Holland*? Beside If you look narrowly into it, you will find the *Dissenters* from the *Settlement* There, to be rather *Strangers*, then *Natives*. *English, French, High* and *Low Dutch*, that flowed into them upon the General Revolt from the Church of *Rome*: *Lutherans*, and *Anabaptists*, out of *Germany*; *Calvinists* out of *France*; *Separatists*, and *Semi-separatists* out of *England* in the Days of *Queen Mary*, and *Independents*, since; all which were entertained, more out of Regard to *Policy*, then *Conscience*; their Business being at that time to shake off the Yoke of *Spain*, and *Change* the *Government*: To which End, these *several Parties* contributed effectually, by preparing the People for the Alteration Intended, and inuring them to *New Principles*, both of *Religion*, and *State*.

And yet you are not to understand *Theirs* to be a *Perfect Toleration* neither. For you see, they would not, upon any terms, allow That Freedom to the *Arminians*, which they did to *Others*; but Convened a *Synod*, and *Exterminated* the *Sect*. The reason was, they had a Jealousie of the *Arminians*, for *Barnevelt's* sake, the Head of that Party.

You are to take notice also of the great difference betwixt the *Interest*, and *Condition*, of *Our Ministers*, and *Theirs*. *Our Clergy have a Freehold in their Benefices for Term of Life*; and if they be *Factiously disposed*, they may Evade the *Law*, and do a *Mischief*, without making a *Forfeiture*. Whereas *Theirs* Preach upon *Good Behaviour*; Live upon the *States Pay*; and upon the least Colour of *Offence*, may be *Turn'd off* at pleasure. I need not tell you what Havock *Peters*, *Bridges*, *Symson*, *Ward*, made in *Holland*: But what they did *Abroad*, the same thing they would have done at *Home*, if they had been *Tolerated*.

M. C. *What do ye think of Poland then?*

C. I think

C. I think, That Story speaks little to your [illegible] either in respect of their frequent *Seditions* [illegible] prodigious, and Heretical *Opinions*? And yet they [illegible] strongest Obligation in Nature to keep them quiet: the [illegible] other *Powerful Neighbours*, lying hard upon them; which [illegible] their Case to be rather an *Agreement* against a *Common Enemy* among *Themselves*.

N.C. *Now take all at the worst: It's but* Athanasius *against the* World, *and The* World *against* Athanasius. Number *and* Truth, *are not allways of a Side.*

C. And yet *Your Multitudes* make up a part of your *Argument*. This however let me speak for you; There has no *Industry* been wanting to Propagate your *Profession*.

In the Year 1619. The *Scotch Discipline* was presented to the *Synod* at *Dort*, for their *Approbation*; but they would not meddle with it.

Anno 1654. Upon the Reprinting (at *Geneva*) of *A Collection of the several Confessions of Faith*, received in all the *Reformed Churches of Europe*; under the Title of, *Corpus, & Syntagma Confessionum Fidei*, &c. It was moved that the *Thirty Nine Articles* of the *Church of England*, might be left out, and the *Assembly Mens Confession*, put in the place: But the Motion was totally rejected, The *Thirty Nine Articles Inserted*, and not a word of the *Directory*. Spotswoods Hist. of Scotland, p. 540. View of the Government, pa. 173.

They had no better luck with their *Covenant* neither, when with their *Discipline*, [*The* Ministers, *and others of the* Consistory *at* Charenton, *and of other* Reformed Churches *in* France, *as also the* Profeſsours, Ministers, *and* Consistory *of* Geneva, *and of other Neighbouring Reformed Churches in those Parts, were so scandalized with this Prodigious Covenant, as that they were afraid of nothing more, then this, that it would bring an indelible* Scandal *upon the* Reformed Churches, *and alienate the Minds of all the Princes of* Christendom, *from ever entertaining a good Thought of their Religion.* Kings large Decla. p. 75.

The *Reverend Assembly* of *English Divines*, and *Scotch Commissioners* (as they stiled themselves) sent the Copy of their *Covenant*, and a *Solemn Invitation* to *Seventeen Reformed Churches* beyond the Seas, to *Joyn* with them. Their Letter should have been *Latin*, But so it was, that they left it *a Measuring Cast*, whether they were the better *Christians, Casuists, Subjects*, or *Grammarians*. Their skill was most

employ'd in Exhorting the *French Protestants* to follow *Their Example*, and cast off the Yoke of *Antichrist*; (that is to say, of *Obedience*.) And in Calumniating their *Sovereign*, as a *Confederate* with the *Popish Interest*, to destroy the *Protestancy*. Which *Designe*, was only to be *obviated*, by a *Holy League*. This was the Drift of the *Addresse*; But we never heard Syllable of the *Answer*.

There needs no more be said to prove the Judgment of the *Reformed Churches strong*, and *unanimous* against you; and you had best make a Trial, if you can supply by *Reason*, and *Argument*, what you want in *Countenance*, and *Authority*.

SECT. XVII.

The Non-Conformists Exceptions *to Our* Publike way *of* Worship, *found Guilty of Great* Impiety, *and* Errour.

C. WHat are your *Exceptions* to *Our Way* of *Worship*? Are they *General*; or *Particular*? Is it the *Imposition it self*, or *the Thing Imposed*, that displeases you?

N.C. *Why truly* Both. *The* One *takes away my* Christian Liberty; *and the* Other, *the* Liberty *of my* Conscience. *The greatest part of* my *Trouble*, *is the* Act *of* Uniformity.

C. Is it the *Model*, or the *Uniformity* you stick at?

N.C. Both *alike*; *for neither is the* Particular Act *fram'd to* my Satisfaction; *nor is it possible that any* One Form *of* Worship *should suit* All Judgments.

C. Will *Toleration* suit *All Judgments*, any better then *Uniformity*? But, I perceive, you do not accompt the *Sanction* of any *One* Form *whatsoever* to be *Lawful*.

N.C. *Indeed I do not think it* Lawful *for a* Magistrate *to enjoyn any thing upon a* Penalty, *which a* Private Person *may not* Conscientiously Obey *him in*; *Nor do I think it* Warrantable, *for a Man to* Obey *any* Humane Command, *against the Dictate of his* Conscience.

C. Put This together now. First, *It is not* Possible *that any* One Form

Form *of Worſhip ſhould ſuit* All Judgments: *And then, it is not* Lawful *to enjoyn any thing upon a* Penalty, *which does* Not *ſuit* All Judgments. What is This, but a meer *Trifling* of *Government*; to ſuppoſe a *Law*, without an *Obligation*?

Again; If the *Magiſtrate* cannot *Impoſe*, neither can he *Tolerate*; unleſs you'l ſuppoſe him a more Competent Judge of *Your* Conſcience, then of his *Own*: for you *allow* him to Underſtand what he may *Tolerate*, and *deny* him the Knowledge of what he may *Impoſe*. So that either he has no *Power*, or no *Reaſon* to favour you: No *Power*, as you ſtate his *Capacity*; And no *Reaſon*, as you diſclaim his *Authority*. But you were ſaying, that the *Impoſition* takes away your *Chriſtian Liberty*. As how, I beſeech ye?

N. C. *In making Thoſe things* Neceſſary, *which Chriſt left* Free. *For wherein does* Chriſtian Liberty *more concern it ſelf, then in the* Free uſe *of* Indifferent, *or the* Forbearance *of* Doubtful *things, which we are bound entirely to* preſerve; *And whereof, by your* Eccleſiaſtical Injunctions, *we ſtand* Depriv'd?

C. If the *King* be *Ty'd up*, in Matters that are either *Commanded*, or *Forbidden*; and the *People* left at *Liberty*, in things *Indifferent*: I would fain know what *Authority* has to work upon. But this Point will fall in of it ſelf by and by: Though enough be ſaid already, to prove your *Poſition* utterly *deſtructive* of *Order*, and *Society*. For there is but *Good*, *Bad*, and *Indifferent*, in Nature: What we are *Bound* to do; What we are Bound *Not* to do; and What we may either *Do*, or *Let Alone*. (That is to ſay, without the Interpoſal of ſome Incidental *Obligation* to *determine* that *Indifference*.)

The Aſſerters of this Doctrine, fetch their Warrant for it, out of *St. Paul* to the *Galatians* 5. 1. *Stand faſt in the Liberty wherewith Chriſt hath made us free.* Upon *this Text* they ground their *Exemption*. But *here* they prudently *ſtop* too; for the *Context* would have ſpoil'd all: And they might as well have Argu'd againſt the *Efficacy* of *Chriſt's Death*, from the *latter* part of the *ſecond Verſe*, as for *Chriſtian Immunity*, (in the Latitude they underſtand it) from the *former* part of the *firſt*. The *Apoſtle* goes on in Theſe Words; *And be not entangled again with the Yoke of Bondage.* 2. *Behold*; *I* Paul *ſay unto you, that if ye be Circumciſed*, Chriſt ſhall profit ye nothing. *For I teſtifie again to every Man that is Circumciſed, that he is a Debtor to do the whole Law.*

The

The Case, briefly, was This. By the Coming of our Blessed Saviour, the *Jewish Ceremonies* were *abolish'd*. Some that had a mind to Continue them, and keep the People still under the Yoke of the *Law*, stood for the Doctrine of the *Circumcision*, (which was here the very matter in Question.) The Apostle cautions the *Galatians* against it; and *not to be entangled again with the Bondage of the Law*. Which amounts only to a *Discharge* from the *Bondage* of *that Law* to which they were *before* Subjected; without extending That *Liberty*, to the Prejudging of *Authoritative Laws*, and *Impositions* for the time to *come*. As if the Apostle had Preached *one thing* to the *Galatians*, and the *contrary* to the *Romans*. *Obedience*, at *pleasure*, in *one* place; and *Obedience* under pain of *Damnation*, in *another*.

In the *Second*, and *Third Verses*, *St. Paul* (you see) clears, and presses it further. As if he had said; *Be Circumcised* at your *Peril*. For *That single Point* of the *Law*, makes you answerable for the Performance of *every tittle* of it. *We are not* (says *Calvin*) Perperam ad Politicum Ordinem) *perversly to apply the Doctrine of* Spiritual Liberty, *to* Political Order, *as if* Christians *were to be ever the less Subject to* External Government *by* Humane Laws, *because their* Consciences *are set at* Liberty *before* God. Nay, says he, in another place; [*Si Ecclesiæ Incolumitati bene prospectum volumus*] *The Church can never be safe, without* St. Paul's Decency and Order. *But in regard of the diversity of* Customs; *and the variety of Mens* Minds, *and* Opinions; *It is not possible to secure any Polity, without the Authority of certain Laws; or to preserve any Order, without some stated Form. Now so far am I from condemning any Laws conducing to this End,* [Ut his ablatis, dissolvi suis Nervis Ecclesias, Totalque Deformari, & Dissipari contendamus] *that I look upon the Removal of them, as the Dissolution of the very Sinew of the Church, and expect nothing after it, but Deformity, and Dissipation.* Nor is it to be Imagin'd, that *All things should be done* Decently, *and in* Order, (after the Apostles Precept) *but by the mediation of certain Rules, and Observations, which may serve as so many Bonds for the Regulation of that* Decency, *and* Order. *Always provided,* That Those *Ceremonies* be not Imposed as *Necessary* to *Salvation*, or *Essential* to God's Worship.

Calvin Instit. l. 3 c. 19. sc. 15

Ibid. l. 4. c. 10. sc. 27.

From your Plea for *Christian Liberty*, (which is a *Proposition*, in it self, destructive of all *Communities*) let us now move to your *next Exception*, in the Matter of *Scruple*: which I am afraid will be found no less *Intolerable* in *Religion*, then the *other* was in *Government*; and *Dangerous* enough in *Both*.

It would take a Man an *Age* to run through all the *Quirks*, and *Niceties*

Niceties of the *Question*; and to trace every *Particular*, in dispute, from the *Original* of its *Practise*, or *Institution*. And beside; It were but *Actum Agere*; for the *Lawfulness*, and the *Antiquity* of *Bishops*, *Liturgies*, and *Ceremonies*, with all the *Minutes*, and *Circumstances* of the Case, has been abundantly, and *irrefragably* clear'd already, by many *Reverend*, and *Learned* Hands. I must not say *Unanswerably*, because the *Opponents* would still have the *Last Word*; And they have *Replied* indeed, with much *Confidence*, and *Verbosity*; which has had the luck to pass with the *Common People*, for *Authority*, and *Reason*. The *Scripture*, and the *Fathers* (in the *Interim*) complain of very hard dealing from them, and make open *Protestation*, that they never so much as *dreamt* of what our *Novelists* deliver to the World in *Their Names*. But however, (*right* or *wrong*) their *Margents* are still Embroider'd, with *Texts*, and *Testimonies*, in evidence of their great *Piety*, and *Abilities*: All which their Disciples *Swallow* and *Swear*, without understanding one Syllable of the *Matter* in *Contest*. For alas! They are a sort of People, that hold very little Intelligence, with *Antiquity*, or *Learning*. *Their* Business lies in their *Shops*, and at their *Trades*, or *Labours*. What have *They* to do with *Counsels*, and *Fathers*? What Accompt can they pretend to give, of the *Practises* of the *Primitive Times*, and the Stream of *Ecclesiastical Story*? And upon *This Hinge* moves the Frame of the *whole Dispute*! wherein they do manifestly *pass Sentence* without *Knowledge*, and govern themselves totally by an *Implicit Faith*. So that, being *prepossest*; It is but Scribling *on*, and keeping out of their *Reach*, to *perpetuate* the *Quarrel*. This I say; Unless the *Subject* of it, might in such manner be *brought down*, and *accommodate* to the Capacity of the *Vulgar*, as to make way for an *Appeal* from the *Snares* of *Artifice*, and *Imposture*, to the *Rules*, and *Measures* of *Common Reason*.

The Church of *England* is now labouring under the *Scandal*, and *Distraction* of a violent *Schism*; by reason) as we are told) of many *Doubting*, and *Scrupulous Consciences*, that cannot *Conform* to her *Rites* and *Orders*: and Heavy *Complaints* are advanced against the *Government*, on the behalf of the *Dissenters*.

In the *first* place, let us enform our selves, *Who are the* Promoters *of this* Complaint? Secondly, *What* Warrant *have they for so doing*? Thirdly, *Do they* Well, *or* Ill *in't*?

N. C. *Your first Question is soon resolved*: *The* Complainants *are the* Dissenters.

We

C. We are never the nearer for That Answer: for neither does it appear to us, that all the *Dissenters* are *Complainants*; nor that all the *Complainants* are *Really* and in *Truth*, *Dissenters*: Nay we are able to produce the *Hands*, and *Declarations* of many of your prime *Champions*, in Evidence to the *Contrary*. But to keep on our Course; The only *Complainants* we can take notice of, are the *Silenc'd Ministers*, in their Private *Books*, and *Sermons*.

Petition for peace. P. 5. N. C. Should not the Love of Christ command us to be tender of Those that are so tender of his Honour; and to take heed what we do to Men, for taking heed of Sin, and being afraid to offend the Lord? And should not the Special Love of Christians, and the Common Love of Men, command us to be loth to drive them by Penalties, upon *that which they Judge, doth tend to their* Everlasting Damnation; *And which indeed doth tend to it, Because they Judge it so to do*: Ibid. Suppose they be *Mistaken*, in thinking the things to be so displeasing to God, *Yet it is commendable in them, to be fearful of displeasing him.*

C. And do not you find now, that in the same *Breath*, you *Raise*, and *Encourage* the *Scruples* you *complain* of; and plead (effectually) but for *Doubts of your own making*. This is a Method for *Counterfeit Cripples*, not for *Faithful Ministers*; To *make Sores*, on purpose, to *Beg Plaisters*. But it is to be hop'd, that This is not done without good *Warrant*, and *Authority*: and I should be exceeding glad to see a Copy of their *Commission* for what they do.

N. C. It is a Duty of their Pastoral Office, *to have a care of their* Sheep.

C. But they have no *Sheep* at all, unless they steal them out of other Mens *Flocks*, I think we may take for granted, that they have no *Legal Warrant*: for the *Non-Conformists*, and the Act for *Uniformity*, are *profest Enemies*: and these *Proceedings* are, point-blank, in *defianco* of it.

From the *People*, they can have none neither; For *They* are concluded already, by their own Act, (in their *Representatives*) against the very thing they pretend to. Or if *That Bar* were away; yes, and a *greater difficulty* too, that *follows* it; which is, The *Moral Impossibility of bringing all the People together, that are to be Parties to the Commission*: I am perswaded, it would pose the best *Conveyancers* in this Kingdom, to draw up a *Deed of Trust*, to *That Purpose*, without a

Flaw

Flaw in't. That is to say: A *Commission* from the *Diffusive Body* of the *People*, must be Directed to such and such *Ministers*, as *Commissioners* for *Tender Consciences*.

From *Heaven* it never came neither, I do verily believe. For most certainly *Christ*, and his *Apostles*, never Issued out any *Commission*, for the *Distracting* of *Consciences*, and *Societies*. We read indeed of *Confirming the Weak*, but not a *Syllable*, of *Staggering* them. And for the Extraordinary Ways, of *Vision*, and *Revelation*, they are not so much as mention d.

N. C. *If you would have given me leave, I would have told you, e'en now, that they are* Warranted *by a Sense, and Impression of* Conscience, *in the Discharge of their* Pastoral Duty: *Which obliges them,* [To watch over their Flock; To preserve them from *Errours*, *Heresies*, *Divisions*; To Defend the Truth, Confute Gainsayers, and Seducers, Instruct the Ignorant, Excite the Negligent, *Encourage the Despondent*, Comfort the Afflicted, *Confirm the Weak*, Rebuke, and Admonish the Disorderly, and Scandalous. Petition for peace, p. 79.

C. Here's *much against* you, and *not one Word* in your *Favour*. Instead of *Preserving their Flocks from Heresies and Divisions*, *your Pastors* demand a *down-right Toleration* of them. And instead of *Encouraging the Despondent*, *Comforting the Afflicted*, and *Confirming the Weak*; They tell the *Distressed*, (for their *comfort*) that *if they do any thing with* Doubting, *they shall be* Damn'd; and never go further, to *deliver* them from those *Doubts*; but their they very fairly leave them, *Surrounded* with *inextricable Scruples*; and their very *Souls*, *Broken*, and *confounded* with *Agony*, and *Horrour*. Whether they do *Well*, or *Ill*, now be *You your self* the *Judge*.

My Opinion is, that they have as little to say for the *Conscience* of their Proceedings, as any way else. *First*, Their very *Preaching*, and *writing*, (by reason of their *Legal Incapacity*) is a *Transgression* of the *Law*. *Secondly*, In the *Matter it self*, they are too blame; for it is of very evil Consequence, both upon the *Publique*, and upon *Particulars*. To say nothing of their Undertakings for *other Mens Consciences*, which is a *Priviledge* belonging unto *God himself*.

That they do Ill, in *disobeying* the *Law*, and in *troubling* the *Government*, I suppose you will not deny: And yet am I perswaded, that the very *Foundation* of their *Plea* for *Separation*, and Dissent, is the greatest part of the Mischief. We have *Laws Ecclesiastical*, for

the *Ordering* of the *Church*, and you refuse to *Obey* them. For what *Reason*, I beseech you?

N. C. *The best* Guide *in the case of* Impositions, *and* Obedience, *I take to be* the Word of God; *and our* Doubtings *sure are very* Reasonable, *concerning* God's Worship, *where the* Scripture *gives* no Direction. *Shew us where they are* Commanded *in the* Gospel, *and we are ready to* Obey *them.*

C. The *Scripture* is the *Rule* of our *Faith*, not of our *Outward Actions*, and *Practise*, [*Whatsoever, to make up the Doctrine of Man's Salvation, is added, as in supply of the Scriptures Insufficiency, we reject it.* But does it therefore follow, that *All things Lawful to be done, are comprehended in the Scripture? Admit This, and God in delivering Scripture to his Church, should clear have abrogated amongst them, the* Law of Nature, *which is,* An Infallible Knowledge Imprinted in the Minds of all the Children of Men, *directing us in the Choice of Good and Evil, in the Daily Affairs of this Life. Admit This; and what shall the* Scripture *be, but a* Snare, *and a* Torment *to* Weak Consciences *filling them with Infinite* Perplexities, Scrupulosities, Doubts Insoluble, *and Extream* Despairs? *Not that the* Scripture it self *doth cause any such thing, but* the Necessities of this Life, *urging Men to do that which* the Light of Nature, Common Discretion, *and* Judgment *of it self directeth Men unto: On the* other side, This Doctrine *teaching them that* so to do, *were to Sin against their* Souls; *and that they put forth their Hands to* Iniquity, *whatsoever they go about, and have not first the* Sacred Scripture *of God for their* Direction. *How can it chuse but bring the Simple a Thousand Times to their Wits End? How can it chuse but vex and amaze them; to be obliged in every Action of common Life, to find out some Sentence of Scripture, Clearly, and Infallibly setting forth, what we ought to do? Admit This, and it shall not be with Masters, as it was with him in the Gospel; but Servants being commanded to* go, *shall* stand still, *till they have their Errand Warranted unto them by Scriptures.* Thus far the Learned *Hooker:* in Agreement with Mr. *Calvin*, (the *Oracle* of the other Party) in his Chapter of *Christian Liberty*, who writes to this Effect.

Hookers Eccl Pol. l. 2 sect. 8.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Calvin Instit. l. 3 c. 9. se. 7

Let every Man have a care not to make things Indifferent, *Matters of* Religion; *for nothing can be more necessary then the right understanding of That Liberty*; without which, we shall never have any Peace of Conscience, and there will be no End of Superstition. [*Quæ si aberit, nulla Conscientiis nostris futura est Quies; Nullus Superstitionum finis.*]

He

He that Scruples the *Lawfulness* of *Eating*, or *Drinking Delicacies*, will by *degrees*, let his *Scruple fall* to *Meats and drinks less delicate*, and so *from one thing to another, lower and lower*; (and all all this while, in a perpetual *Anxiety of Conscience*) till he comes at last to satisfie himself, that what he *takes*, both for *quantity*, and *quallity*, is but just sufficient to entertein the absolute *Necessities* of *Nature*. He must have a *Text* for every thing he does; and not step over a Straw, without consulting *Scripture* first: and every *common Action* is made a *Case of Conscience*. From this miserable *Perplexity of Mind*, what can be expected, bnt *Despair*, and *Confusion*? *Hanging*, *Drowning*, *Cutting of Throats*, and all the wretched Extremities of *Violence*, which those poor Creatures exercise upon themselves, as their *last Retreat*, to avoid the *Fury* of a *Tormenting Conscience*.

This is the *Fruit* of the *Doctrine* of *Christian Liberty*, a *Dangerous*, and an *Impious Position*; and can have no other *Aim*, (In Truth, scarce any other *Issue*) than the *Vacating* of *Humane Laws*; and the *Extermination* of all Principles of *Duty*, and *Subjection* out of the Hearts of the *People*. But to be as short as may be, you see the *Effects* of your *Scruples*; pray'e speak a little to the *Grounds* of them. What *Exceptions* have you to our *Common-Prayer?* And see if you do not from one end to the other, fall foul upon your Arguments.

N. C. *It is devised by Men.*

C. So are *your Ministers Prayers*; and *all Prayers* whatsoever, *Scripture Forms Excepted.* Tryal of the Engl. Liturgy, p. 4.

N. C. *It is* Imposed *upon the* Ministers, *and* People, *of* Necessity. Ibid. p. 5.

C. The *Imposition* of the *Directory* was yet more *General*, *Strict*, and *Peremptory*. There was no *Dispensation* for a *Family*, and *Four more*, which, as it might be improv'd, takes in well nigh the whole Kingdom.

N. C. *But your* Common Prayer *is* stinted, *both in* Matter, *and* Words, *to be used without* Variation, *and so was not the* Directory.

C. Why may not the *Church* impose a *Stinted Form* upon the *Minister*, as well as the *Minister*, (if he so pleases) upon the *People*? For if the *Minister* be left at *Liberty* either to keep to *one Form*, or to *vary*, at his own *Election*, The *Congregation* is at *his Mercy*, whether

they shall have a *Stinted Form*, or *No*. *Smectymnuus* is so gracious as to allow of a *Stinted Form, himself*; *in Case the Minister shall be found insufficient to discharge the Duty of Prayer in a* Conceived way: *But then it is to be Imposed on him as a* Punishment: *To use* Set Forms, *and* no other. So that it is not the *Unlawfulness* it seems, of a *Set Form*, nor the *Imposition*, but the *Inexpedient* you stumble at: And the World is at a fine pass sure, when the *Parliament of England* shall not presume to make *Laws*, without asking the *Silenc'd Ministers* Opinions first, about the *Expedience* of them. The *Directory*, as to the *Matter* of it, is as well a *Stinting* of the *Spirit*, as the *Common Prayer*. For in the *Substance* and *Scope* of the Prayer, the Minister is *limited*; only for the *Wording* of it, he is at his own *Freedom*: And if he may but turn *Almighty and most Merciful Father*, into *Omnipotent and most Gracious Lord God*, the Peace is concluded. Otherwise we are to look for nothing but *Fire and Sword*: *Lives, Laws*, and *Liberties*, must be hazzarded in the *Quarrel*.

N. C. *Do you make no difference between* Imposing Set Forms, *upon a* few Insufficient Ministers, *and upon a* Multitude *of* Others, *in Common, that have* the Gift of prayer.

C. No none at all, as to the *Exemption* of any Man from the *General Rule*. Beside; What Security can any Man give, that he shall continue in the Right Exercise of his *Reason?* Put case your *Gifted Minister* should be taken with some Distemper that seizes the *Brain*, and *Disorders*, (or but *Clouds*) his *Understanding*: Nay, let it be only some *faint, drowsie Indisposition* of *Body*, or *heavinesse* of *Mind*, What becomes of the *Assembly*, under so Languid, Spiritless, (and perchance *Extravagant*) a *Dispensation*?

Further: The *Right*, and the *Reason* too, of *Imposing* upon *One Minister*, extends to *All*.

Again; If a *Set Form* may be admited, where the *Minister* is not good at *Extempore*; What becomes of your Argument, I beseech ye, for the *Consciences* of the *Congregation*? unless you understand the *weaknesse* of the *Minister* to be a *Dispensation* for the *Scruples* of the *People*; In which case, it may be lawful for the King and Parliament to Impose a *Service-Book*.

And yet again; Over and above the *Vanity* and the *Arrogance* of the *Undertaking*; do me but the favour to consider, what an *Irreverence*, what a *Prophanation* of Gods Holy *Worship*, and *Ordinances*, must needs ensue upon it. The Desk is turned into an *Oratory*, as well for

for the *Tryal* of *Gifts* and *Faculties*, as for the *Exercise* of them: and half the business the Congregation has at Church, is to hear men talk to God Almighty, upon their *Probation*; which is done too (God knows it, even at the best) not without great *Imperfections*, and *Failings*; witness their [*Affectations, Impertinency, Rudeness, Confusion, Flatness, Levity, Obscurity, vain and ridiculous Repetitions, their senseless and ofttimes blasphemous Expressions:*] which are but Helps at a Plunge, either to gain time for the recovery of their lost matter, or to stop gaps, and fill up broken Sentences. Now where's the *Life* and *Power* (as you call it) of *Devotion*, all this while, when the *whole man* is taken up (and all little enough too) about *Words*, and *Periods*; And the Ministers chief care diverted from the *Saving of Souls*, to the *Saving of his own credit*? Hence proceeds that *Agreement* of Tone and Emphasis, in all their *Exclamations*, *Acted Passions*, and *vain Repetitions*, with now and then a *Groan* drawn out to a most doleful length for a *Parenthesis*. For they are all sick of the same Disease, and these *Interjections* give them a little *Breath*, and *Respit*, for *Recollection*. Now in this loss of *Sense*, and *Order*, How is it possible for the *Affections* of the *Congregation*, to keep company with the *Minister* in all his *Wandrings*, *Doubtings*, and *Circumlocutions*? The *one half* of their *Intention* is spent in *Divining* (before-hand) what he drives at; and the other, in unriddling his *Meaning*, when he has *Deliver'd* it. Whereas in *Set-Forms*, both *Minister* and *People* are freed from these *Distractions*, and totally intent upon the *duty* of the *Worship*: and there is a greater *Harmony*, and *Union* of *Affections*, when they *Pray All* at the same *Time*, in the same *Words*, and for the same *Thing*. I might insist upon the Inconvenience of leaving Ministers at *Liberty*, for fear of disturbing the *Publique*: and tell you over and over, that in our *Stinted Forms* we do but joyn in the *Common Priviledge* of *Other Churches*: But more then enough is spoken Already. Let me hear now what you have to say against our *Ceremonies*.

Page 11. EIK. BAS. P. 127.

N. C. *Whereas* Kneeling *is* Imposed, in the Act of Receiving the Lord's Supper, We desire that none may be Troubled for Receiving it *Standing*, or *Sitting*.

Proposals to his Majesty, P. 22.

C. You have quitted your *Hold*, I perceive, of your *Scriptural* direction, and *President*. For neither *Standing*, nor *Sitting* was the *Tricliniary Posture*. But why not *Kneeling*, as well as either *Sitting*, or *Standing*?

N. C.

Ib. p. 23. N. C. *Because* it is a *Novelty*; contrary to the *Decrees*, and *Practise* of the *Church*, for many Hundred Years after the Apostle, And it has been forbidden *General Councils*. And it is not Good *also* to shew a needless Countenance of Adoring the Bread of God.

C. Can you shew me that *Kneeling* at the *Lord's Supper* has been forbidden, where *Kneeling* at other parts of *Publique Worship* has been *Allow'd*? Now you your selves allow of, and *Practise Kneeling* in other Cases, which is every jot as contrary to the *Ancient Custom*, as *Our Kneeling* at the *Sacrament*. But We must not *Kneel*, you say, for fear of *Countenancing* the *Adoration* of the *Breaden God*.

To which I Answer, that *First*, The *Doctrine* of our Church speaks directly to the *Contrary*. *Secondly*, The *Rubrick* directs *Kneeling* at the *Confession*; and the People continue *Kneeling*, at the *Receiving*.

N. C. *But with your Favour, the* Rubrick *does* afresh *enjoyn* Kneeling: *and order* the Communion to be delivered into the Peoples Hands Kneeling.

C. Right. And now take your Choice, whether we shall rather run the hazzard of being suspected to adore the *Bread*, because we receive it after the *English Gesture* of Worshipping, which is *Kneeling*; or incur the same Censure, by *Changing Posture*, and taking it after the *Ancient way* of *Worshipping*, which is *Standing*?

If you can make appear, that where the *Custome* was to *Worship Standing*, they *Received Kneeling*; you say something toward the perswading of us that *Worship Kneeling*, to *Receive Standing*.

Your *Exceptions throughout*, are much of a *Quality*; *Negatively Imposing* upon *Authority*, because you will not be *Positively bound up your selves*. For, *You shall Not do This, or That, is an Imposition, as well as you Shall*. Another Humour you have gotten, of *Scrupling* at *Ceremonies*, because they are made as *Necessary* to *Salvation*, as the *Word it self*, and the *Sacraments*. (This is the Suggestion of the *Petition for Peace*, Pa. 9.) Whereas it has been, and still it is the Constant Care of the *Imposers themselves*, by an express Solemnity of *Explanation*, to satisfie the whole World to the *Contrary*.

Give us leave only for one Word more, and that out of *Calvins Institutions*, concerning *Scandal*; (Lib. 3. Cap. 12.) which you make one part of your Complaint. There is (says he) a *Scandal Given*, and *Taken*, The *One* is the *Scandal* of the *Weak*; the *Other*,

of

of the *Pharisees*; who out of a perverse *Malignity* of *Spirit*, turn every thing to the *worse*. There is no *Yielding* to this sort of Men; No *Enduring*, no *Hearing* of them: [*Qui quum in mille Impietatis Formas Duces se præbent, sic sibi agendum fingunt, ne proximo sint Offendiculo.* Who, under colour of *Tenderness* in the Matter of *Scandal*, make no *Conscience* at all of a Thousand *Gross Impieties*. This is *His Judgment*, and *Our Case*: And there is no Remedy, but by concluding upon a *Final*, and *Unaccomptable Judge*.

SECT. XXI.

Whatsoever God hath left Indifferent, *is the* Subject *of* Humane Power.

C. AS *Reasonable Nature* consists of *Soul*, and *Body*; so is the *Authority* that Governs it, *Divine*, and *Humane*: God, *Eminently* over *All*, and *Princes Ministerially*, under Him, and as his *Substitutes*. The Dominion of our *Souls*, God reserves Peculiarly to *Himself*, committing That of our *Bodies* to the Care of the *Magistrate*.

Now if *Power* be a *Divine Ordinance*, so consequently is *Subjection*; for to Imagine the *One*, without the *Other*, were to destroy the *Reason* of *Relatives*. A strict and accurate disquisition of this Matter, would save us much Trouble that arises about the *Bounds* and *Limits* of our *Duty*; How far *Religion* binds us, and how far *Allegiance*. That they are severable, we are not to doubt, since *Truth it self* has said it. *Give unto* Cæsar *the things that are* Cæsar's, *and unto* God *the things that are* God's. But that they are only so severable, as never to become *Inconsistent*, is founded upon the same Immovable Rock; *Let every Soul be subject, &c.* A Precept, of a *Perpetual*, and *Universal Operation*, and Limited neither to *Time*, *Place*, nor *Persons*.

N. C. *Your Deduction of* Government, *and* Subjection, *from* Divine Institution, *is well enough*; *and that we are to Obey the* Magistrate *for* God's *sake*, *and in* Subordination *to* God, *is easily* Prov'd, *and* Granted: *But I hear nothing yet of the Particular* Bounds, *and* Terms *of* Humane Jurisdiction; What *'tis belongs to* God, *and what to* Cæsar.

C. And That I confess is the Pinch of the Question: For *One Duty* comes up so close to the *Other*, that 'tis not for every Common Eye

Eye to pass between them. Effectually, they *Touch*; but in what Point, is of a *Nice Decision*. The nearest way to the Knowledge of our *Duty*, is to apply it to the *Laws*, and *Powers* of the *Authority*: for a Man must first *Know* the Rule, before he can *Observe* it. We are then to consider, that the Almighty Wisdom has Invested *Kings* with an *Unlimited Power* of *Commanding*, or *Forbidding*, in all Matters, which *God Himself* has not either *Commanded*, or *Forbidden*: Which Proposition resolves it self into this Conclusion. *Whatsoever God has left* Indifferent, *is the Subject of* Humane Power.

N. C. *Does not that Opinion destroy* Christian Liberty?

C. No: But the Denial of it destroys *Magistracy*. If *Kings* have not *This Power*, they have *None at all*: And it Implies a Contradiction to suppose any Authority in Nature without it.

N. C. *But may not a Prince* tye himself up, *in a thing otherwise* Indifferent?

C. I speak of *Power* according to the *Institution*, not of Power limited by *Faction*.

N.C. *May not the same thing be Indifferent to* One, *and not to* Another?

C. Very Good: And will not every thing Imaginable appear *Non-Indifferent* to some or other; if nothing may be *Commanded*, but what upon such a Phansie may be *Disobey'd*?

N. C. *Pardon me: I do not speak of Matters of* Civil Concern, *but of Matters of* Religion.

C. That's all a Case; for you cannot Instance any One *Civil* Action, that may not be made Relative to *Religion*. But we are now upon *the Extent of Humane Power*. That there is such a *Power*, and *That Authoriz'd* too by *God Himself*, you have already Granted. Let me but understand now, *Upon what Subject shall that Power be* Exerciz'd; If you exclude Things *Indifferent*: *One Man* may have a *Real Scruple*, and all the *Rest, pretend* one. Who shall distinguish? So that the Rule holding from *One* to *All*, the Sacred Authority of the *Prince* becomes dependent upon the Pleasure of the *Subject*; and the

Validity

Validity of a *Divine*, and *Unchangeable Ordinance*, is subjected to the *mutable Judgment*, and *Construction* of the *People*.

N.C. *And you expect, the* Magistrate *should as well have the Authority of* Judging *what's Indifferent, as of* Restraining *it.*

C. You may be sure I do; for I am but where I was, if I make *You* the Judge. Is it not *all one*, as to the *Magistrate*, whether you Refuse, upon Pretense that the Thing is *not Indifferent*, or upon Pretense, that He cannot *Restrain* a thing Indifferent? The *Crime* indeed is differing in the *Subject*: for the *One way*, 'tis an *Usurpation* of *Authority*; and the *Other way*, 'tis a *Denial* of it.

N.C. *Why then it seems, I am to believe every thing* Indifferent, *which the Magistrate tells me* is *so, be it never so* Wicked.

C. No: There you are bound up, by a *Superiour Law.*

N.C. *Have you so soon forgot your self? You would not* allow *me to be a Judge, just now; and here, you* make *me one.*

C. Right. To your *self*, you *are* one but not to the *Publique*; you are a Judge of *your own Thoughts*, but not of the *Law.*

N.C. *And does not* This way *of Arguing as much endanger* Authority, *as the* Other? *For* All *may Judge* Thus, *as well as* One.

C. 'Tis possible they *may.* Nay, we'l suppose an Imposition foul enough to move them all to do so; and yet there's a large difference: For *Diversity* of *Judgment* does not shake the *Foundation* of *Authority*; and a Man may *disobey* a *Sinful Command*, with great Reverence to the *Power* that *Imposes* it.

N.C. *You were saying e'en now, that my Duty to* God, *and to the* King, *could never be* Inconsistent. *How shall I behave my self, I Pray'e, if the* King *command* one *thing, and* God another? *I cannot observe the* Law, *without violence to my* Conscience, *nor discharge my* Conscience, *without* Offence *to the* Law. *What Course shall I take, to avoid* Enterfering?

C. Demean your ſelf as a *Chriſtian*, toward the *Law* of *God*, on the *One* hand, and as a *Subject*, toward the *Ordinance* of *God*, on the *Other*; As conſidering, that you are diſcharg'd of your *Obedience* in *That Particular*, but not of your *Subjection* in the *General*.

N.C. *Put Caſe the Supreme Magiſtrate, ſhould by a* Law, *Eſtabliſh a* Falſe Worſhip.

C. He's nevertheleſs your *Prince*, and even in This *Complication*, you may acquit your ſelf both to *God*, and to *Cæſar*. Though the *Worſhip* be *amiſs*, the *Magiſtrate* is yet to be *Reverenc'd*; and you are to divide the *One* from the *Other*; in ſuch manner, as ſtill both to *Fear God*, and *Honour the King*. This *Loyal*, and *Religious Separation* of our *Duties*, will ſet us right in the *Main Controverſie*. Where do ye find that *Kings Reign*, upon *Condition* of Ruling *Righteouſly*? Or that we owe them *leſs*, *After Miſgovernment*, then we did *Before*?

N.C. *But do you ſay we are bound to Honour an* Idolatrous Prince? *This is not according to the Doctrine of many of our Grave Divines.*

C. They are never the *better Divines* for *that Doctrine*. The *Prince*, I tell ye, you are bound to *Honour*, though not as an *Idolater*. Shall the *Vice*, or *Errour* of the *Perſon*, degrade the *Order*? By *that Rule*, the world muſt continue without a *Government*, till we can finde *men without failings*.

N.C. *So that, when it makes for your turn, you can allow (I ſee) of diſtinguiſhing betwixt the* Perſon, *and the* Office.

C. Betwixt the *Frailty* of the *One*, and the *Sacredneſs* of the *Other*, I do: for *Kings Command*, as *Gods*; though they *Judge*, as *Men*. But I do no more approve of dividing the *Perſon* of a Prince, from his *Authority*, then of dividing his Soul from his Body.

N.C. *And I beſeech you, what is that, which you call* Authority?

C. It is the *Will*, and *Power* of a Multitude, deliver'd up by *common conſent*, to ſome *one Perſon*, or *more*, for the *good* and *ſafety* of the *whole*: And this *Repreſentative* acts for *All*. Now on the other ſide, the diſpoſition of ſuch or ſuch a Number of Perſons, into an Order of *Commanding* and *Obeying*, is that which we call a *Society*.

N.C.

N.C. *What is the* Duty *of the* Civil Magistrate?

C. To procure the *welfare* of the *People*; or, according to the Apostle, *He is the Minister of God, for a* comfort *to those that do* well, *and for a* terrour *to* evil-doers.

N.C. *How far are his* Laws binding *upon his* Subjects?

C. So far as they that *Parted* with their *Power*, had a *Right* over *Themselves.*

N.C. *Whence was the* Original *of* Power? *and what* Form *of* Government *was* first; Regal, *or* Popular?

C. Power was *Ordain'd* of *God*, but *Specifi'd* by *Man*: And beyond doubt, the *First Form* of Government was *Monarchique.*

N. C. *But I should rather think the* Popular Form *was* First: *For* how could there be a *King* without a *People*?

C. So was the *Son* before the *Father*, you may say, for *How could there be a* Father *without a* Son? But the Question is; *First*: Was the World ever *without* a Government, since the *Creation* of *Man*? *Secondly*; whether was there *first* in the World, *One* Man, or *More*? But we are not here upon the *Form* of *Government*, but upon the *Latitude* of *Humane Jurisdiction*; be the *Sovereignty* where it *will.* And my Assertion is, that *It extends to whatsoever God has left* Indifferent. *If you deny this, you overthrow all Government.*

N. C. *And what are you the better, If I should* grant *it*; *unless we could All come to an* Agreement, *about what is* Indifferent, *and what* not.

C. Which must be procured by the allowance of some *Judicial Authority* to decide it.

SECT. XXII.

No End of Controversie, *without a* Final *and* Unaccomptable Judge, *from whose* Sentence *there shall be no* Appeal.

C. WHen *Subjects* come once to dispute *Laws*, The *War* is already *Declar'd* against the *Government.* For it is not

the *Equity* or *Iniquity* of the *Matter* of the *Law*, that is the *Question*; but the *Authority* of the *Law-Maker*; under the countenance indeed of somewhat that might be *mended* in the *Law it self*. And the Business comes Immediately to *This Issue*; Whether the *King*, or the *People*, shall *Determine*, in what concerns the Good of the *Community*? That is to say; whether the *Government* shall *Stand*, or *Fall*? whether or no we shall submit our selves *quietly* to be *over-ruled* in all *Controversies*, by a *Definitive Sentence* of *Law*; (according to the *End*, and *Intention* of *Government*, in its first *Institution*) Or otherwise, by receding from that *Common*, *Peaceable*, and *Impartial Arbitrator* of all our *Differences*; from our *Faith given*; our *Oaths*, and *Contracts*: throw our selves back again into a state of *Nature*, and *Dissolution*; and for want of a *Moderator*, leave all our *Disagreements* to be *decided* by the *Sword?* (The certain Event of all *Popular Appeals*, from *Laws*, to *Multitudes*.

This was the Ruine of us, in our Late Confusions. The *Faction*, you saw, could do nothing, upon the Suggestions of *Right*, or *Wrong*; *Convenience*, or *Inconvenience*; till they came to make *Themselves* the *Judges* of it: And no sooner were they possest of *That Pretention*, but all went presently head-long to Destruction. From Questioning the *Legal Power* of the *King*, they proceeded to the Exercise of an *Arbitrary Power*, *Themselves:* From *Asserting* the *Subjects Liberties*, to the *Invading* of them: And from the *Reformation* of *Abuses*, to the *Extirpation* of the *Government*. *The Two Houses led the Dance*, and *ousted* the *King*; The *Commons* did as much for the *Lords*; and the *People*, as much for the *Commons*: Which comes to no more, then what was reasonably to be expected, upon turning the Course of Publique Affairs into a wrong Channel; and subjecting the *Indisputable Rights* of *Sovereign Authority*, to the *Censures*, and *Expostulations* of the *Rabble*.

N. C. *What are those* Indisputable Rights, *I beseech ye?*

C. I reckon (among others) The *Power* of *Making* Laws; and likewise of *Enforcing* the *Execution* of them; without admitting any sort of *Demur*, or *Contradiction*: for let the *People* break in once upon any *One Law*, and they will hardly quit their hold, till they have worm'd out, or *unsettled* all the *Rest*. In short; I do esteem it a matter of Absolute *Necessity*, to the *Peace*, and the very *Being* of all *Government*, to have some *Unaccomptable Judge*; some *Unquestionable Expedient* of *Law*, or *Authority*, for the Binding of *Controversies*:

versies: The *Determination* to be *Final*, and *Decisive*: No Appealing *from* it, and no contending *beyond* it.

N.C. *What not in Case of* Errour? *I could be well enough content with a* Judge; *and with* Indisputable Laws, *if you could but assure me of* Infallible Law-Makers. *But I should be sorry to see a* Roman-Infallibility *set up in* England.

C. So that rather then a *Fallible Judge*, you will have *None at all*. You could be content with a *Judge*, you say, but then *That Judge* must be *Questionable*, in Case of *Errour*; so that *Another Judge* is to Judge *Him*; and the very *Judge* of *This Judge*, is *Himself Questionable*; and so is *his Judge*, and his *Judges Judge*; (*in Infinitum*) in Case of *Errour*: Which Case of *Errour* may be Alledg'd, whereſoever there is no *Infallibility*; and if there be no *Infallibility* in Nature, then by your Rule, there can be no *Judge* in *N*ature.

N.C. *I do not say but a Man may Judge* Certainly *in* some *Cases*, *though not* Infallibly *in* All: *and all I ask, is only a Free Exercise of my* Judgment at Discretion, *without being ty'd up to an* Implicit Resignation. *There is but a* Right, *and a* Wrong: *and the* One *I must* Embrace, *and* Reject *the* Other. *How shall I know* This *from* That, *without* Enquiry? *And what am I the better for That* Enquiry, *if when I have* Learn'd *my Duty, I am debarr'd the Liberty to* Practise *it*.

C. You turn the Question, from the *Necessity* of a Judge, to his *Infallibility*. 'Tis all one to me, whether you make him *Infallible*, or *Credible*, or what you make him, or where you place him; provided that he be Acknowledg'd *Necessary*, and *Unaccomptable*. That He is *Necessary*, I presume you will easily afford me: for there can be no *Peace* without him, every Man being at Liberty to *Wrangle*, where no man is authoris'd to take up the *Strife*. But would yon have him *Unaccomptable*, or no?

N.C. *What greater Encouragement is there in the World, to* Tyranny, *then the Opinion of an* Unaccomptable Sovereignty?

C. What is it rather (you should have said) that *Excites Sedition*, and *Depopulates Kingdoms*, so much as the *Contrary*? And doubtless, the *Fiercest Tyranny* is much more supportable, then the *Mildest Rebellion*.

N.C.

N. C. *Truly, as to the Convenience of a* Definitive Sentence, *I ſhould be glad to ſee it; without the Hazzard of a* Definitive Injuſtice.

C. You miſtake your ſelf, if you oppoſe a *Poſſible Injury* on the *One* ſide, to a *Certain Wrangle*, and *Confuſion* on the *Other*. If *Infallibility* you cannot find, why may not the faireſt *Probability* content you?

N. C. *But would you have that* Probability *govern by* Unqueſtionable, *and* Authoritative Concluſions?

C. By any means; you do nothing elſe: For where *Controverſies* are *Inevitable*, and *Concord* (if it may be had) *Neceſſary*; What can be more Reaſonable, then to chuſe the moſt *Competent Judge* of the *Matter* in Controverſie, for the Concluding *Umpire* of the *Controverſie it ſelf*?

N. C. *But a Man may Judge* Probably *in* One *Caſe, and* Improbably *in* Another: *Suppoſe the* Determination *to be manifeſt* Errour, *or* Injuſtice; *would you have the ſame Submiſſion paid to it, as if it were* Equity, *and* Truth.

C. Yes: To the *Determination*, though not to the *Errour*: You are to ſtand to the *Authority* of the Sentence, without Conteſting the *Equity* of it: for *Right* or *Wrong*, 'tis a *Deciſion*. The Principal *Scope*, and ſure *End* of a *Reference*, is *Peace*: The Hopeful *Event*, and *Iſſue* of it, is *Righteous Judgment*. Is it not well then, to be *ſure* of the *One*, and in ſo fair a *Likelihood* of the *Other*? Put it to the worſt; You are not bound to be of the *Judge* his *Opinion*, but to be overrul'd by his *Authority*: Neither do you undertake that he ſhall Judge *Critically*, as to the *Subject* of the *Queſtion*; but that he ſhall Judge Effectually, as to the purpoſe of the *Reference*.

N. C. *This* Reſignation *may do well, in Caſes of* Civil Intereſt: *but it will hardly hold in Matters of* Conſcience. *Who ſhall pretend to Judge of* my Conſcience, *beſide* God *and* my Self?

C. The *Scripture*, which is the *Rule* of *all Conſciences*, ſhall be the *Judge* of *Yours*. But the Queſton is not, What the Conſcience *Is*, but what it *Ought* to be: Not what your *Private Judgment ſays*, but what the *Scripture means*; and the Thing I ſtrive for, is a Judge of *That*:

That: A *Judge* of the *Rule* of *Faith*, which I take to be all out as neceſſary, as a *Judge* of a *Political Law*.

You cannot but allow, that there are Diverſities of Opinions, as well in *Religion*, as concerning *Secular Affairs*: And ſuch is our *Corruption*, that we draw Poyſon, even from the Fountain of Life; and the *Word of God it ſelf*, is made the *Warrant* of all *Crimes*, and the *Foundation* of all *Hereſies*.

Look behind ye, and you may ſee a *Prince Murther'd* by his *Subjects*: *Authority Beheaded* by a Pretended *Law*, and all this Defended by a *Text*. The *Church Devour'd* by a *Divided* Miniſtry; The *Government overturn'd* by a Solemn *League* and *Covenant* to *ſupport* it: An *Arbitrary Power* Introduc'd by the *Patrons* of *Liberty*: The *Lords Prayer Caſhier'd*, to make way for the Motions of the *Holy Ghoſt*; and *Charity* it ſelf *Extinguiſh'd* for the Advancement of the *Goſpel*. We have liv'd to ſee as many *Hereſies*, as *Congregations*; and a *Conſiſtorian Scrutiny*, preſt beyond the Rigour of a *Spaniſh Inquiſition*. We have ſeen *ſome that* (a) *abhor Idols, committing Sacriledge*. *Chriſt's Kingdom cry'd up*, till his (b) *Divinity* is *Deny'd*. *Strictneſs* of Life *Inculcated*, till the very *Rule* of it (c) (The *Decalogue* it ſelf) is *Rejected*: And *Blaſphemy* hunted out of the *Tavern*, into the *Pulpit*.

In fine; What *Sin*, and *Miſery* have we not *known*, and *felt*, ſince under the Form of *Liberty of Conſcience*, This Freedom of a *Private Spirit* came in *vogue*? Nor are we ever to expect better from it, till all Men ſhall conſpire to do the ſame thing, where every Man is left to his Own Guſt, to do what he pleaſes. And whence flows all this *Miſchief*, and *Confuſion*, but from a *Licenſe* of *Wandring* from the *Rule*? Methinks Theſe Practiſes ſhould put you, and your Cauſe out of Countenance.

(a) Rom. 2 22.
(b) By the Familiſts,
(c) By the Antinomian.

N. C. *I am no Advocate for* Anarchy, *though no Friend to* Uniformity: *And I know 'tis with* Non-Conformiſts, *as with* other People; *there are* Good *and* Bad *of* All ſorts. *But to go with the* Moderate: *Would you have* All Mens Conſciences *Govern'd by the ſame* Rule?

C. Better *Particulars* ſuffer for Incompliance with the *Publique*, then the *Publique* ſuffer for Complying with *Particulars*. *Uniformity* is the *Ciment* of both *Chriſtian*, and *Civil Societies*: Take That away, and the *Parts* drop from the *Body*; One Piece falls from Another.

The *Magiſtrate* (for *Orders* ſake) requires *Uniformity*; *You*, and *our Aſſociates* oppoſe it, upon a Plea of *Conſcience*. The Queſtion

is;

is; Whether *He* ſhall Over-rule *your Opinions*, or *You* Over-rule *His Authority*? This Diſpute begets a *War*, for want of a *Judge*; and to prevent that Conſequence, I offer that a *Judge* is *Neceſſary*. Or put it Thus: *You*, and *I differ*; and poſſibly we are *Both* in the *Wrong*; but moſt certainly we are *not Both* in the *Right*; and yet neither of us but thinks well enough of his own Opinion. What's to be done in this Caſe? Shall we Wrangle Eternally?

N. C. *No, We'l rather put the Matter to* Arbitration.

C. Well; but the *Arbiter himſelf* is *Fallible*; and may miſtake too: Or let him have the Wiſdom of an Angel, he cannot pleaſe us *Both*: For that which ſeems *Right* to the *One*, will appear *Wrong* to the *Other*. ſhall we ſtand to his *Award* whatever it be? If not, take into your Thought theſe Conſequences. *You* refuſe to ſubmit, becauſe it is *Wrong*; and *I* may refuſe, by the ſame Reaſon, though it be *Right*: (For *Every Man's Reaſon is of Equal Force, where there is no Common, and Repreſentative Reaſon to Bind All.*) So that by your Reckoning, every Man is in the *Right to Himſelf*, and in the *Wrong* to *all the World beſides*: (for I perſwade my ſelf, that Nature never produc'd two Perſons, in all Points, of the ſame Judgment.)

Now, if you can neither deny *Confuſion* to be the *Natural Effect* of this *Liberty of Judgment*; nor the want of a *Regulating*, and *Decretory Sentence*, to be the *Cauſe* of this *Confuſion*, I hope you'l grant me the *Neceſſity* of an *Unaccomptable Judge*.

N. C. *Is not the Word of God a ſufficient Judge?*

Chillingworths Safe Way, P 57.

C. No: That's no *Judge*, but [*a Rule for Chriſtians to Judge By*] and the great Danger lies upon the *Meaning* of That *Rule*. Witneſs thoſe Swarms of *Hereſies*, that have over-ſpread this Land, ſince the Bible has been deliver'd up to the Interpretation of *Private Spirits*.

N. C. *You ſay well, if you could direct me to a Judge that we might all rely upon.*

C. And you ſay ſomething too, if you could make appear, that *None at all* is *better* then *the Beſt we have*: Or that *Popular Errours*, *Numberleſs*, and *Inevitable*, (with the *Diſſolution* of *Societies* to boot) are to be preferr'd to the *Few*, and only *Poſſible Failings* of *Authority*, attended

attended however with *Peace*, and *Agreement*. The Question Briefly, is This. Whether will you rather have; *One Infallible Judge*, or a *Million of Damnable Heresies*?

N. C. *Truly as you have reduc'd it, to a Certainty of* Peace *the* One *way, and to as great a Certainty of* Discord, *the Other*; *to a* Certainty *of* Many Errours, without a *Judge, and to a bare* Possibility *of some* Few with *One*: *I think a* Final Judge *may be* Convenient. *if not* Necessary.

C. If you find it so in the *Church*, sure you will not Dispute it in the *State*; especially against an Experience too, the most forceable of all Reasons. We were never troubled with *Constructive Necessities*; with Cavils about the *Receptable* of *Power*, and the *Limits* of *Obedience*: With Distinctions betwixt the *Political*, and the *Natural Right* of the *People*; the *Legal*, and the *Personal Will* of the *Prince*; and betwixt the *Equity* and the *Letter* of the *Law*: till Judgment was forced from its proper Course, and the *Decision* of *Political Controversies*, committed to the frivolous, and tumultuary arbitrations of the *People*.

N. C *Nay, I am as much for a* Judge *as you*; *but not for* One Judge *to* All Purposes: *Nor indeed, for* any Judge *so* Absolute *as you would have him.*

C. I tell ye again, A *Judge*, and no *Absolute Judge*, is *No* Judge: and you shall as soon find the End of a *Circle*, as of a *Controversie*, by *such a Judge*. Nor is it my Intention, that *One Judge* should serve for *All Purposes*.

N. C. *Divide your Matter then, and assign to every* Judicable Point *its* Proper Judge.

C. You have Reason; for truly I do not take the *Magistrate* to be any more a *Judge* of *My* Conscience, then *I* am of *His*.

N. C. *No doubt of it*; *And it were an Encroachment upon the Prerogative of God Himself, for the Magistrate to Challenge it.*

C. How comes it now, that we, that *accord* so well in the *End*, should *differ* so much in the *Way* to't? But I hope this Clearing of the next Point will set all Right: for after the Acknowledgment

of the *General Necessity* of a *Judge*, we have nothing further to do, but to agree upon the *Judge*, and so *submit*.

SECT. XXIII.

The Three Great Judges *of* Mankinde, *are* God, Magistrates, *and* Conscience.

Some Things we do as *Men*; *Other* Things as *Men* in *Society*; and *Some* again as *Christians*. In the *first* place, We are acted by the Law of *Individuals*; which Law, in the *Second* place, is Subjected to that of *Government*; And Both these Laws are, in the *Third* place, Subordinate to That of *Religion*; i. e. *The Law of God's Revealed will*. So that *the Three Great Judges of Mankind are God, Magistrates, and Conscience*.

Man as Consisting of *Soul*, and *Body*, may be again *Subdivided* within *Himself*. Take Him in his *Lower* Capacity, and He is sway'd by the *General Law* of *Animal Nature*, But in his *Divine* part, you will find Him Govern'd by the Nobler Law of *Refined Reason*; which *Reason*, in *some* Cases, we call *Prudence*, and in *others Conscience*, according as it is Variously exercised.

The Things which we do purely as *Men* (Abstracted from any Ingredients of *Policy*, or *Regulated Religion*) are either *Natural Actions*, *Prudential*, or *Moral*. Of the *first* sort, are Those Actions to which we are prompted by a *Natural Impulse* in order to the Conservation of *Life*, and *Being*. Of the *third* sort, are such Actions as we perform in Obedience to *Moral Principles*, (Which are no other, then the *Divine Will*, as it is couched under the Dictate of *Humane Reason*) And *Betwixt* These *Two*, lies the Region of *Middle Actions*: That is, of Such Actions, as although not of *simple*, and *strict Necessity*, either to *Life*, or *Virtue*, are notwithstanding *Useful*, and *Convenient*, for the *Guidance*, and *Comfort* of the *One*, and for the *Practise* of the *Other*. The accurat Disquisition of This Interest clears the Main Difficulty of the Question; for nothing has embroyl'd us more, then the *Mistaken Rights*, and *Priviledges* of *Individuals*: Which Mistakes being once made manifest, by laying open the *Subordination* of several *Claims*, and *Powers*, every Man may take a distinct View of his own Province.

N. C. *If you will proceed Regularly, you are to State these* Subordinations *as you go.*

C. Agreed;

C. Agreed; and we are now upon the *Right of Individuals*: In which naked Simplicity of Considering *Man*, without any regard of the Ordinary Motions of *Providence*, in the *Order*, and *Regiment* of the *World*, we shall yet find a *Natural Subordination* within *Himself*, and the Law of *Sense*, under the Dominion of the Law of *Reason*, in the *same Subject*. *These* are the *Laws* which the Apostle calls the *Law of his Members*, and *the Law of his Will*. The *Former Law* (and the less Excellent) is the Law *Sensitive*; which is no other, then the Law of *Self-Preservation*. (The *Supream* Law of *Animal* Beings, as it is of *Rationals* the *Lowest*) This Law *Sensitive*, is no other than the Manifestation of *God* in the *Creature*: for what *Sense* does, *Nature* does; and what *Nature* does, *God* does.

N. C. *But what is That* Power *all this while, which you call* Nature?

C. It is the Ordinary Working of God in all his Creatures: by Virtue of which Divine Impression, and Influence, Every thing is moved to seek the Utmost Perfection whereof it is Capable. As for the Purpose; The *Perfection* of *Man* is the *Congruity* of his *Actions* with his *Reason*; which we call *Virtue*. The *Perfection* of *Beasts* lies a degree lower: For they are only mov'd by a *Sensual Impulse*, towards what is *Convenient* for them; and when they *have* it, They *Rest*.

N. C. *When People are gravell'd, they fly to their* Impulses, *and* Occult Qualities. *Where lies the Difference, I beseech you, between* Their Impulse, *and* Our Choice?

C. Their Impulse carries them on through a *Sensitive Search*, not any *Deliberative Discourse*; And there is no *Election* neither at *last*: But only the *Simple Prosecution* of a *Determinate Appetite*, without imagining any *Proportion* betwixt the *Means*, and the *End*.

N. C. *But still we find, that there* is a Proportion: *and the Motion appears to us according to the Method of* Reason: *and a very Orderly Proceeding from a* Question, *to a* Resolution.

C. Is it *Reason*, think ye, that makes a *Dog* follow his *Nose*, and Hunt for *Meat*, when he is *Hungry*? Or will you call it *Choice*, if he leaves a *Turd* for a *Bone*? Now if you ask *how* this comes about: He is guided by *Instinct* toward the *End*; and *Sense* carries him through the *Means*.

N. C. *But why should the* same Process *of* Means, *and the* same Application *of* Causes, *be ascribed only to* Instinct, *in* Brutes, *and to* Reason, *in* Man?

C. You are to take notice, that all *Natural Operations* are *Regular*, and *Ordinate*, by what Means soever performed: But it does not follow, because the *Method* is according to *Reason*, that therefore the *Instrument* must be *Reasonable*. But to mind what we are upon.

The Law of *Self-Preservation*, is a *Law* common to *Beasts* with *Men*; but not of *Equal Force*, and *Obligation*: for *Their Sovereign Interest* is *Life*; *Ours* is *Virtue*: And therefore your late Argument for *Defensive Arms*, under Pretense of that Extremity, was but a *Brutish Plea*: For if the Consideration of *Virtue* be not above that of *Life*, Where lies the *Advantage* of Our *Reason*?

N. C. *But when the* Death *is* certain, *and the* Virtue doubtful, *Who shall decide the Point*?

C. In a Case abstracted from the *Ties*, and *Duties* of *Religion*, and *Government*, *every Man's Reason* sits as *Judge upon his own Life*. As for Instance; You are in the Hands of Thieves, and only this Choice offer'd you, either *to take a False Oath*, or *to lose your Life*. Your *Conscience* tells you, that you must rather *Perish*, then *Forswear* your self, without Violence to a *Superiour Duty*, you are your own *Murderer* if you do not. Thus far I think we are safe, and I suppose agreed, that *every Individual is to Govern himself by his Natural Conscience*. But when the *Several Particulars* come to be bundled up in *one Community*, the Case is *otherwise*.

N. C. *I am sorry to hear you say That. Why should not every Man be Govern'd by his own Conscience, as well in* Consort, *as in* Solitude, *as well in* Company, *as by* Himself? *Or will you have it, that our* Duty *to* God *ceases in the Act of becoming* Subjects *to a* Civil Power?

C. As to your *Conscience*, you are as free *now*, as you were *before*: But your *Body* is no longer your *Own*, after you are once enrolled a Member of a *Society*. And here's the Difference; You were your *own* Servant *before*, and *now* you are the *King's*. (For what is *Government*, but the *Wisdom*, *Resolve*, and *Force* of *every Particular*, gather'd into *One Understanding*, *Will*, and *Body*?) And This comes up to what I have already Delivered, that, *Whatsoever God has left Indifferent, is the Subject of Humane Power*.

N. C.

N. C. *But who shall be* Judge *of what's* Indifferent?

C. Let That be Examined the very next Thing we do.

You are already satisfied, that an *Authorized Judge* is absolutely *Necessary*, in Order to the *Peace* of *Church*, and *State*, and to the Ending of all Publick differences: But we are not yet resolv'd about Our *Judges*; Or if we were, yet in regard they are but *Men*, and so may *Erre*, [*Infallibility being departed with Christ and his Apostles: in lieu of which Living, and Infallible Guides, God has in Providence given us a Plain, and Infallible Rule*] We are now to make Enquiry, how far a *Private* Judge may be allow'd to Oppose, or differ from a *Publique*, in Case of a *Reluctant Conscience*, and in some sort to *Judge* his *Judge*? *Chillingworths* Safe way, p. 104.

N. C *You say very well*; *For place the* Ultimate Decision *where you will, It is* (*as you said before*) *an* Infallible determination *as to the* Strife; *but* Not so, *as to the Truth*; *and comes at last to This, that* every Man (*in some Degree*) re-judges his Judge. *If I be fully convinc'd, either, that the* Command *is* Sinful *in it self, or the* Opinion Wicked; *I am neither to* Obey *the* One, *nor to* Embrace *the* Other; *as being tied up by a General Obligation of rather* Obeying, *and* Believing God, *then* Man. *Nay more*; *If in Obedience to the* Magistrate, *I commit a Sin against* God, *and do it* ignorantly *too, That very Act in* Ignorance *is* Criminal: (*If I had the Means of being better inform'd*:) For No Humane Respect can justifie an Offence against God. *Now if I am* bound *to do Nothing that is* Ill; *I am likewise* bound, *before I do any thing*, to satisfie my self, *whether it be* Ill, *or* No: *For otherwise, I may follow a* False Religion *for a* True, *and be Damned in the End, for not minding what I did. This do I take for Proof sufficient, that no Man is so Implicitly Obliged to rely upon* other Men's Eyes, *as totally to Abandon the Direction of* his own; *Or so unconditionally to swear Obedience to* other Mens Laws, *and* Perswasions, *as to hold no Intelligence at all with that* Sacred Law, *and* Faithfull Counsellor *which he carries in* his own Bosom.

C. I am so far from advising you to *renounce your Reason*, that, on the contrary, I would have you absolutely *guided*, and *concluded* by it; and only to *Obey* for *Quiet* sake, so far as you can possibly *Obey* in *Conscience*.

N. C. *What if a* Single Person hit *that Truth, which a* General Council misses? *Which will you have him follow*; Truth *or* Authority?

C. I

C. I would have him follow *Truth* with his *Soul*, and *Authority* with his *Body*. But it is not for ſo remote a Poſſibility as This is, to bring the *Fanſies* and *Imaginations* of a *Private Spirit* into a Competition with *Reſolutions* of *Law*, And yet for the *Poſſibility* ſake, We'l take the very *Suppoſition* likewiſe into Conſideration, and Word the whole Matter as plainly as we can.

The *Church* ſays, Ye *may* Do; And the *Law* ſays, You *muſt* Do; That which your *Conſcience* ſays, You ought *not* to Do. How will you reconcile your *Duty*, and your *Conſcience* in This Caſe?

N. C. *Very well*: *For I think it my* Duty *to Obey my* Conſcience, *upon This Principle*, *That* Conſcience is God's Subſtitute over Individuals.

C. Keep to That, and Anſwer me once again; *Is not the Civil Magiſtrate God's Subſtitute too*? If He *be*, How comes *your Conſcience* to take place of *his Authority*? They are *Both Commiſſion'd alike*, and conſequently, *Both to be Obey'd alike*: Which is *Impoſſible*, where their *Commands* are *Inconſiſtent*.

N. C. *The* Magiſtrate *is a* Publique Miniſter, *and* his Commiſſion *does not reach to* Particular Conſciences.

C. And on the Other ſide, *You* are a *Private Perſon*, and there is as little Reaſon for *your Opinion* to Operate upon a *Publique Law*. So that if I miſtake you not, we are upon accord thus far; That *every Particular* is to look to *One*, and the *King* to the *Whole*.

Now if you would deal as Candidly with me, about the *Eccleſiaſtical Power* as you have done in the *Civil*, we might make ſhort work of This Queſtion. I hope you will not deny that the *Church* is as well (*a*) *Authorized to* Teach, *and* Inſtruct *in all the External Acts of Worſhip*, *as* (*b*) *the Magiſtrate is to* Compel *to Thoſe External Acts*.

(*a*) Rutherfords Due Right of Presbyt. p. 356.

N. C. *There is no Doubt*, (*c*) The Church (*as the Church*) has a Miniſterial Power (*Ex Officio*) to Define Controverſies, according to the Word of God; *And that* (*d*) A Synod Lawfully Convinc'd, is a Limitted, Miniſterial, and Bounded Viſible Judge, and to be believed in, ſo far as they follow Chriſt, the Peremptory and Supreme Judge, ſpeaking in his own Word.

(*b*) Ibid. p. 352.

(*c*) Ibid. p. 407.

(*d*) Ibid. p. 415.

C. This

C. This will not do our Business yet; for to say, that *a Synod is to be believed in*, So Far *as it follows Christ*, seems to make Those the *Judges* of That Act, that are to be *Concluded* by it; and leaves the *Credit* of the *Authority*, dependent upon the *Conscience*, *Fancy*, or *Humour* of the *Believer*. For 'tis but any Man's saying, that *the Synod does not follow Christ*, and that *he trusts in it so far as it does follow Him*. And this is enough to keep the Controversie afoot, without any hope of Decision.

N. C. We are indeed to believe Truths determined by *Synods*, to be *Infallible*, and never again liable to Retraction, or Discussion; Not because [*so says the Synod*,] but because [*so says the Lord.*] *Rutherf.* Free Disp. p. 56.

C. Still you are short; for 'tis not in our *Power* to *disbelieve* what we *acknowledge* to be a *Truth*: But that which is *Truth* at the *Fountain*, may be *Corrupted* in the *Passage*; Or at least appear so to *Me*, and *What then?*

N. C. *It must be look't upon as an* Errour *of the* Conscience; *which is* no Discharge *at all of your* Obedience: *From which* Errour *you are to be* reclaimed, *either by* Instruction, *or* Censure. *For* the People are obliged to Obey Those that are *over Them in the Lord*, who Watch for their Souls, as those who must give an Accompt;] And not oblig'd to stand to, and obey the Ministerial and Official Judgment of *the People*. He that Heareth *You* (*Ministers* of the *Gospel*, *not the People*) *Heareth* Me; *And he that dispiseth* You, *Despiseth* Me. Ib. p. 27.

C. Why should not We Two shake Hands now, and Joyn in the Act for *Uniformity*? You cannot say, that it wants any thing of the full Complement of a *Binding Law*; Either in regard of the *Civil*, or of the *Ecclesiastical Authority*. Here is *first*, the *Judgment* of the *Church duly convinc'd*, touching the *Meetness*, and *Convenience* of the *Rites*, and *Forms* therein conteined. You have *next*, the *Royal Sanction*, *Approving*, and *Authorizing* Those *Rites*, and *Forms*; and *Requiring* your Exact *Obedience* to them. Now so it is, that you can neither Decline the *Authority* of your *Judges*, nor the *Acknowledgment* of your *Duties*; What is it then that hinders your *Obedience*?

N. C. *That which to Me is more than all the World, It* [illegible] *Conscience.*

C. Only

C. Only That Point then, and we have done with This Subject.

We have already concluded, that *God* is the *Judge* of the *World*; That the *Church* is the *Judge* of what properly concerns *Religion*; That the *Civil Magistrate* is *Judge* of what belongs to *Publique Order*, and *Peace*; and That *every Man's Conscience* is the *Judge* of what concerns his *own Soul*. The Remaining Difficulty is This; *How I am to behave my self in a Case, where the* Law *bids me do* One *Thing, and my Conscience Another.*

To take a True Estimate of This Matter, We are first to Ballance the Two Interests, that meet in Competition; The *One, for* the Law, and the *Other, against* it.

There is, in *Favour*, and *for* the *Execution* of the *Law* (meaning That of *Uniformity*) 1. The *Personal Conscience*, and 2. The *Political Conscience* of the *King*. There is moreover, for the *Equity* of it, the Solemn and Deliberate *Judgment* of the *Church*; which is, effectually, the *Publique Conscience*; and lastly, for the *Observance* of it, There is the *Duty* of the *Subject*, which, if it be *withdrawn*, does not only Invalidate This *Particular Act*, but it loosens the Sinews of *Sovereign Authority*; and which is more, it destroys even a *Divine Ordinance*; For take away *Obedience*, and *Government* lapses into *Confusion.*

Now for the *Counterpoise*; Against *This Law*, and *Thus Supported*, appears *your Naked Conscience.* Nay, That's the *Fairest* on't; It may be *worse*, and in Truth, any thing that's *Ill*, under *That Name.*

N. C. *But what's the* World *to* Me, *in the Scale against my* Soul?

C. You have great Reason sure, and 'tis no more then every Man may challenge: That is, to *Stand*, or *Fall*, to his own *Conscience*: Is that your Principle?

N. C. *Yes, out of Doubt*; 'tis Mine, *and* Yours, *and* any Man's *that's* Honest.

C. Well; Hold ye a little; *Your Conscience* will not down with *This Law*; and *This Law* will as little down with *your Conscience.* Weigh now the *Good* against the *Bad*; What if it *stands*? What if it *yields*? Make the Case worse then it is; as Bad as Bad may be, in your own Favour. *You* cannot *comply* with the *Law*; And the *Law* will not *stoop* to *You.* What follows upon it?

N.C.

N. C. *The Ruine of many Godly People, that desire to Worship God, according to his Word.*

C. That Plea wrought little upon *You* from *Us*; but let that pass. What *sort* of Ruine do you mean? Ruine of *Liberty*, or *Estate*? (For this Law draws no *Blood*) *State* your Misfortunes, I beseech ye.

N. C. *No Man must Hold a* Benefice *or Teach a* School, *but upon Terms of such* Subscription, *or* Acknowledgment, *as many an honest Man would rather* Die *then* Consent *to*: *So that We are Distrest, not only for Our* Selves, *as being deprived of the Comfort of all Spiritual, and Heavenly Freedoms: But Our poor* Infants *are exposed to be Undone, wanting the Means of a* Religious Education.

C. If *This* be All, never Trouble your selves; for *many an honest Man has out-liv'd more then this comes to.* In short; There's a *huge Clamour*; but (God knows) with *little Reason.* Some Particulars will possibly suffer for *want* of a *Toleration*: and who are They; but the Profest *Opposers* of the *Law*? And on the *Other* side, All the *Friends* of the Government will suffer *by* it.

If you would see the *Event* of *Granting* what you ask, Turn but your Face toward—41, and then *Blush*, and *Repent.* Besides; You're not aware, that in Contesting with the *Law*, you Quarrel with your *self*: *There's Your own Vote against You*; and all this Muttering, is no other then your *Factious Will*, wrangling with your *Political Consent.* And yet I say, *Stick to your Conscience*: Let us now put the Case of a Real Distance, betwixt *This Act*, and *your Conscience.* How will you divide your Duty?

N. C. *I'le follow your Advice, and* stick to my Conscience.

C. Now change Hands, and make your self the *Supreme Magistrate.* He has a *Double Conscience*; *One* that concerns *Himself*, the *Other*, his *People.*

What his Majesties *Personal Judgment* is, has been *Declared* Abundantly; What his *Prudential Judgment* may dispose Him to, lies in His *Royal Breast.* But be That as Heaven shall Order it. Here's the *Partition* of your Rights: The *King's Prerogative* has nothing to do with *your Conscience*; and *your Conscience* has as little to do with *His Majesties Prerogative.* The King is Accomptable to *God* for the Wellfare of his *People*; and You are only Accomptable to *God* for

the Good of your little *Particular*. If You cannot *Obey* the *Law*, Do not: But abide the *Penalty*. If the *Sovereign* cannot *Relax* the Law, He's as Free to *Execute* it. *Your Conſcience* requires *Liberty*, and your *Governour's Conſcience* requires *Order*. Now why you ſhould expect, that your *Sovereign* ſhould bring down *His Conſcience* to *Yours*, when you find upon Experiment, that you cannot perſwade your *Own* to come up to *His*, is to me a Myſtery. To Conclude, Keep your ſelf, within your *Sphere*; and where you cannot *Conſent*, as a *Chriſtian*, *Submit*, as a *Subject*; that We may at laſt hope for ſome Reſpite from the Calamities of *Sedition*, and *Schiſm*.

N.C. *And why not* Scandal, *and* Profaneneſs *too? For the Edge of your Severity might be directed to much better Purpoſe That way.*

SECT. XXIV.

The Church of *England charges the* Non-Conformiſts *with* Schiſm, *and the* Non-Conformiſts *charge thoſe of the* Church *with* Scandal. *The Matter is taken into* Debate.

N.C. *YOur Poſition is, That* no Toleration *is to be admitted, to the hazzard of* Religion, Good Life, *and* Government. *Keep to* That Standard, *and you will find that the* Conformiſts *have as little Pretenſe to a Toleration as their* Neighbours: *and that the Notorious* Scandal *on the* one *ſide, outweighs the Objected* Schiſm *on the* other.

C. This will ſcarce hold, if you come to be Try'd by your own Laws: which make it a Matter of *Scandal*, *by* Writing, Preaching, *or* otherwiſe, *to publiſh a Diſaffection to the* Preſent Government. But Explain your ſelf.

Scobels Acts, par. 1 p. 340.

N.C. *By* Scandal, *I mean* Habitual Prophaneneſs, Senſuality, Diſſolution of Manners, &c. *As by* Schiſm, *I ſuppoſe you intend* our Incompliances *with* your Church Diſcipline. *Weigh Theſe Two now, One againſt the Other, and do you your ſelf hold the Balance. Set up* your Tavern-Clubs *againſt* our Conventicles; *Oppoſe* your Combinations *againſt* God Himſelf, *to* our Plots *againſt the* Government. *For you muſt not take it Ill, if I tell ye, that* Atheiſm *is become the* Sport, *and* Talk *of your moſt* Celebrated Entertainments. *And when you have diſh'd the* Bible *out of* Countenance, *with the Story of the* Three Grand Impoſturs,

Impostors, *or some such Lashing Piece of Drollery, The Questioning of* God's Over-ruling Wisdom, *by* Solemn Arguments, *and the Placing of* Fortune *in the Throne of* Providence *is that which commonly Crowns your Conversations.*

C. You should not charge *Personal Crimes* upon a *Party*, unless you can prove them to be rationally consequent to the *Tenets*, and *Actings* of *That Party*. Now if you can shew me any *Affinity* betwixt *our Principles*, and *These Impieties*, you say something: But if you cannot, The Dust of your Argument puts out your own Eyes. I do not wonder, I must confess, to see a Nation Over-run with *Athiesm*, that has been so many Years under your Tuition: or to find the *Brat* of a *Conventicle* laid at the *Church-Door*.

N. C. *May not* We *charge* Personal Extravagancies *upon* your Party *as well as* You *do upon* Ours?

C. Yes.: If you can prove the same Agreement against *Us*, betwixt the *Faults* of the *One*, and the *Principles* of the *Other*, which we are able to justifie against *You*.

The *Episcopal Party*, you know, stood for the *King*; and it is undeniable, that the *King*, and *Church* had the same *Cause* and *Fate*. It is as unquestionable on the *other* side, that the *Non-Conformists* destroy'd both the *One*, and the *Other*: Not by Accident neither, but by a *Form'd*, and *Excogitated Design*, wrap'd up, and couch'd in the very *Mistery*, and *Foundation* of the *Schism*; Your *Separation* from a Communion with the *Church*, resolving naturally into a *Combination* against the Entire Frame of the *Government*; till in the End, by the help of a *Painful*, and *Well-affected Ministry*, the Generality of the People were Preach'd into this Division, [i. e.] *Those that could not* teach *the Cheat, were taught to* Scruple *at* Every Thing; *and Those that went* along with it, *to make a* Conscience *of* Nothing. And this is it, that has brought us to be so Pester'd with *Enthusiasts* and *Athiests*.

N. C. *But let me tell ye again, the* Athiests *are of the* Other Party.

C. And let me enform you too, that *your Proceedings* have made *Athiests*, more ways then One.

First, The meer *Quality* of your *Cause* has made *Athiesm* the *Interest* of a great many of your *Partaker's*; who, to put off the Thought of a Divine Vengeance attending them, if there *be* a God, Endeavour

(for their own Quiet) to perswade themselves that there is *no God at all.*

Secondly: The Work has been carried on under the Masque of *Holiness*: and the most *Desperate Athiest* is nothing else but a *Crusted Hypocrite.* I speak of your *Religious Atheist*, who has This Odds of the *Prophane*, and *Scoffing Wretch*, that he abuses God to his *Face*, and in his *own House.* The Great Atheists, *indeed are* Hypocrits (says *Sir Francis Bacon*) *which are ever handling Holy Things, but without Feeling; so as they must needs be Cauteriz'd in the End.*

Essay of Athiesm.

It is Remarquable (as I have elsewhere recommended to your Observation) *that in the Holy Scripture there are not so many* Woes *pronounc'd, nor so many* Cautions *Inculcated* against *any sort of People*, as against *Hypocrites.* You shall there find that God has given the Grace of *Repentance* to *Persecutors*, *Idolaters*; *Murtherers*, *Adulterers &c.* But I am mistaken if the whole Bible yields any *one Instance* of a *Converted Hypocrite.*

Thirdly, You have done more in your *Practises*, toward the *Vindication* of *Atheism*, then all that ever went before ye: and he that overlooks our Story, from 1640, to 1660, will find matter, not only to stagger a Weak Christian, but to put a Wiseman to a Second Thought, and make him Exclaim with the Prophet; [*Lo, These are the Ungodly, These Prosper in the World, and These have Riches in Possession. Then have I cleansed my Heart in vain, and washed my Hands in Innocency.*

Psa. 73. 12.

To see the same Men, *Swearing* to day, *with their Hands lifted up unto the Lord, in a Holy covenant, to* Defend *and* Preserve his Majesties Person: And a while after, with the same Consecrated Lips, *blessing* that *Cursed Vote*, that manifestly led to his *Destruction.* (The *Vote* of *Non-Addresses*) To see *Ministers*, like so many *Pulpit-Weather-cocks*, *shifting* from *Party* to *Party*, till they have run through every Point of the Compass: *Swearing* and *Counter-Swearing*: And when the City was split into more *Factions* then *Parishes*, still to maintain, that *the whole Schism was Acted by the Holy Ghost.* To find the Pulpit Trading only in *dark*, and *Oraculous Delusions*, instead of *plain*, and *saving Truths*; and the Pretended *Messengers* of *Peace*, turn'd *Agents* for *Blood*: to *hear*, and *see* all *this*, and *More*, and the *Cause Prosper* too, What could the Invention of Man add more to this *Temptation* to *Apostacy*?

Lastly; Your *Necessitated Toleration*, (*Necessitated* I say; for you could never have Crush'd the Government without it) started so many lewd Opinions, that it was some Degree of *Modesty*, for fear

of

of a *worse choice*, e'en to be of *No Religion at all*: And without Dispute, many People finding it left so indifferent, of *what* Religion they were, became Themselves *as* Indifferent whether they were of *Any*, or *No*. So that the *Scandal* which you would spitefully fasten upon the *Persons* of some of *our Party*, is found to be *Radical*, and *Constitutional*, in the very *Elements* of *yours*. Neither is it All, that your *Imputation* is *misplaced*; but I am afraid you'l find your self in *Another Mistake*.

Which of the Two do you account the more Tolerable; *Scandal*, or *Schism?*

N. C. *If by* Schism *you mean* A Refusal to joyn with that Church, where I cannot Communicate without Sin; *And if by* Scandal *you intend* such Actions as are of evil Example, and minister Occasions to our Neighbour, of Falling. *I think 'tis easily Determin'd that the* One *is not to be* suffer'd, *and the* Other *not to be* condemn'd.

C. I do not speak of this or that *sort* or *degree* of *Schism*, and *Scandal*; but in the just *Latitude*, both of the *One*, and the *Other*. That is to say, (without more Circumstance) Which do you take for the more Tolerable Mischief of the Two?

N. C. *Truly, betwixt a* Perverse Separation, *and a* Notorious Scandal, *I think the Choice is hard; but I rather incline against the* Scandal.

C. Now, if ye will believe *Sir Francis Bacon*, *Schism* is *Both*; [Heresies, *and* Schisms (says he) *are of all others*, the greatest Scandals; *yea more then* Corruption of Manners.] Essay of Unity of Religion.

Consider it, as it stands in Opposition to *Unity* (which is the *Bond* both of *Religion*, and *Society*.) What can be more *Scandalous*, then that which renders *Religion*, *Ridiculous?* and that's the Effect of *Schism*. To see so many *Sects*, grinning one upon another, and yet *All Pretending* to the same *One*, and *Infallible Spirit*. Beside, that *Schism* seldom or never goes *alone*; and in Truth, it is but *Sedition*, in a *Disguise*: For we find, that our *Scrupulous Dissenters*, can with much *Ease*, and *Unity*, Agree in a *War*, though not in a *Ceremony*.

N. C. *And may there not be* Conspiracies *in* Scandal, *as well as in* Schism? There, *with an Evident* Design *to bring* Contempt *upon* Religion;

gion: *Whereas* Here, *we find at leaſt a* Colour, *and* Pretenſe *to* uphold *it. Further; the Sins which I accompt* Scandalous, *are many of them Levell'd at the* Prerogative *of* God Himſelf; *and in ſhort, the Queſtion is not, properly, and ſimply, betwixt* Schiſm, *and* Scandal; *but betwixt* Schiſm, *and all other Sins whatſoever, that may be Propagated by* Converſation, (*for That's the Latitude of* Scandal.)

Again, let me obſerve from your own Mouth, that Hereſies *are* Scandals: *and ſeveral Hereſies you know, both by the Laws of* God, *and* Man, *are Puniſh'd with* Death: He that Blaſphemeth the Name of the Lord, ſhall be put to Death. *From whence you may gather ſome Difference ſure, betwixt the Heinouſneſs of the* One, *and of the* Other.

Num. 24. 16.

C. You will proceed by a very Uncertain Rule, to meaſure the *Sin* by the *Puniſhment*: for *Political Laws* regard rather *Publique Conveniences*, then *Particular Caſes* of *Conſcience*. A Man ſhall loſe his *Life* for *Picking* a *Pocket*, and but hazzard his *Ears* for a *Falſe Oath*.

But if you'l refer the Matter to the *Juſt*, and *Infallible Judge* of all the World, to *God Himſelf*; look but into that Dreadful Judgment upon the *Schiſm* of *Korah*. Korah, Dathan, &c. *roſe againſt* Moſes, *with Two hundred and Fifty Captains of the Aſſembly, famous in the Congregation, and ſaid unto them,* [Ye take too much upon You, ſince all the Congregation is Holy, even every One of them, and the Lord is among them. [*Wherefore then lift ye your ſelves above the* [Congregation of the Lord?] [And what follow'd?] *The Earth open'd her Mouth, and ſwallow'd them up with their Families, and all the Men that were with* Korah, *&c. A Fire came out from the Lord, and Conſumed the Two Hundred and Fifty Men that Offer'd the Incenſe.* This ſet the *Multitude* a *muttering* againſt *Moſes* and *Aaron*; ſaying, [*Ye have killed the People of the Lord.*] See now what came of this *Muttering* to: [*Fourteen Thouſand Seven Hundred of them were conſumed by a Plague.*]

Num. 16 1. Verſ. 3. Aerſe 32. Verſe 35. Verſe 41. Verſe 49.

You have here, not only a Dreadful Inſtance of *Gods Wrath* againſt *Schiſm*; but againſt a *Schiſm* alſo, carry'd on, in the *Stile* of *Our preſent Non-Conformiſts*: [*Two Hundred and Fifty Captains of the Aſſembly, Famous in the Congregation*;] Which Our *Engliſh* Tranſlation renders, *An Intelligent, Sober ſort of Men, Numerous among all Ranks, &c.* [Theſe roſe againſt *Moſes* and *Aaron*, and ſaid unto Them, Ye take too much upon You. The Congregation is Holy, and the Lord is among Them. Wherefore do ye lift your ſelves above the Congregation of the Lord?] What is This, but the

Diſc. of Relig. p. 25.

Language

Language of Our Age, the common Objection against the *Bishops, Lording it over God's Heretage.* The Consequences I leave before you.

N. C. *Give me leave now to pass an Observation upon your whole Discourse. You seem to have been very Punctual, and Methodical in the Distribution of the Parts of it.* • *A* Toleration, *or* No Toleration, *was the Question.* *An* Universal Toleration *you found too* Wide; *A* Limited Toleration *too* Narrow; *and yet after all* This, *your Opinion was, that a* Toleration *under such and such* Modifications, *and* Restrictions *might be* admitted: *Upon which Terms, I was content to come to an Issue with You. Now, since This Tender of a Compliance, You have not proceeded, Methinks, with that Candour which I expected from You. But the Main Stress of your Argument lies against the* Whole Party *of the* Non-Conformists; *And (in effect) against* any Toleration at all: *with little or no Regard to those* Accommodable Points, *that might have brought the Matter in Difference to some sort of Composure.*

C. It is very True, That I am utterly against *Tolerating* the *Whole Party*, as a Thing of Certain *Inconvenience*, to *Religion*, and *Government*; and to the Ruine, no less of *your selves*, then of the *Publique*. Will *Presbytery* ever satisfie the *Independents Conscience*? Or will *Liberty* any better suit with the *Presbyterians*? And yet you could both of you joyn with the *Directory*, against the *Common-Prayer*; with the Authority of the Pretended *Assembly*, against that of the *Church*; whereinyou have given Proof to the World, that you were not *United* upon any Consideration of *Conscience*, but with *Design* upon a *Common Booty*. Ye overturn'd the Government, Divided the Spoil, Enrich't your selves, *Embroiled every thing*; and *Settled Nothing*. And yet in those Days there was no Act of Uniformity to hinder you.

This is enough to make Evident, that the *Non-Conformists* are *Intolerable*, in *Conjunction*: But if you think fit to make a Tryal, how far any *sort* of them may agree with our *Standard* of *Toleration*, *Apart*, Plead you the Cause of the *Presbyterians*, and let your Brother *Independent* here, (that has been a witness to our whole Debate) take up the Cudgels for *his own Party*; Not forgetting, that

In the Question of *Toleration*, the Foundation of *Faith*, *Good Life*, and *Government* is to be Secur'd.

N. C. *According to what Latitude are we to understand that which you call the* Foundation *of* Faith?

C. According

Chilling-worths Safe Way, p. 186.

C. According to the Latitude of the *Apostles Creed*, wherein are contained *All the Articles of Simple Faith, which are Necessary to be Explicitly Believed.*] And whatsoever was found by *Them*, to be *Necessary*, and *Sufficient* to *Salvation*, continues so still, and ought to be so *Received*, and *Acknowledged* by *Us*: without insisting upon *Deductions*, and *Consequences*, as Points of *Prime*, and *Fundamental Necessity*; though *Occasionally*, and *Obliquely*, they become Necessary too. Rom 10.8 *This is the Word of Faith which we Preach, that if thou shalt Confess with thy Mouth the Lord Jesus, and shalt believe in thy Heart, that God hath raised him from the Dead, thou shalt be saved.* Here's the *Foundation* of *Faith*: And in that of *Good Life*, respect is to be had to *Morality*, that nothing be *Tolerated* to the Encouragement of *Looseness*, *Sensuality*, and *Dissolution* of *Manners*.

As there is an Absolute *Necessity* of Providing against Doctrines and Opinions of this Quality: so I think there will be no great *Difficulty*, either of *Discovering*, or of *Suppressing* them: For they are of a Condition so *Notorious*, that they lie open to all People: and then so *Odious* they are, by reason of the Gross *Impiety*, and *Scandal*; that they have no *Friends* upon the Face of the Earth, (for their *own* sakes I mean) but the profest Enemies of *Christianity*, and *Nature*. (It is another Case, when they are made use of in Subserviency to a *Faction*.) So that you may save your selves the Trouble of Catechising your Brethren upon these two Points, and rather spend your Time upon the remaining Caution, for *Securing* the *Government*: which will be much more to Our Purpose; For the Matter we are now upon, is a Question, rather of *Policy*, then of *Religion*.

Toleration Discuss'd,

BETWIXT A

PRESBYTERIAN

AND AN

INDEPENDENT.

SECT. XXV.

Upon a Short and Impartial Survey *of the* Rise, Progress, *and* Issue *of the* War, *raised by the* Two Houses *in* 1641, *The* Presbyterians *are found to be more* Criminal *then the* Independents.

Presb. IN *all our Arguments, and Pleas for* Toleration, *we are still hit in the Teeth,* (*as in Bar to our Demands*) *with* Dangerous Practises, *and* Opinions; *The* Murther *of the* Late King; *The* Overturning *of the* Government; *and that we have a mind to serve the* Son, *as we did the* Father. *Now for asmuch as the* Fact *is* Undeniable; *and truly the* Exception *but* Reasonable, *as to those that did it*; We *are* first *to clear our selves of that Execrable Fact*; *wherein I am content to become an Undertaker for the* Presbyterians) *and to speak* afterward, *to the Justification of our* Principles, *and* Opinions.

Indep. Give me leave then to Plead the Cause of the *Independents*; and to observe to you, in the first place, that the *Scotch Non-Conformists* under King *James* were Totally *Presbyterians*: and so were the *English Puritans* under Queen *Elizabeth*.

Presb. *Were the* Anabaptists, Familists, *and* Brownists, *that started up in Those Days*, Presbyterians?

Indep. Some *Dutch Anabaptists* came over indeed in 1560; but one Proclamation scatter'd them Immediately. And then for the

Familists, and *Brownists*, you speak of; Alas! They gave the *Executioner* more Trouble then the *Government*, and were suppreſt as ſoon as Detected. But the Formal, and *United Confederacy* was ſtill *Presbyterian*; and you muſt overthrow all the *Memorials*, and *Records* of thoſe Times to gainſay it. Briefly; If you look forward, you will find the *Presbyterians* again under King *James*, at *Hampton Court*; The *Presbyterians* again, in the ſeveral Parliaments under King *Charles* the *Firſt*; and ſo the ſame Hand ſtill, to the beginning of the *Scottiſh Broils* in 1637. Which was the *Midwifry* of the Plot, they had been ſo long a Hammering.

Presb. *You make nothing it ſeems of the Turbulent* Independents, *that went away to* New England, Holland, *and other Parts beyond the Seas, with all the Clamour, and Rancour Imaginable againſt the Government.*

Indep. Not to Juſtifie them in their *Clamour*; I muſt yet recommend their *departure*, as a fair Teſtimony that they withdrew upon *Conſcience*. For by this Seceſſion, they put themſelves out of Condition to carry on a Faction: Whereas the *Presbyterians*, that had a further Deſign in Proſpect, ſtood their Ground, watch'd their Advantages, and gain'd their End.

Presb. *All this is but* Talk, *without* Proof.

Indep. It will be granted, I ſuppoſe, that the *Scottiſh Tumults* in 1637. and the *Rebellion* upon the neck of them, in 1638. were advanc'd upon a *Presbyterian* accompt: and conſequently, that thoſe of the ſame Leven, that Voted them *Good Subjects*, and *Money* for their pains, and Adopted them their *Dear Brethren* for ſo doing.

Were not the *Principals* of the Faction in the *Long Parliament*, every Man of them *Presbyterian*? Were not the *Army*, and *Aſſembly*, *Presbyterian*; And all their *Votes*, *Actions*, and *Concluſions* Influenc'd accordingly? Who were they that Invited the *Scots* into *England* the Second time; (*Nov* 7. 1642.) That Impoſed the *Covenant*; Proſecuted the *War*, under the Countenance of it; and made it the Teſt of Diſcrimination, betwixt the *Malignant*, and *Well Affected Parties*: That Settled the *Directory*, Nay the *Presbytery* it ſelf? Were not Theſe *Presbyterians*?

Ex. Coll. R. 1637

Who were they, but *Presbyterians*, that ſtripp't the King of his *Royalties*, and *Revenues*; *Commiſſion'd* an *Army* againſt him; *Fought* him, *Purſu'ed* him; and in fine brought him to utter *Ruine*?

Presb.

Presb. *You will find the Late King of another Opinion, in his first Declaration, of Aug.* 12. 1642. *where he complains of the* Tumultuous Assemblies of Brownists, Anabaptists, *and other* Sectaries. Ex. Coll. p. 532.

Indep. But still you will find in the same *Page*, that these very People were Animated, and Countenanced, by *Presbyterians*; and Acted, as the *Creatures*, and *Servants*, of *that Interest*.

Presb. *Can you say that the* English *or* Scottish Presbyters *did ever go about to Dissolve* Monarchy? Interest of Engl. p. 44.

Indep. Yes: And I do aver, that the *Nineteen Propositions* of *June* 2. 1642. were as much a *Dissolution* of *Kingly Government*, as the very Act it self (of *March* 17. 1648.) for *Abolishing* it. And the *Uxbridge Propositions* were to the same purpose. Ex. Coll. p. 307.

Presb. *You know very well, that after the* New Modelling *of the* Army, *the* Presbyterians *were able to do nothing; and this was a good while before the King went to the* Scots. Scobels Acts, par. 2. p. 7.

Indep. Let us see then how the *Presbyterians* behaved themselves, after his Majesty cast himself into the Protection of the *Scotch* Army before *Newark*, in *May*, 1646.

Notice was Immediately given of it, to the *Two Houses*, by the *Commissioners* of the *Army*; Importing their Adherence to the *Covenant*, and *Treaty*; and that they had no fore-knowledge of his Majesties Coming. The *English Army* presently March'd with 5000. *Horse*, and *Dragoons*, toward *Newark*; and our *Brethren* fairly retreated with the Prey in the Foot toward *Newcastle*. After This, Both Parties stood at Gaze for several Months; but not without a world of tedious Papers, betwixt the *Scotch Commissioners*, and the *Two Houses*, touching *their Joynt Right in Disposing of the Person of the King*. But in the Conclusion, the *Presbyterians* Compounded the Controversie for the Sum of 400000 *l.* In *May* they took their *Sovereign* into their *Protection*; In the *December* following, they *Sold* him; and in *February* they *Deliver'd* him *up*; And all This, *According to their* COVENANT.

Presb. *They must needs* Deliver *him up, when they could Keep him no longer.*

Indep. They had at that time the City of *London* to *Friend*; a *Balancing Vote* in the *Houſe of Commons*; a Conſiderable Mixture in the *Army*; *Scotland behind* them; (Entire, if ever the Kings Intereſt came in Play) And at leaſt *Ten Thouſand* Men in a Body. (The *Royal Party* over and above.) So that here was no viſible *Force* to *over-awe* them: And *London* himſelf acknowledged as much, at a Conference (*Octob.* 6. 1646.) *If any ſuch Courſe ſhall be taken* (ſays he) *or any Demand made for Rendring of his Perſon, which cannot ſtand with his* Honour, *and* Safety; *or which cannot conſiſt with our* Duty, Allegience, *and* Covenant; *nor with the* Honour *of That* Army, *to whom* (*in time of his Extreme Danger*) *he had his Recourſe for* Safety: *It cannot be Expected that we can be Capable of* So Baſe An Act: And if (*to ſhun this, and avoid occaſion of Quarrelling between the Kingdoms*) *he ſhall go to* Scotland, *and reſent his Expulſion out of* England; *and crave the Aſſiſtance of That Kingdom for Recovery of his Right to This Crown*: *He may in a ſhort time, raiſe ſuch Forces in* Scotland, *and* Ireland, *as with the Aſſiſtance of* Forreign Princes, *theſe Kingdoms may be made a Field of Blood, &c.*

Anſwer to the Vote of *Sep.* 24. 1646.

By This it appears Evidently, that they were under no Neceſſity of Delivering the King: And you may now ſee their Opinion of the Action it ſelf. [*If it be contrary* (*ſay the Scotch Commiſſiners*) *to the Law, and Common Practiſe of Nations, to Deliver up the meaneſt* Subject *fled to them, though it be for the Greateſt Crimes; How much more would the World abroad condemn our* Army, *for a* Baſe Diſhonourable *Act, if they ſhould Deliver up their* Head, *and* Sovereign, (*having caſt himſelf into their Hands*) *to be Diſpoſed of at the Arbitrament of another Nation!*

Presb. *But yet you ſaw that they* Condition'd *for his* Honour, Freedom, *and* Safety.

Indep. That's a Shuffle: For upon ſuch Terms did they render him, that they might have caſt a *Sheep* into a Herd of *Wolves*, with as much *Confidence*, and *Likelihood* of *Safety*. You are here to diſtinguiſh the *Faction* of *Scotland*, from the *Nation*: No Country affording greater Inſtances of *Honour*, and *Loyalty*. Nay, I have heard (even on This Occaſion) that upon the Kings Earneſt Deſire to go for *Scotland*, it was carried in the *Negative* but by *Two Voices*.

Presb. *Can you Imagine, that if they had apprehended any danger to his* Royal Perſon, *they would not have ventur'd their Lives a thouſand times over, to have ſav'd him?*

Indep.

Indep. No, no: But on the Contrary; They *foresaw* the Danger *debated* it; and yet *expos'd* him: Nay, which is still worse, they *reserv'd* him for it. Were not his Majesties *Friends* kept from him, by a strict Order, at *Newcastle*? Was he not *Spied*, and *Guarded*, for fear of an *Escape*? And upon Information, that He intended one, was not a *narrower Watch* set over him?

That they foresaw the Danger, is confest by the *Chancellor* Himself. *Lest we should walk in the Dark,* (says he) *upon Obscurity of Ambiguous Words, I shall desire that the Word of* [Disposing of the Kings Person,] *may be rightly understood. For* Dolus versatur in Universalibus. *For* to Dispose of the Person of the King, as *Both Houses* or *Both Ringdomes* shall think fit, *may in some sense be to* Depose *or* Worse. And in a Speech to his Majesty, he goes yet further. *If your Majesty* (says he) *shall refuse to assent to the Propositions*; (*which God forbid*) *you will lose all your Friends, lose the City, and the Country*; *and all* England *will joyn against you as one Man*: *And* (*when all hope of Reconciliation is past*) *it is to be feared they will Process, and Depose you, and set up another Government. Upon your Majesties refusing the Propositions, both Kingdoms will be Constrained* (*for their mutual Safety*) *to* Agree, and Settle Religion, and Peace withour you: *which* (*to our unspeakable Grief*) *will ruine your Majesty, and your Posterity. And if your Majesty reject our Faithful Advice, and lose* England *by your* Wilfulness, your Majesty will not be permitted to come and ruine *Scotland.*

Presb. *These Propositions, I suppose, were of Absolute Necessity to the Well-Being of the Publique; they would never have been brought in Competition else with the Kings* Freedom, Life, *and* Dignity.

Indep. The King was *first to Justifie the Proceedings of the Two Houses,* and to deliver up to *Death, Beggery,* and *Infamy* his Whole *Party.*

2. *To Settle the* Militia *of* England *and* Ireland, *in the Hands of the* Parliament for Twenty Years; *giving them Authority to raise* Men, *and* Moneys.

3. *To make void all* Honours *since* 1642. *and no* Peers *admited for the future, to Sit and Vote in* Parliament, *but by Consent of* Both Houses, who were likewise *to dispose of all* Great Places, *and* Offices *of* Honour, *in* England *and* Ireland.

4. *His Majesty was to Swear, and Sign the* Covenant, *and Command the takeing of it throughout the Three Kingdoms*; *Aboliishing* Episcopacy,

copacy, *even and Settling Religion as Both Houses shall Agree*,

Upon his Majesties Refusal to Sign These Propositions, the *Scotch Declaration* of *Jan.* 1646. tells us, That *there will be a Joynt Course taken by Both Kingdoms* concerning his Majesties Person.—*With Respect had to the* Safety, *and* Preservation *of his* Royal Person, *In the Preservation, and Defence of the True Religion, and Liberties of the Kingdoms*—*According to the Covenant*. And According to the *Covenant*, His Majesties Person was Disposed of.

Presb. *And do you believe that the* Two Houses *would have used the King any better, if he had gone to Them.*

They made it Treason *Immediately, and* Death without Mercy, *for any Man to Harbour, and Conceal the Kings Person; upon a Supposition, that his Majesty was then in* London. *This was the fourth of* May; *and on the sixth, the* Commons *Voted him to* Warwick Castle: *which was Unvoted again upon the ninth. In* June, *the Kings going to the* Scots, *was Voted,* A Design to Prolong the War. *And this was as much the Action of the* Independents, *as the Other was of the* Presbyterians.

Indep. Pardon me there, I beseech ye. You see by the Voting *Back* and *Forward*, that the House of Commons was upon a hard Tug, but the *Scottish Party* was totally *Presbyterian.*

But will you hear the *Kirk* speak for it self, after the putting of the King into *English Hands? They Exhort their* Covenanted Brethren, (the Assembly at *Westminster*) *to hold fast their Solemn League and Covenant: to entertain a Brotherhood, and Unity between the Nations,* (Feb. 12. 1646.) (but not a Syllable of the *King.*) Again, (*June* 18. 1647.) *The* General Assembly *of the* Kirk, *presses the* Two Houses *to a speedy Establishment of the* Presbytery: (but not a Word again of his Majesty.) And in truth, their *Silence* is a Favour, considering how they order him, when they speak of him: As you may observe in a Resolve of theirs, upon a Question Debated at *Edenburgh.*

If the King be Excluded from Government *in* England, *for not Granting the* Propositions *concerning* Religion, *and the* Covenant; *and for not giving a Satisfactory Answer to the* Remanent Propositions: *Whether in That Case it be Lawful for this Kingdom to assist him, for the Recovery of the Government, or whether it be not Lawful?*

Being put to it, We cannot but Answer, in regard of the Engagement *of This Kingdom, by* Covenant, *and* Treaty, *Negative.*

Resolved

Resolved upon the Question,

1. *That the Kingdom of* Scotland, *shall be Governed as it hath been these last Five Years; All Means being used, that the* King *might take the* Covenant, *and Pass the* Propositions.

2. *That the taking of the* Scots Covenant, *and Passing* some *of the* Propositions, *doth not give Warrant to assist him against* England.

3. *That upon bare taking the* National Covenant, *we may not receive him.*

4. *That the Clause in the* Covenant, *for* Defence of the Kings Person, *is to be understood,* in Defence, and Safety of the Kingdoms.

5. *That the King shall not Execute any Power in the Kingdom of* Scotland, *until such time that he hath Granted the* Propositions *concerning* Religion, *and the* Covenant; *and given a Satisfactory Answer to Both Kingdoms in the rest of the* Propositions, *presented to him by both Kingdoms at* Newcastle.

6. *That if his Majesty refuse to Pass the* Propositions, he shall be disposed of according to the *Covenant, and* Treaty.

7. *That the Union be firmly kept between the Kingdoms, according to the* Covenant, *and the* Treaties.

Here's *Presbyterian Loyalty*: If the King would have consented *to give up his Crown; Blast his Conscience; Betray his Trust, and Sacrifice his Friends;* he might perchance have been allow'd the *Pageantry* of a *Court*, and some *Mock-Properties* of *Royalty*: but upon other Terms, the *Kirk* you see gives him no Quarter.

The King is now under the Care of his new *Governours*; *Holdenby*, is his *Prison*; The *Question* is matter of *Church-Government*; and his Majesty is prest to an *Alteration*. Some two Months are spent in the fruitless Desires, and Expectations of his *Chaplains*, for his Advice, and Comfort; and any *Two* (of *Twelve* in Nomination) would satisfie his *Majesty*. But *That could not be*; (they said (No, *not a Common-Prayer-Book for his own Private Use*. These were the *Presbyterians* still.

Upon the fourth of *June* 1647. *Cornet Joyce*, with a Party of Horse took the King from *Holdenby*; under colour of preventing other Secret Designs upon the Person of his *Majesty*. The next day, at a *Rendezvous* near *Newmarket*, was Read, and Signed the *Armies Engagement*: complaining of the *Two Houses*, and in Particular of a Vote they had Past for *Disbanding* the *Army*. (Where Note, that the *Houses* were still *Presbyterian*) the Sum of their *Engagement* was:

That

That *they would Disband, upon full Satisfaction received, and not without it.* This *Liberty* was menag'd all this while, with much Formality of *Duty*, and *Reſpect*: the *Houſes* at every turn advertis'd concerning the *Kings Motions*: and (*June* the 9th) conſulted how further to Diſpoſe of his Majeſty. Some three days after, the Army drew toward *London*, and *Alarm'd* the *City*: (contrary to an Expreſs *Order* of the *Houſes*, the very day before) A months Pay was their Errand, and to ſave Carriage, they made a ſtep from *Royſton* to *St. Albans* to receive it.

On *June* the 15. out comes a Terrible *Repreſentation*, with *Deſires* from the *Army*, Againſt all *Arbitrary Powers*, and *Intereſts* whatſoever: Pleading the *Presbyterian Preſidents*, and the *Principles* of the *Two Houſes* in their *Juſtification*.

The Parliament (ſay they) *hath Declar'd it no Reſiſting of Magiſtracy, to ſide with the Juſt Principles, and Law of* Nature, *and* Nations; (being that Law upon which we have aſſiſted you) *and that the Souldiery may Lawfully hold the Hands of the General, who will turn his Cannon upon his Army, on purpoſe to deſtroy them.* They Demanded, *the Purging of the Houſes*, and *Retrenching the Power of Committees*; *an accompt for Publique Moneys*; *A Period of the Preſent Seſſion, and Limits for the Future, &c.*

It could not chuſe but Gall the *Two Houſes*, to ſee their Throats cut with their own Weapons: but ſtill they kept up their Greatneſs of *Pretenſe*, and *Stile*; and by an *Order* as *Imperative* as ever, they commanded the Placing of his Majeſty at *Richmond*; in Order to a *Treaty*, forſooth, *for a Safe, and Well-grounded Peace*. But the Army had another Game to play; However, what the *Presbyterians* would have done upon that Occaſion, may be ſeen in what they did afterward, at the *Iſle of Wight*, in his *Majeſties* laſt Diſtreſs, and Extremity.

Presb. *You are willing I find, to paſs over the Barbariſm of the* Independents *toward his Majeſty, while they had him at* Hampton-Court; *but there is enough yet behind, to make that Faction Odious to all Eternity.*

Indep. Truly no: but I would not ſpin out a *Debate* to the length of a *Hiſtory*, as to the *Barbariſms* you ſpeak of, let his Majeſty Himſelf be heard.

Colonel Whaley, *I have been ſo civilly uſed by* You, *and Major* Huntington, *that I cannot but by this parting Farewell, acknowledge it under my Hand.* Nov. 11. 1647. And again; from *Carisbrook Caſtle* to the *General*, Nov. 27. 1647.

The

The Free Liberty which you willingly afforded us to have of the Use of our Own Chaplains, *makes us at this time not only to Acknowledge your Former Civilities, but, &c.* So that his Majesties Condition appears to have been somewhat more easie at *Hampton-Court*, then before it was at *Holdenby*. Nay, most certain it is, that the *Presbyterians*, even at that very time, did the Deadly thing that brought the King to the *Scaffold*.

Presb. *How could that be*; *when the* Two Houses, *by* Purging, *and* Modelling, *were Subjected Absolutely to the Devotion of the* Army.

Indep. Thus they did it. His Majesty was at that time, upon fair, terms with *Cromwel*, and *Ireton*; and not without large hopes of a Final Accomodation. (The Author of *The History of Independency*, (Pa. 35.) is positive as to *their Treating with the King*.) While this was in Agitation, the *Presbyterians* were at work on the other hand to break the King's Confidence in the *Army*; by Imputations of *Treachery*, and *Levity*: to divert his Majesty to the Seeking of Relief elsewhere; with particular Undertakings of great Matters from *Scotland*, and the City of *London*. This way of Tampering might very well put the King to a stand: which *Cromwel* no sooner perceived, but he Immediately betook himself to a Course of Extremity: Irritated (over and above, as is credibly affirmed) by an Advise from *Argile*, in confirmation of his Jealousie.

His Majesties next Remove was to the *Isle of Wight*: Where, for Ceremonies sake, he was presented with *Four Bills*; and upon his Refusal to pass them, followed the Vote of *Non-Addresses*. *In Passing these Bills*, His Majesty had not only divested *Himself*, and his *Successors*, of all *Sovereignty*; but Subjected his People to the *Basest*, and most *Absolute Tyranny* that ever was Exercis'd upon Mortals.

Presb. *You will not call this the Act of the* Presbyterians, *I hope.*

Indep. No, I will not: But yet I must tell you, that the *Presbyterians*, upon this Juncture, did every jot as much as this Amounts to.

So soon as the *Parliament* of *Scotland* was thoroughly Inform'd of the Distress, and Danger of the Kings Condition, the Matter was presently Debated; and a Resolution taken to Raise an Army for his Majesties Relief. In which Proceeding, they were violently opposed by the *General Assembly*, without any regard at all to the

King's Life, at that time in Queſtion. See *The Humble Deſires of the* Commiſſioners *of the* General Aſſembly *to the* Parliament, *Pag.* 13. (*We deſire that his Majeſties late* Conceſſions, *and* Offers *concerning* Religion, *as they have been by the* Church, *ſo may be by the* Parliament *declared* Unſatisfactory. (*March* 22. 1648.) And afterward:
Ibid. p. 60. (*Jan.* 10. 1648.) *That his Maſeſties late* Conceſſions, *and* Offers *concerning* Religion, *may by your Lordſhips*, Directly, *and* Poſitively, *be* Declared Unſatisfactory *to this preſent Parliament. And that there ſhall be no* Engagement *for* Reſtoring *his Majeſty to one of his Houſes, with Honour, Freedom, and Safety, before Securiiy, and Aſſurance be had from his Majeſty, by his Solemn* Oath, *under his* Hand, *and* Seal, *that he ſhall for* Himſelf, *and his* Succeſſours, *Conſent, and Agree to Acts of Parliament, enjoyning the League and* Covenant, *and fully Eſtabliſhing* Presbyterian Government, Directory *of Worſhip, and* Confeſſion of Faith *in all his Majeſties Dominions: and that his Majeſty ſhall never make Oppoſition to any of theſe, or endeavour any Change thereof.*

This is Rivitted with a Miſchief. And pray'e ſhew me now the Material Difference, between Precluding His Majeſty by a Vote of *No Addreſſe*, or by a Reſolution of *No Agreement*: His *Honour*, and *Conſcience* being equally at ſtake on either ſide.

To give you the Sum of all in ſhort. The *Presbyterians began* the War; *Purſued* it; made the *King* a *Priſoner*; *Sold* him; and in the Depth of his Calamity, preſented him with *Temptation*, inſtead of *Comfort*. No *Compoſition* would be heard of, but the *Forfeiture* of his *Soul*, for the *Saving* of his *Life*.

Presb. *But the* Independents *however*, Crown'd *the Wickedneſs with his* Blood.

Indep. Suppoſe it ſo: *They* did only *Execute* the Sentence, but the *Presbyterians* Pronounc'd it. Neither did they *Execute* it, as *Independents*; or under colour of any Impulſe of *Religion*, or *Conſcience*, but upon *Civil*, and *Political Pretexts*. He *was adjudged to be put to Death as a* Tyrant, Traytor, Murtherer, *and* Publique Enemy: Not for Refuſing to Enter into a *Church-Covenant*, or Eſtabliſh *Liberty of Conſcience*; but upon a Peſtilent Motive of *Diabolical Policy*, and *State*. Whereas, the *Presbyterians* perſecuted him as *Presbyterians*; and depriv'd him of his *Royal Support, Dignity, Friends, Freedom*, (in Effect) *Life* and all, becauſe he would not renounce his *Reaſon*, & *Conſcience*, in favour of their *Government*. And I am verily perſwaded, that you will have as little to ſay for your *Principles*, as for your *Actions*.

SECT.

SECT. XXVI.

What Party *soever* Demands *a* Toleration, *and yet* maintains, *that it is* DeLructive *both of* Church *and* State, *to* Grant *one*, *is an* Enemy *to* Both.

Indep. AS to the Point in Question; It lies Naturally before us to speak first to the Thing, in it *self*; and we may afterward consider it in the *Consequences*.

In the Desire of a *Toleration*, the *Independents* ask no more then they would be ready to Allow; I wish the *Presbyterians* could say the like.

Presb. *In the large sense of Allowing all sorts of* Libertines, *and* Heretiques, *as the late* Independent Government *did, I do confess you have outdone the* Presbyterians.

Indep. And yet those very *Libertines*, and *Heretiques*, were *Your White-Boys*, and *Favourites*, so long as they serv'd *Your Ends*. They had none of this Language from you, when they Tumulted against *Bishops*, and *Common-Prayer*; *Ceremonies*, and *Popish Lords*. While they were the Instruments of *Your Ambition*, they were the *Godly, Well-affected Party*: So that *Heretiques*, it seems, will down well enough with your *Politiques*, though not with your *Consciences*: Provided they will content themselves to be *Damn'd*, and let the *Presbyterians* alone to *Govern*.

Presb. *The* Independents *made sweet work in* Holland, *did they not? And where was your Spirit of* Toleration, *and* Forbearance, *I beseech you, in* New-England?

Indep. You cannot say that we gave any Trouble in *Holland* to the *State*; or that we fell foul there upon *Different Judgements*. In *New England*, 'tis true, we excluded the *Gortonists*, *Familists*, *Seekers*, *Antinomians*, *Anabaptists*; and Subjected them to the Censure of the *Civil Power*, as People of Dangerous Principles, in Respect both of *Good Life*, and *Government*. Which Proceeding of ours methinks might serve to disabuse those that call *Independency* the *Genus Generalissimum* of all *Errours*, *Heresies*, *Blasphemies*, and *Schisms*: and take the *Church way* of *New-England*, for that sort of *Independency*. They

did also exclude *Papacy*, and *Prelacy*; the *Latter*, perchance, more out of Regard to a *Temporary Convenience*, then upon any rooted Principle of Implacable *Severity*. And I perswade my self, the *Episcopal Party* will witness thus much on our behalfs; that as to the Freedom of their *Meetings* and way of *Worship*, in the late Revolutions, they had much better Quarter from the *Independents*, then ever they had from the *Presbyterians*: There was no Persecuting of Men for *Covenants*, and *Directories*: So that Thus far, the *Independents* have made their *Professions* of *Liberty* good, by their *Practise*.

Old Non-Confor. p. 41. Petition for peace. p. 20.

Presb. *And are not the* Classical Prebyterians *as much for a* Lawful Liberty, *as the* Congregationals? [Let there be a *Toleration* in Religion, excepting to *Blasphemy*, *Treason*, or *Gross Errours*.] Bear with the Weak; *Tolerate* the *Tolerable*, and for the *Intolerable*, we beg not your *Toleration*. *Here's the Sense and Desire of the* Presbyterian Divines *that were Commission'd about the Review of the* Service-Book.

Indep. This is only a *New Song*, to an *Old Tune*. The *Presbyterians* have just the same need of the *Independents* at *this day*, that they had some *nine and twenty Years ago*. The Author of *The Discourse of Religion* has many good Remarques upon the *Papists*, that may be very well applied to the *Presbyterians*: and *This* for *One*. [*Things* Par. 1. p. 6. *past* (says he) *may afford Prognostiques of things to come*. So that we are to gather what you *intend now*, from what you *did*, after saying the same things *before*. Or if you had rather come to a Tryal, upon the *Evidence* of your own *Manifestos*, and *Declarations*, then upon the *History* of your *Practises*; I shall make use of *no other Testimony* against you.

The *Presbyterians* press the *Demand* of a *Toleration*, as a very *reasonable Request*; and yet they Themselves have pronounc'd Judgment against it, as a thing against *Conscience*, Destructive of *Publique Order* both in *Church*, and *State*, and of the Peace of *Common Society*.

* *Gangræna* par. 1. p. 282 ☞ Ibid. 303. *Rutherf.* Free Disp. P. 267.

Toleration (says M. *Edwards*) *cannot be Condescended to, without a Breach of Oath, and Covenant*. [*It is the* Depth *of* Satan, *this* Design *of a* Toleration *of* Heresies, *and* Gross Errours; *but an Allowance of a* Latitude *in some* Lesser Differences *with* Peaceableness. *This is* Candidus ille Diabolus, *That White Devil*, &c. The *London-Ministers Letter* to the *Assembly*, in 1643. declares it *Repugnant to the Solemn League and Covenant*. The Commissioners of the Kirk of *Scotland*,

do

do *Protest, and Declare against it, as Inconsistent with, and Repugnant to the Word of God.*

As to the Influence of a *Toleration* upon *Church* and *State*; Mr. *Edwards* tells us, that *The Party Tolerated will never rest Working, till they get the upper hand, and Suppress the Other.* *Rutherford* is positive that *such Opinions, and Practises as make an Evident Schism in a Church, and set up* two Distinct Churches, *of* Different Forms, *and* Government, *are* Not *to be* Tolerated. *For by their Principles they labour, each the Destruction of the other; and this* Toleration *destroys* Peace *and* Unity. Again, The *London Ministers* are of Opinion, that *it will produce causless, and unjust Revolts from the Ministry, and Congregations. The Peoples Minds will be Troubled, and in Danger to be Subverted. Heart-burnings will be Fomented, and Perpetuated to Posterity. The Godly, Painful, and Orthodox Ministers will be Discouraged, and Despis'd. The Life and Power of Godliness will be eaten up by Frivilous Disputes, and Janglings. And the whole Church of* England, *in short time, will be swallowed up with Distraction, and Confusion. The* Kingdom *will be wofully weakened also, by Scandals, and Divisions: The Power of the Magistrate will not be only weakened, but utterly overthrown, by the Anti-Magistratical Principles, and Practises of the* Independents: *And the whole Course of Religion in Private* Families, *will be interrupted, and undermined.*

Gangræna p. 293.

Free Dispute p. 98

Not to multiply Authorities more then necessary, This has been the strein of all your Proceedings: *Imperiously*, and *Inexorably Strict*, and *Rigorous* in *Imposing* upon *Others*; and as *Shamelessly Importune*, and *Clamorous* for *Liberty* to *Your selves.* But what have I more to do, then to pass Sentence upon you, out of your own Mouths? *You cannot in* Conscience desire *a Toleration, if you understand it to be* Against Conscience *to* Grant *it.* And *the very* Asking *of That which you believe would draw a* Destruction *upon* Church *and* State, *is Ground enough for a strong Presumption that you* Intend *it.*

Presb. *That which was a Reasonable Cause of Refusal, from the* Presbyterians *to the* Independents, *will not hold good from the Church of* England *to the* Presbyterians: *Either in respect of the* Stability *of our* Government, *or of the* Sobriety *of our* Principles.

SECT.

SECT. XXVII.

In Case of a Tolertion, *or* Indulgence *to be* Granted, *Whether has the fairer* Pretense *to it*; *The* Classical way *of the* Presbyterians, *or the* Congregational Way *of the* Innepondents; *in Respect of their* Form *of* Government.

Indep. THe *Presbyterians* (you say) are rather to be *Tolerated* then the *Independents*, in regard of the *Stability* of their *Government*, and the *Sobriety* tf their *Principles*. To speak in this Place to the Matter of their *Government*; I think your *Argument* is very *ill grounded*. For in Deliberations of this Nature, the Cautions that occur to all Magistrates are chiefly these two. *First*, in Case of an *Indulgence*, that it may be placed upon a Party, which in Probability, *would not* disturb the Publique if they *could*; But *Secondly*, to make sure however, (for fear of the worst) that they shall not be *able* to do it, if thcy *would*. So that whether a *Stable*, and *United*, or a *Loose*, and *Distracted Interest* may with more *Seeurity* be *Indulged*, is the *Question*.

Pres. *You may as well ask, Whether* Order, *or* Coufusion *be more* Tolerable *in a* Government.

Indep. That *Order* which is *Necessary* in the *Government* it *self*, is *Dangerous* in the *Enemies* of it. But deliver your *Exceptions* to the *Toleration* of those which you call *Independents*, in Regard of their way of *Government*.

Presb. *You have already, in a good part, sav'd me that Labour. But a Mrn shall not need to go further for an* Exception, *then to the very* Denomination *of them*; *which Import, an Exemption from all* Jurisdiction, *both* Ecclesiastical, *and* Civil.

Indep. But what will become of that Exception, when I shall tell you, that those People are no more *Independent*, then the *Presbyterians?* [*We depend npon the* Magistrate *for* Civil Government, *and* Protection; *and upon* Christ, *and his Word, for the Rule of our Administrations*. Nay, we insist upon it, that the Congregational *Way, is the only true Original* Presbytery, *which is Peculiar to every Particular Church of Christ*. But if you call us *Independent*, as in distinction to *Subordinate*,

Cottons Way, p. 11

Burtons Vind. p. 18

Subordinate, we are not only ready, as such *Independents*, to defend our selves; but by virtue of that very *Independency*, we pretend to claim an Advantage over the *Presbyterians*.

Pres. *I could tell ye of your* Church-Covenants, *and* Defensive Leagues, *against the Commands of Authority.*

Indep. But I could speak homer to you, of your *National Leagues* and *Covenants*; which all the World knows, are the grand Engines to disjoynt Communities, and remove the Foundations of Government. And I do not much wonder at it, where *the Act of a General Assembly, Influences the Consciences of a whole Nation.* As to any *Covenant*, and *Leagues* against the *Magistrate*; neither do the *Independents* practise them, nor would they stand them in any stead, if they had a mind to play the Villains; for want of an Orderly *Dependence*, to *unite*, and to *oblige* them.

Presb. *And for that Reason, you Imagine, the* Independents *may be better* Tolerated, *then the* Presbyterians.

Indep. Truly for That Main Reason, with Twenty Great ones more in the Belly of it.

It were a wild thing for a Man to apprehend any danger to a Government, from a Faction that is Divided, and Distracted within it self; and without any Common Tye of Agreement to Unite it. And This do I take to be the Condition of the *Independents*, (which for Discourse sake, we will suppose to be a *Faction.*) Their *Congregations* are generally *small*; the Members of them, gather'd up here and there, and so Scattered, and Intermix'd with People of other Perswasions, that they have neither *Opportunity*, nor *Encouragement* to joyn in a *Conspiracy*. Besides that in Respect of their *Church Parity*, they want that ordinary *Medium* of Superiority, and Subjection, to link them together in a Combination, upon the Point of *Common Interest*. Another Difficulty will arise from the *Affections* of the Pastors themselves: who are not without their touches of *Disgust*, and *Emulation*, to see themselves either *Out-vied*, or *Deserted*: the *One*, by Fuller Congregation; and the *Other*, by the Removal of their Members from one Church to another.

Presb. *If I am not mistaken, you have provided against the Inconvenience of Breaking in One upon Another; by an Obligation at your Entrance into any Church, not to forsake it without Leave. But proceed.*

Indep.

Indep. There remains yet behind, another Obstacle, equal to all the rest: Which is: that the *Independents* have no Men that are Eminent for *Popularity*, *Interest*, *Great Fortunes*, and *Abilities*, to head them. Now how it is possible for a Party under all these Disadvantages, to work any Mischief to the State, I am not wise enough to imagine. If you object, that the late *Independent Government* had many Persons at the Helm, that were qualified with these Circumstances. I must Answer you, that whatever they were, they did not set up Originally for *Independency*.

Presb. *So that upon the Result, to save your Party from appearing* dangerous, *you have made it* Contemptible. *And your Argument would have run very well in those Words*, The *Independents* may better be Tolerated then the *Presbyterians*: for no Body that has either *Brains*, or *Reputation*, will own *Independency*.

Ind p. As an Interest (you should have said) *whereupon to work any Change of Government.* (And this would have been point-blank to the Question, and your Period never the worse for't.)

Now if my Reason be good on the behalf of the *Independents*, that They may be *Tolerated* without any Risque to the Commonwealth, upon the Considerations before mentioned: It will hold as good against the *Presbyterians*; because of the very Contrary Circumstances in their Government, and Case; That is to say, they are at great *Agreement* in the Orderly Reduction, and Connexion of their *Polity*; and they have commonly found *Great Friends* to uphold them in their Pretenses.

My first Exception to *Presbytery* is, that it is a *National Church-Government*. And methinks *Two National Church-Governments* in the *same Kingdom*, looks like a *Sharing* of the *Sovereignty*, and the setting up of *Christs Vicar* against *Gods Vicegerent*. And what will the People say in the Matter, but either that the Government thinks them in the *Right*, or else that 'tis *affraid* of them? The *former* Supposition draws the *Simile* into the Party upon *Conscience*; and the *Latter* engages the *Crafty* upon *Interest*.

To take it now in the Constitutive *Parts* of it; the Scale of the *Presbytery* rises Thus: From *Parochial* Inspection, to *Classical*; from *Classical* to *Provincial*; and from *Provincial*, to *National*: Which Extensive *Latitude*, and *Comprehension*, does plainly discover, that there was a Design of *Sole*, and *Sovereign Dominion* in the very Institution of the *Discipline*.

To

To say nothing in this Place of the *Absolute* and *Independent Authority* Claimed, and Exercised by the *General Assembly*; I shall only observe this to you: that they have the best Security in the World, for their Subjects Obedience to all their Acts, and Conclusions whatsoever. For *Life*, *Fortune*, *Soul*, and all lies at Stake: They *Fine*, *Punish*, *Degrade*, *Excommunicate* at Pleasure. And this is the True Reason, that from time to time, the *Presbyterial Discipline* has had the Countenance of so many Popular *Advocates*, and Abetters. For certainly, it is the best Foundation for an Alteration of State, that ever was yet laid upon the Face of the Earth; and their work is three quarters done to their hand, in the very Disposition of the *Model*.

Only one Observation more, and I have done. And That is, The Provident Commixture of *Laity*, and *Clergy* in all their Counsels; *These* to Attaque the *Church*, the *Other*, the *State*; by which means, they may the more commodiously carry on *Schism*, and *Sedition* in their proper Seasons: and leave a Door of Preferment, and Advantage, open to all Comers.

I will not say yet, that it is *absolutely Impossible* for a *Protestant Monarchy*, and this *Double-refin'd Presbytery* to prosper in the same Soil: But if I had Money in my Pocket, I would not give any Prince in Christendom above eighteen months Purchase for his Crown, that should put it to the Venture. For he has nothing in the World to trust to, but Miracles: The *Gratitude*, *Faith*, *Good Nature*, and *Pure Integrity* of the *Party*.

SECT. XXVIII.

Whether may be better Tolerated in This Kingdom, the Presbyterians, *or the* Independents, *in Respect of their* Principles, *and* Ordinary Proceedings.

Debated, First, *with Relation to his* Majesties Person *and* Authority.

Indep. THe Government of *England* is *Monarchique*; but so attemper'd with *Legal Provisions* for the *Comfort*, and *Benefit* of the *People*, that every *Englishman* has his *Interest* in the Preservation of the *Law*; as That which Intitles him to the Free Enjoyment of his *Life* and *Fortune*: So that we are to frame our Discourse with a Regard to His *Majesties Person*, and *Royal Authority*; The *Foundation*, and *Execution* of the *Law*; and *Rights*, and *Just*

Liberties of the *People*: Utterly excluding from the Limits of Our *Toleration*, all *Power* or *Pretenſe* whatſoever, that ſhall preſume to Uſurp upon any of Theſe Particulars. Now to begin with the *Firſt*.

What do you find in the *Independent Way*, that may endanger his Majeſty, either in his *Perſon*, or in his *Prerogative*?

Presb. *The Princes of* Germany *would anſwer you, that your Proceedings are* Sanguinary *and* Violent; *not only againſt your* Actual Oppoſers, *but againſt the very Ordinance of* Magiſtracy it ſelf.

Indep. What are the Furies of the *Anabaptiſts* to *Us*, that have declared againſt them, as well as *You*? But if you can faſten upon thoſe of the *Congregational* Way, any *Antimonarchical Opinions*, or *Practiſes*, which are either wrap't up in the Bowels of that Profeſſion, or naturally Iſſuing from thence: and make good your Aſſertion, by proving what you ſay, to have been the Formal Act of any *One* of our Churches by it *ſelf*, or *More* of them in *Combination*, I will never open my Mouth after it, in a Plea for the *Independents*.

Presb. *It were a hard matter indeed to faſten any thing upon the* Principles *of a* Party, *that profeſſes to have* no Principles, *but ſtill refers it ſelf to the guidance of a* Further Light.

Indep. And yet you can *blame* us for our *Principles*, though by your own Confeſſion, you know not what they are. Now for the *Reſerve* of Acting according to a *Further Light*, it is expreſt in the ordinary Form of our *Church-Covenant*, that *it is to be reach'd unto us out of the Word*, which moſt aſſuredly will not leade us into any Evil.

If this be all you have to ſay againſt the *Independents*, I would gladly hear what defence you are able to make for the *Presbyterians*; either *ſimply* or in *themſelves*; or elſe *comparatively* with any other ſort of People. Nay, I ſhould not much care if you took the *Jeſuits* themſelves for your *Foil*.

Diſc. of Relig. part 1. p. 3. Ibid. p. 4.

Presb. *How can you ſay this? conſidering* [that Thundring of *Excommunication, which has ſounded in all Ages, ſince the beginning of the* Papal Reign, *againſt* Kings, Emperours, *&c.* And theſe Practiſes Juſtified by their *Decretals* and *Canons*, *Divines* of greateſt Authority, and ſome of their *Councils*: Aſcribing to the *Pope* a Power *of Depoſing Princes* that are *Heretical*, or *Favourers* of *Heretiques*. The

Jeſuites

Jeſuites Doctrine of King-killing *hath made them Odious*, &c.

Indep. Do you tell us of *Papal-Excommunications*, juſtified by *Canons*, *Divines*, *Councils*; *Depoſing of Kings* for *Hereſie*; and the *Jeſuites Doctrine* of *King-killing*, *&c.* The *Diſciple* ſhould ſpeak Reverently of his *Maſter*: for I aſſure you, a *Jeſuits* Cloak ſits exceedingly well upon the Shoulders of a *Presbyterian*.

To Diſcipline, *muſt all the States within the Realm be Subject as well the* Rulers *as the* Ruled. (According to the *Diſcipline* of the *Kirk* of *Scotland*, Printed in *London*, 1647. Scotch Diſt. p. 59

The Perſon *of the* Magiſtrate *ought to be Subject to the* Kirk, Spiritually, *and in Eccleſiaſtical Government*; *Submitting himſelf to the* Diſcipline *of the* Kirk, *if he tranſgreſs in matters of* Conſcience *and* Religion. *Beza*, *Buchanan*, (and in truth, the whole Brotherhood) are for the *Excommunication* of *Princes*. So that there's *Presbyterial Excommunication* you ſee, as well as *Papal*. Ib. p. 78. 79.

And in caſe of *Superſtition* and *Idolatry*, the *Presbyter* can *Depoſe* too, as well as the *Pope*, in caſe of *Hereſie*. Was not the *Queen-Regent* in *Scotland* 1659. depoſed, upon the Encouragement and with the Approbation of *Willoc*, *Knox*, and their Fellows? As *not doing her Duty to the Subjects*; *and as a vehement Maintainer of Superſtition and Idolatry*? Did not the *Commiſſioners* of the *Kirk* in 1596. threaten an open *Proteſtation* againſt King *James*, and his Council, in caſe of either *Pardoning* or *Reſtoring* the Popiſh Lords that were at that time under *Baniſhment*? Hiſt. of Reform. Printed 1644. p. 125. *Scotland*, Hiſt. p. 418

As to the Jeſuites Doctrine of *King-Killing*, we are able not only to *match*, but to *out-doe* it, out of the School of the *Conſiſtory*. There is no doubt but the *Jeſuits* are guilty of delivering Doctrine that naturally leads to *King-killing Concluſions*. But do ye finde that ever they ſaid in plain terms; *It is Lawful for Subjects to take up Arms againſt their Sovereign, in caſe of Religion*; *or that ever they publikely applauded the Murther of a Prince, after the Fact was committed*? Certainly, in this particular, the *Conſiſtorian Copy* goes beyond the *Papal Original*.

Upon a dangerous Uproar that was raiſed by the Miniſters in *Edinburgh*, 1596. the King by Proclamation diſcharged all Judicatories from Sitting there. Whereupon the Miniſters preſt *a Bond of Aſſociation*, upon the Noblemen and Barons; and ſent a Letter (drawn by *Robert Bruce*, and *Walter Balcanquel*) to the Lord *Hamilton* to Head them: For *by the motion of Gods Spirit, and animated by the Word, the People had gone to Arms*, in defence *of the Church*, &c. Ibi. p. 431

Not to trouble you with a Rabble of Unneceſſary Inſtances; In the Nineth Section there has been ſaid more then enough upon this Subject already. You ſhall now ſee the Veneration they have for the *Perſons* of *Princes.*

Spotſwood Hiſt. Scotl. p. 343. Ibid. 367. *Gibſon*, In the Pulpit, denounced that Curſe againſt King *James*, that fell upon *Jeroboam*: that *he ſhould die Childleſs*, and *be the laſt of the Race.* (An. 1585.) which words, by the *Aſſembly* (with much ado, and after declining the Queſtion, were found to be *Scandalous.*

Ibid. 419. *David Blake* preached, that *all Kings were the Devils Barns*, and *His Majeſty had detected the Treachery of his Heart.* For which he was cited before King and Council, and appeal'd to the *Presbytery* who

Ib. 423. by their *Commiſſioners* moved his Majeſty for *a Surceaſe of the Proceſs*, with a charge, in caſe of refuſal, to Proteſt againſt the Proceedings of the Council. *Quaſi Pulpita* (ſays *Cambden*) *a Regum Authoritate eſſent Exempta.* As if Pulpits were priviledged from the Authority of Princes.

Ibid 430. *John Welch*, at the High Church in *Edenburgh*, preached, that *the King was poſſeſt with a Devil, and that the People might Riſe Lawfully and take the Sword out of his hand.*

But what is all this, in compariſon with the Licenſe of the late times here at Home, when the *Two Houſes*, and *Aſſembly* were dayly entertained with *Sermons* and *Pamphlets* of this Quality, for which the Authors had their *Thanks*, and *Imprimanturs*? But I ſhall rather confine my ſelf now, to the *Arbitrary* exceſſes of the *Scottiſh Presbytery*, as the *Model* of the *Covenanted* and bleſſed *Reformation.*

To come now to their *Uſurpations* upon the *Civil Power.*

King *James* was ſurpriz'd at *Ruthuen* (1582.) under pretext of *Religion*, and kept 5 months a Priſoner. This Act was publiquely

Ibid, 322. *juſtified* by the *Aſſembly* at *Edenburgh*, as done *for the Preſervation of the Kings Perſon and Religion.*

Ibid. 330. In the Caſe of *Andrew Melvil*: It was inſiſted upon, that *Treaſon* in the *Pulpit*, fell under the Cognition of the *Presbytery*, and that neither *King* nor *Council*, *Primâ Inſtantiâ*, ought to meddle with it. But it is a much eaſier matter to find what a Prince may *not* do, (under the Inſpection of a *Presbytery*) then what he *may.*

(a) Ib. 324 (b) 398 (c) 419 (d) 405. He muſt not (*a*) receive an *Embaſſador*, nor (*b*) pardon an *Offender*, without the Approbation of the *Kirk.* Nor ſo much as chuſe his own *Guards*; (*c*) *Court-Officers*, or *Counſellors*, nor Iſſue out any *Proclamations* or *Decrees.* They are to direct him (*d*) what *Forfeitures*

tures to take, and how to *dispose* of them: *when* to *Arm*, and *whom* to *Trust*. If the King has a mind to *Feast* an *Embassador*, they presently indict a *Fast*; (*e*) and Curse the Magistrates almost to *Excommunication*, for not observing it. Nay, so little Power had King *James* with these People, that (*f*) when his Mother was under a Sentence of *Death*, he could not get them so much as to *Pray* for her, *That God would Illuminate her with the Light of his Truth, and save her from the Apparent danger she was in.*

(*e*) 343

(*f*) 354

On the other side; they claim to themselves the Power of *War*, and *Peace*; of Calling and Dissolving *Assemblies*; and whensoever they shall think fit to say, that *the Good of the Church*; *the Glory of God*: *or any Spiritual end is concerned*, They make no Scruple in the World, of *Levying Armes*, *Men*, *Moneys*; *Seizing of Castles*, *and Forts*; *Issuing out of Warrants for Members of Parliament*. (*a*) They impose *Oaths* and *Covenants* against the *King Himself*; (*b*) Encounter *Proclamations* with *Anti-Protests*; (*c*) *Rescind Acts of Counsels*, &c. And what's the colour for all this haughtiness and State? The *Ministers* (forsooth) are *Christs Deputies*; and their *Acts* are *Christ's Ordinances*; whereas *Judges*; *Counsellors*, and *Parliaments* are but the *King's Substitutes*, and their *Laws* only *Humane*.

Kings large Declar. p. 415

(*a*) Ib. 87

(*b*) 98

(*c*) p. 416

Pres. *You are not any more to conclude against the* Presbyterial Government, *from the President of some* Factious Assemblies, *than against the Constitution of* Parliaments, *from the President of some* Seditious Compositions *and* Elections.

Indep. Neither do I charge these Imposing *Usurpations* upon the Confederaay of a *Cabal*, or a *Faction*, but upon the *Original Scope*, and *Mistery* of the *Discipline*; for I find them rooted in the very *Founda-tion* of their *Policy*.

Their Pragmatical Intermedling in *Civil Affairs*, and matters of *State*, is warranted by their *Book of Government*; where it is said, that *the Minister handleth* External things, *only for* Conscience *cause*: Now I would fain know that Notion which may not some way or other, be made Relative to *Conscience*.

Scotch Diss. p. 79

Ib. p. 79

Ib. p. 79

For *Limiting the Magistrate in the Exercise of his Power*, they have this Plea; that *though the Ministers do not Exercise the Civil Jurisdiction, they Teach the Magistrate how it should be Exercised according to the Word*. So that the *Prince* is put to *School* to the *Masterships* of his *Parish*, to learn every *Point* and *Circumstance* of his *Duty*.

Now for the *Absolute* and *Boundless Jurisdiction* of their *General Assemblies*:

Assemblies: They tell us, not only that *The Kirk is to appoint Times and Places convenient for their Meeting*; *but that as well* Magistrates, *as* Inferiours, *are to be Subject to the Judgment of the same*; *in* Ecclesiastical Causes, *without any Reclamations or Appeal to any Judge* Civil *or* Ecclesiastical.

Is not this a *Dethroning* of *Majesty*, to set *Princes*, and *Peasants* upon the same Level in Point of *Subjection* to their *Resolutions* and *Decrees*.

Ib. p. 91 Presb. *Not at all*; *For* the *Magistrate* is to assist, and maintain the Discipline of the Kirk; and punish them Civilly that will not obey the Censure of the same.

Indep. In truth it is a Goodly Office you have alloted the *Chief Magistrate*; to set him *Cheek by Jowl* with the *Beadle of the Parish*: You are to *direct* the Punishment, and *He* is to *Execute* it.

But what if he should prove *Refractory*, and *dispute* your *Authority*? In Case of *Contumacy*, *He* is as Liable to *Censure* (you say) as *another Person*. And then you have no more to do, but to resort to your ordinary Method of Calling in the *Noblemen*, *Barons*, *Gentlemen Burgesses*, and *Commons* to your Assistance against him.

Let me now marque to you, the Passages in your Discipline, Ibid. 61 that make two shrewd discoveries. [*A Minister* (you say) *must not frequent, and commonly haunt the Court, unless either sent by the Kirk, or called upon by Authority for his Counsel, and Judgment in Civil Affairs.* Ibid. 44 And afterwards, you say, that, *Ministers may and shall assist their Princes, when required, in all things agreeable to the Word*; *whether it be in Connsel or Parliament, or otherwise.* Provided, that through Flattery of Princes, they hurt not the Publique State of the Church.

Whence it appears; *Frst*, that *simple Presbyters* may do well enough in *Parliaments*, or *Counsels*; though *Bishops* are *Excluded*: were it not *Secondly*, for the danger of creating a Kindness betwixt the *King*, and the *Kirk*; which in consequence would frustrate the main Design. For the *Prime end* of this *Church Policy* is the *Overtopping* and *Subjecting* of the *Secular Power*: and it was wisely done to temper the very *Foundation* of it with Principles of *Opposition* to the *Order*, and *well-Being* of *Civil Government*.

SECT.

SECT. XXV.

The Question of Toleration, *betwixt* Presbytery *and* Independency, *debated, with regard to the* Foundation *and* Execution *of the* Law.

Presb. *WHat if you had put the Question, betwixt a* Peaceable, *and* Obedient *sort of People, and a Generation of men that cannot live out of* Contention?

Indep. The *men of Contention*, I suppose you would have me understand to be the *Independents*. What's the Quarrel to them upon the matter now before us?

Presb. *Only This; that they are Intolerable in any Government. How many Plots have they had upon this Kingdom, since his Majesties Return? There was* Venner's Rising; *A* Conspiracy *in the* North; *Another in* Ireland.

Indep. And all this while, you forget the Rebellion in *Scotland*, which was professedly *Presbyterian*; beside that, These disorders which you speak of, were nothing at all to the *Independents*: But (one way or other) these Instances are to no purpose without some *Authoritative* Allowance: and Pray'e let us agree upon it, that only the *Conclusions* of the *Kirk*, on the *one* hand, and of the *Church* on the *other*, may be Insisted upon, as the *Acts* of *either Party*.

Pres. *I do not find that the* Independent *Churches come to* any Resolutions at all.

Indep. You have the less to say then against their *Principles*; and I wish the *Independents* could say the same thing for the *Presbyterians*. How far, I beseech you, are *Humane Laws Binding*?

Presb. *So far forth as they are agreeable to* the Word of God.

Indep. And who shall Determine what *Laws* and *Constitutions* are agreeable to *God's Word*?

Presb. *The Church Lawfully Constitute; which* all Godly Princes, and Magistrates ought to hear, and to obey their voice, and Reverence the Majesty of the Son of God speaking in them. P. 92. of Disc.

Indep.

Indep. I need not ask what Church that is; For *John Morellius* was *Excommunicate*, for maintaining in a certain Treatise, That *Tell The Church*, did not belong to the *Consistory*, and the *Book was burnt*. But to the Point.

If *the Word of God* be the *Rule* for *Humane Laws*; and the *Presbytery*, the sole Expounders of the Word of God; the *Law* of the *Nation* is at the Mercy of the *Kirk* already: for 'tis but saying, that *This or that Law is not Agreeable to the Word of God*, and there's an end on't.

2d book of Disc. p. 86

Presb. *The Kirk has Power to Abrogate and Abolish all Statutes, and Ordinances concerning* Ecclesiastical Matters, *that are found* noysome, *and* unprofitable, *and agree not with the* time, *or are* abused *by the People.*

Indep. If the *Kirk* has *This Power*, *the Pope Himself* pretends to nothing beyond it. Are not your *Determinations* as *peremptory*; and your *Orders* as *Imperious?* But I am speaking here as to the *Latitude* of your Pretended *Jurisdiction*. *You may abrogate All Statutes* (you say) *Concerning Ecclesiastical Matters*. And I say on the other side, that you may upon that Ground, abrogate all the Statutes in the Christian World: for I defie the whole race of Mankind, to shew me any one Law extant, or the very supposition of a Law possible, which may not some way or other, be said to *Concern Ecclesiastical Matters*.

Pres. *You take no notice, how this Power is clogg'd with* Limitations. *If they be found* Unprofitable, Unseasonable, *or to be* abused by the People.

Indep. Very good: And if the *Kirk* shall think fit to find them so; Pray'e *What Remedy*? But their own *Avowed Actions*, and *Declarations*, are the Best *Comments* upon their own *Principles*.

Under King *James* in *Scotland*, nothing was more ordinary, then over-ruling *Acts of Parliament* by the *Acts* of the *Assembly*: Did they not erect *a Counsel of the Church* in *Edenborough*, 1596. and take upon them to *Convene*, *Examine*, and *Censure* at pleasure such as they suspected to hold any Correspondence with certain *Excommunicate Lords*? did they not also appoint to meet in *Armes*, at the Tryal of them?

Spotsw. Hist. 418 *Ibid. 398* *Kings large Decla. p. 416*

Nor did they think it enough, to *Rescind*, or *supersede Acts* of *Parliament* and *General Assemblies*: but *People must be Question'd too for yielding*

yielding Obedience to Acts of Parliament, and of General Counſels under Colour of unjuſt Laws. We'l cloſe this particular with the Judgment of the *Commiſſioners* of the *General Aſſembly* of *Scotland*, of *May* 5. 1648.

The Authority of Parliament *is one thing*; *an* Act of Parliament *another thing. We do ſtill acknowledg their* Authority, *when we obey not This or That Act. And whatſoever be the Treaſon of Impugning the* Authority of *Parliament, It can be no* Treaſon *to Obey* God *rather then* Man: *Neither did the General Aſſembly of* Glaſgow, 1638. *and ſuch as were active for the Covenant at that time, commit any* Treaſon, *when they Impugned* Epiſcopacy, *and* Perth Articles, *although ratify'd, and ſtrengthen'd by Acts of Parliament, and ſtanding Laws then Unrepealed.* Declar. of the Commiſſi. ou, p. 55. and 56.

Pres. *When we have once gotten Power into our hands, we are all too apt to abuſe it. But I cannot yet perſwade my ſelf that the Root of theſe* Practiſes *is to be found in their* Principles. *Their Books of* Diſcipline *are* Publique; *and no Government would ever entertain it, if there were ſuch danger in it.*

Indep. How was the *Covenant* entertain'd? or who would have dream'd of any harm in a League for the *Preſervation and Defence of the King's Majeſtie's Perſon and Authority?* And yet the *Presbyterian Interpretation*, and *Salvo* of Subordinating his Majeſties *Safety* and *Preſervation* to the *Defence of the True Religion* (immediately following) and the *Kirks* aſſuming to Themſelves the Judgment of that Religion, brought both *King* and *Church* to *Deſtruction*. Nor can you chooſe but obſerve the *Holy Diſcipline*, and *Covenant*, to be both of a *Stile*, and both of a *Deſign*: Their Claim *concerning Eccleſiaſtical Matters*, hooks in all *Laws*; and *In the Defence of the true Religion*, They uſurp an Authority over all *Magiſtrates*. This Diſcipline (at the beſt) is but as a Worm at the Root of Civil Government: Whereſoever it comes, the Secular Power hangs the head, and droops upon it, and never thrives after. But to *Sovereign Princes*, a man might ſay of it, as God ſaid to *Adam*, of the *Apple*: *In the day you eat thereof, you ſhall dye the death.*

Now as it is manifeſtly deſtructive of *Law* in the very *Foundations* of it, to carry an Appeal from all *Temporal Governours* and *Conſtitutions*, to the Scepter and Sentence of *Chriſt*, ſitting upon his Tribunal in the Presbytery (the Language of *Beza* himſelf) ſo likewiſe have they their Preparatory Artifices for Obſtructing the *Execution* of

Law, and for the *Weakening*, and *Diſtracting* of a Government before they enter upon the Great Work of *Diſſolving* it. And this is effected by the *Trojan Horſe* (as one calls it) of their *Excommunication*, that carries all the Inſtruments and Engins of Publique Ruine, and Confuſion in the belly of it.

By Virtue of this Device, they do not only impoſe upon all Miniſters, and Courts of Juſtice; but they may, when they pleaſe (as *Hooker* obſerves) ſend out their *Writs of Surceaſe*; and fetch in the whole Buſineſs of *Weſtminſter-Hall*, to the Bar of the *Conſiſtory*. Or at the faireſt, (according to *Beza's* Diſtinction) if they allow the *Civil Judg* to try the *Fact* (as *mere Civile*) yet *de Jure Controverſo, Eccleſiaſticum Synedrium conſtat Reſpondiſſe*. The *Church* was to determine in matter of *Law*, and the *Civil Magiſtrate* after That, to pronounce *Sentence*, according to *That Deciſion*. Briefly, *Beza* gives the *Presbytery* the ſame Power under the *Goſpel*, which was Exerciſed by the *Synagogue* under the *Law*. But now to the Point of your *Excommunication*; and to ſhew you in what manner it is apply'd, to hinder the *Execution* of *Law*; and to *obſtruct Civil Juſtice*.

By One Clauſe of your Diſcipline, You may *Abrogate* what Laws you pleaſe, concerning *Eccleſiaſtical Matters:* And by Another; The Miniſter is Authorized to handle *External* things, for *Conſcience* Cauſe: So that your *Authority* is without Controul in *Eccleſiaſtical Matters*; and ſo is your *Liberty* of handling *Civil Matters* as *Eccleſiaſtical*. Upon which Bottom was found an Aſſertion not long ſince maintained at the *Savoy*, i. e. *That the Command of a moſt Lawful Act is ſinful, if that Act commanded may prove to any One a Sin per Accidens*. Now if the *Kirk* ſhall think fit to *Abrogate* a Law (as nothing more frequent) whoever ſhall preſume to *Execute that Law*, is ſure to be *Excommunicate*: And the *Supreme Magiſtrate* himſelf is no leſs liable to *Church Cenſure*, for not *Executing* That Sentence, then the *Inferior Magiſtrate* was for his *Original Diſobedience*.

Spotſwoods Hiſt. p. 545. The Biſhop of St. *Andrews* (in 1586) was *Excommunicate* for Adviſing King *James* to a Declaration againſt Certain Fugitive Miniſters that were denounced Rebels; and Contriving the Statutes of (1584.) touching *The Kings Authority in Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes*. *Knox* is for *Excommunication* in all Crimes, that are *Capital* by the Law of God; and in effect, for the *Churches* Tryal of the very *Fact*. It was not for nothing that the *Two Houſes* held the *Aſſembly* ſo long in Play, upon this Point; and in Deſpight of all Importunities to the Contrary, kept the ſtaff ſtill in their own Hands; and reſerved to Themſelves the *Ultimate Appeal*, in Caſes of *Excommunication*.

Presb.

Pres. *Was it not rather the Work of the* Independents? *Who (to say the Truth) were as much against any Settlement at all, as against That; And against the very Convening of the Assembly it self.*

Indep. And they had done the State a good Office, if they had totally hindered it. But this is beside our Business. We have said enough as to the Dangerous Influence of *Presbytery*, upon the Security of his *Majesty* and the *Law*. It remains now to be considered with a respect to the *Rights*, and *Liberties* of the *People*.

SECT. XXX.

The Question of Toleration, *betwixt* Presbytery *and* Independency, debated, *with a regard to the* Rights, Liberties, *and* Advantages *of the* People.

Indep. YOu see how it is with *Kings*, *Parliaments*, and *Laws*, under the Dominion of *Presbytery*. We are now to look into the Condition of the *Nobility*, *Gentry*, *Commonalty*, and of the *Presbyterial Clergy* it self, under that Discipline: Which will best appear, by a view of the Powers which the *Presbytery* claims, and Exercises. But let me commend One Note to you as Previous to that Examintion. This Party has constantly screw'd it self into the World, by an *Oath* of *Mutual Defence*: Which *Oath* they apply as well to the Ruine and Extirpation of their Opponents, as to their own Preservation; by making it a Test of good Affection to that Interest; and Excluding all People whatsoever from any Office, or Benefit Ecclesiastical, or Civil, without subscribing it. You cannot deny but this *Oath* in the very Institution of it, is a Violence both upon *Law*, and *Conscience*; and Consequently, that the Imposition falls heaviest upon those that make an Honourable, and Religious Scruple of their Actions. So that here is already exposed the most Considerable part of the Nation, for the Subject of their Displeasure; with their *Lives*, *Liberties*, and *Fortunes* at *Mercy*; as you will find upon a further Consideration of their Usurped *Authority*, and *Jurisdiction*.

Presb. In the very *Declaration of the Commission of the General Assembly of Scotland*, 1648, page. 53. [*The Duties of the Second Table as well as of the First: As namely, the Duties between* King, *and* Subjects; Parents, *and* Children; Husbands, *and* Wives; Masters,

ſters, *and* Servants, *and the Like*; *being contained in, and to be taught and cleared from the Word of God, are in That Reſpect, and ſo far as concerneth the Point of Conſcience, a Subject of Miniſterial Doctrine, and in difficult Caſes, a Subject of Cognizance and Judgment to the Aſſembly of the Kirk.* The Diſpute here was about the *Aſſemblies Authority*, in the Queſtion of *War* or *Peace*.

Is not this at one Blow to deſtroy the Order of all Relations, *Political*, and *Natural*, and *Moral*? *Princes* muſt not preſume to make *War* or *Peace*; to *Enact* Laws, or *Abrogate*; to *Spare* or *Puniſh*, without *Eccleſiaſtical Licence*. The *Subject* muſt go to the *Maſters of the Pariſh*, to know whether he ſhall *Obey Authority*, or *Reſiſt* it. And after the ſame manner it fares with *Parents*, and *Children*; *Husbands*, and *Wives*; *Maſters*, and *Servants*; So that there is not any Perſon, either Publique or Private; Or any Action, or Offices of Regard to *Community*, *Family*, or *Alliance*, that ſcapes their Pragmatical *Scrutiny*, and *Inſpection*.

Pres. *So far as theſe Duties are matter of* Conſcience, *there is no Doubt but they are of* Eccleſiaſtical Cogniſance; *and further then ſo, they make no Pretenſion.*

Indep. But you muſt give me leave to tell you then, that their Conſciences are larger then other Peoples. *The Old Non-Conformiſt* (as an Expedient for the ſettling *Eccleſiaſtical Affairs* (Page 43.) propoſes the ſetting up of *Work-Houſes* for the *Poor*; the Carrying on of the *Fiſhing Trade*; The taking off of *Protections*; that none may be Impriſon'd but according to *Law*: and the Abatement of *Taxes*. The Aſſembly at *Glaſgow* 1638. paſſed an Act concerning *Salmon Fiſhing*, ond another about *Salt-Pans*. And all This I Warrant ye, *ſo far as they concerned Point of Conſcience*. But if you would ſee, what the *Conſiſtory* calls *Conſcience*, in the full Extent, we muſt repair for ſatisfaction, to their *Direction*, and *Practiſes* in the matter of *Conſcience*, and *Excommunication*.

The Kirk proceeds to *Excommunication* in all *Capital Crimes, where the Offender that deſerv'd to dye, is ſuffer'd to live.* And in Caſes of *Fornication*, *Drunkenneſs*, *Swearing*, *Curſing*, *Sabbath-Breaking*, *Wanton Words*, *Contempt of the Orders of the Church*; *Oppreſſion of the Poor*; *Deceipt in Buying and Selling, by wrong Mete and Meaſure.*

Pres. *Well*; *and what hurt's in all this?*

Indep.

Indep. None at all: But let me proceed. They Cenſure alſo *Exceſs* in *Apparel*, *Meat*, or *Drink*, *Uncomely Geſtures*; *Contentiouſneſs*, *without reaſonable Cauſe*; *Chiding*, *Brawling*, *Vain-Words*; *Every fault that tendeth to the Hurt of a Man's Neighbour, or to the Hindrance of The Glory of God*: Whether by *Force* or *Fraud*; *Word* or *Deed*; *Manifeſtly*, or *Secretly*; *Purpoſely*, or *Ignorantly*: And the Judgment of the whole is left to the Diſcretion of the Church. So that your very *Thoughts* are not free. [*The Spiritual Ruler* (ſays the Book of Diſcipline *Judgeth Both* Inward Affections, *and External Actions in reſpect of Conſcience, by the word of God.* Upon which ground they take upon them to Cenſure the very *Suſpition of Avarice*, and *Pride*: *Superfluity* or *Riotouſneſs*, in *Chear* or *Rayment*. But upon *Dancers*, *Robin Hoods*, and *all Games that brings loſs*, they have no mercy. Theſe praticulars are extracted to a ſyllable out of the moſt Authentical Records they have to ſhew for the Warrant of the *Scottiſh Diſcipline*. —(Our Bleſſed Model.) Pag. 79.

But many People perchance will make it a matter of nothing to be *Excommunicate* upon a Suppoſition that the *Anathema* is the uttermoſt ſpite of the *Cenſure*. They never dream of *Cartings*, *Jogges*, *Pillories*: *Shaving their Beards*, and *Cutting half the Hair of their Heads*. *Baniſhments*, *Pecunary Mulcts*, *Cloſe Impriſonments*, and all ſorts of Studied Defamations. Presbyt. diſplay'd, p. 4.

Nay, *If any man refuſe to Subſcribe their Confeſſion of Faith, Rule of Government, and Manner of Worſhip, He is forthwith Excommunicate*; *and upon Remonſtrance of a Commiſſioner from the Presbytery to the Civil Judge, a Warrant granted, commanding him to a Conformity by a Day Certain, or to be Outlawed. If he Conform not within that time, his Eſtate moveable is forfeited; and if not within a Year and a day, he loſes his whole Revenue for his Life. After* This, *at the further Inſtance of the Churches Commiſſioner, Out go* Letters of Caption *for Apprehending of his Perſon, and Committing him as a Rebel. And if he be not to be found*; *Theſe are follow'd with* Letters of Inrer-Communing, *forbidding all men either Perſonally to Confer with him, or by Letter, or interpoſed Perſon to Correſpond with him, upon Pain of the* Inter-Communers *being Judged and Reputed a* Rebel *of the ſame Guiltineſs.* Ibi. p. 39.

As to the *General Rule* of *Excommunication*; *no Perſon* (Wife and Family excepted) *is to have any Communication with the Excommunicate*; *be it in Eating or Drinking*; *Buying or Selling*; *Yea, in Saluting or Talking with Him: Unleſs at Commandment or Licenſe of the Miniſtry for his Converſion. His Children begotten and born after that Sentence not to be admitted to Baptiſm, till of Age to require it*; *unleſs the Mother* Book of Diſcipl. p. 56.

Mother or ſome ſpecial Friends, Members of the Kirk, offer and preſent the Childe, damning the Iniquity and contempt of the Impenitent.

Spotſw. Hiſt. p. 436. There are that do not allow Husbands to accompany with their Wives in the State of *Excommunication.*

Now upon what hath been deliver'd, let any man conſider the *Unchriſtian Rigour* of this *Diſciplinary Inquiſition*; not only in the actual Tyranny of it, but in the more miſerable Conſequences.

Unchriſtian Rigour. Firſt, as it *Scandalizes* the *Goſpel*, and *makes the Death of Chriſt ſeem to be no Effect*, by Impoſing upon us ſuch Conditions of Salvation, as if the Bleſſed Angels ſhould deſcend, and indue humane ſhapes, they were not able to perform. For it is not what Chriſt and his Apoſtles ſay, that will do a man's buſineſs here, without the *Urim* and *Thummim* of the *Parochial Seſſion*, and the defects of the *written Word*, are to be ſupplyed by *unwritten Traditions* out of the Repoſitory of the *Presbyterial Cabal.* In this caſe it is, that we are to have recourſe to the Apoſtles Precept; of *Standing faſt in the Liberty wherewith Chriſt hath made us Free, and not to be intangled again in the Yoke of Bondage*, (a yoke much more intolerable then that of the Law; For the Jews had their Leſſon before their eyes, and knew what they were to do. But here, it matters not what either Scripture or Conſcience ſays, without the ſubſequent concurrence of the *Presbytery*: to whoſe Supreme and Infallible Judgment (and not to our own) we are to ſtand or fall either to Heaven, or Hell.

The Rigour of this *Diſcipline* is moſt Unchriſtian alſo, as it *crucifies weak Conſciences with Needleſs, Infinite, and Incurable Scruples*; with *Scruples* that Haunt, Dog, and torment us in the moſt *neceſſary and Ordinary Actions of Humane Life.* At the *Church*; at the *Table*; at the *Market*; at *Home*, and *Abroad*: at all *Times*, in all *Places*, and upon all *Occaſions*, in our *Words*, *Thoughts*, and *Deeds.*

Exceſs in Eating cenſurable. As to *Exceſs in Eating.* It is *Cenſurable* either in the *Quantity*, or in the *Quality.* So that in the firſt place the *Elderſhip* is to provide one common Gage for the Stomachs of the whole Pariſh, for fear of a Mouthful too much. And in the *ſecond* Place, it is made a matter of *Salvation*, or *Damnation*, whether a Man Eats *Beef*, or *Veniſon.*

Apparrel And ſo, for *Exceſs* in *Apparel.* One inch more, then to Cover your ſhame. is a *Superfluity*; and one Penny more, in the Pound, then the *Allowance* of the *Presbytery*, is made as much as a Man's Soul is worth.

Vain Words, It is the ſame thing for *Vain Words.* A Nurſe ſhall not dare to ſtill her Child but with a Pſalm; and you muſt not preſume ſo much as

to

to ask *What a Clock it is*, without a *Text*; to prove that the Question tends to *Edification*.

But the hardest Case of all is, That of *Suspition*. The very Suspicion of *Avarice*, or *Pride*, You say, makes a Man liable to Censure. This, methinks, is very severe, for a Man to be delivered over to *Sathan*, because the Brotherhood *Suspects* him to be *Proud*, or *Covetous*; whether he be so, or no. Sufpician of pride.

Pres. *'Tis to be presumed, that the Church will proceed according to a Judgment of* Charity, *and* Discretion.

Indep. Did not the *Kirk Excommunicate* the *whole Multitude* for a *Robin-Hood?* Nay at *St. Johnstous*, they cursed not only the *Men*, that should take part with the King, but the very *Horses*, and *Spears*. (Here's an *Excommunication* by way of *Advance*) Upon the Action of Duke *Hamilton* in 1648. the whole Party were *Excommunicate* (even *after* the Defeat: (as appears by the *Scoth Act for Renewing the Covenant.*)

In some Cases again, they are as *Tender* and *Cautelous*. *Andrew Hunter* (a Prime stickler for the Discipline) attended *Bothwel* as his Chaplain, in a Rebellion, 1593. But King *James* could not prevail with the Assembly to *Excommunicate* Him for it; (though no doubt was made of the Fact) Nay, on the Contrary, They would not be quiet, till they had got *Bothwell's* Pardon. And upon *Gowry's* attempt (in the Year 1600.) His Majesty required the Ministers of *Edenburgh* to give God thanks in their Churches for his Deliverance, and they refused it. *Spotsw.* Hist. p. 395 Ibid. 460

Put to the Point we were upon, as nothing can be more Contrary to the *temper* and *dictate* of the *Holy Gospel* then the claim of this *Arbitrary* and *Censorious Jurisdiction*: it seems to me to stand in an equal Degree of Opposition to the Rules of *Society*, *Humanity*, and *Reason*.

The *King* is upon his good Behaviour to the *Elders*, and *Deacons* (*who are Judges of others manners*) as well as the meanest man in the Parish. He is indeed (as is observ'd by the Author of *Presbytery Display'd*) the *Chief Member* of the *General Assembly*; but they allow him no Negative Voice; and if he has the Fortune to be *Out-Voted*, he must cause the Sentence to be *Executed*, whatever it be, under Pain of *Censure*, and Consequently of *Deprivation*. Of *Acts of Parliament*, and *Inferior Magistrates*, enough is spoken already. Book of Disc. p. 61. p. 3.

As to the State of the *Nobility*, and *Gentry*, they are either *Conformists* to the Government, or *Dissenters*; and must take their Lot in it, to be either *Sovereigns*, or *Slaves*: (for that's the distribution of it.) Upon the Main These *Domini Dominantium* Challenge by their

Cen-

Commission to be *no Respecter of Persons*; and so lay upon all Sorts, and Conditions of Men in General at their good Pleasure certain *Common Impositions*, Importing their *Servility*, and *Subjection*, and whose *Livery* they wear.

Ibid. p. 57. 2d book of Discip p. 97. I must not omit one Peculiar Obligation, the *Nobility*, and *Gentry* have to these their gratious Masters: which is, easing them of their *Patronages*, & *Presentations to Benefices*, because *these things flowed from the Pope, and the corruption of the Law only, and are contrary to the Word of God, and the Peoples Liberty of Electing their own Ministers.* [For (say they) *this is altogether to be avoided, that any man be violently Intruded, or Thrust in upon any Congregation. But this Liberty, with all care, must be reserved to every several Church, to have their Votes, and Suffrages in Election of their Ministers.*

1 st book of Disc. p. 29

Observe now *I* beseech yon, *the Peoples Liberty*, in this Choice.

Ib. p. 29 *Violent Intrusion we call it not, when the Counsel of the Church, in the fear of God, and for the salvation of the People, offereth unto them a sufficient Man, to Instruct them. If his Doctrine be found wholesome, and able to Instruct the Simple, and if the Church justly can reprehend nothing in his Life, Doctrine, nor Utterance, then we judge the Church unreasonable, if they refuse him, whom the Church did offer; and they should be compelled by the censure of the Counsel, and Church, to receive the Person appointed.* Here's *Liberty upon Compulsion*; and it is most Palpable, that your whole Design is the Interest of a Party.

Come now to the men of Ordinary *Business*, and *Traffick*. The *Presbytery* will put an end to all their Disputes, about *Free Trade*, *Priviledges*, and matter of *Commerce*, with a wet Finger. Did they not

Spotsw. hist. p 393 by an *Act of Assembly at Dundy* 1592. Prohibit the *Scots Trading* with any of the King of *Spains* Dominons, under Pain of *Excommunication*? and his Majesty refusing to comply with them, (at the Instance of the *Spanish Merchants*) Did they not proceed to *Censure* the *Merchants*? So that there shall be no *Trading*, but where they please: And no

Ibid, 394 *Markets* neither but upon their good liking too. Did they not by their Proper Authority Discharge the *Munday Market* in *Edenburgh*? But the *Shoo-makers* indeed were too hard for the *Elders* this bout, and told them plainly, they would turn out all their *Ministers* by Head and Shoulders first before they parted with their *Market*. Upon which Menace they were quiet.

p. 10. The Author of *Presbytery Display'd*, gives you some Instances of the *Presbyteries Interposal*, in Actions of *Debt*, and menacing *Landlords*, and *Creditors*, with *Excommunicaton*, unless they laid down the *Process*: Upon Pretense Forsooth, that though it was in a *Civil*

Cause,

Cause, it had yet a *Spiritual Prospect*: *Withdrew People from their Callings, and hindred the Progress of the Gospel.*

And this is no more, then any man will reasonably expect, that looks but with half an eye upon the very *Frame*, and *Provision* of the *Discipline*. Is not he a mad man, that thinks to recover a Debt at *Common Law*, against any Member, or Members Friend of the *Presbytery*, when 'tis but flying to the Cannon of the *Consistory*, to silence the dispute, and telling him, that *He is Contentious without a reasonable Cause*? Cannot the *Church* put an end to strife among Brethren, as well as the *Civil Magistrates*? It is a matter of evil example, and *ends to the Hurt of our Neighbour*. If the Creditor be obstinate, and will not take good Counsel, out flyes an *Excommunication* against him, *for refusing to obey the Orders of the Church.*

I would now fain understand, what it is that sets so many of the Ministers a Gog upon this Platform; for certainly, they are of all Mortals the most contemptible: (the *Junto*, and some few of the *Select ones Excepted.*)

Their *Discipline* divides the *Patrimony into four parts*, *One* for the *Pastor*; *Another* for the *Elders*, *Deacons*, and other *Kirk-Officers*; their *Doctor*, and *Schools*, *A Third* for *Charitable Uses*: and *the Rest* for *Repairing of Churches*, and other incidental charges. So that the *Clergy* is strip'd already of 3. *Parts* of 4 of their *Legal Maintenance.* Book of Disc. p. 61. p. 98.

A Jurisdiction exercised accordint to the Latitude of this Discipline, one would think, might satisfie any reasonable sort of People. But alas! If they do not as much exceed their *own Bounds*, in their *Practises*, as they exceed all *other Models* in their *Pretensions*, they reckon it as good as nothing. They can *Cite People* out of a *Remote Jurisdiction. Deprive whole Presbyterys for Dissent.* (Kings Declaration, page 314.) Call *Nine Presbyters* of *Fifty*, *a General Assembly.* (Spotswood, p. 490.) *Demolish Churches* (304.) and *Dispose of the Patrimony* (311.) and what not?

More cannot be said, as to the Empire they exercise o're *King*, *Lords*, and *Commons*, severally, and in divers respects: we come now to their Usurpations upon the common *Rights*, and *Priviledges* of *Mankind.*

Chiding (as I told you) they have drawn within the compass of *Ecclesiastical Censure.* So that *Masters* shall not Reprove their *Servants*, nor *Parents* their *Children*; without leave of the *Eldership*, (to the utter dissolution of the *Order* and *Discipline* of *Private Families.*) Nay, they have taken in *Brawling* too, and made every *Billingsgate Quarrel*, ever Brabble betwixt a Butter-Whore and an Oysterwench, a Subject of *Consistorial Cognizance.*

Under the Cenſure of *Lewd Cuſtoms* are comprized all ſorts of *Publique Sports*, *Exerciſes*, and *Recreations*, that have been long in Uſe; upon the worſhipful pretenſe (forſooth) that they had their original from the times of *Paganiſm*, or *Popery*: As *Comedies*, *Interludes*, *Wraſtlings*, *Foot-Ball-Play*, *May-Games*, *Whitſon-ales*, *Morrice-Dances*, *Bear-baitings*; Nay the poor *Roſemary*, *and Bays*, *and Chriſtmas-Eve*, is made an *Abomination*.

Presb. *And are not the* Independents *as much againſt theſe Fooleries as the* Presbyterians?

Indep. No, we take our own freedom, to forbear what we diſlike our ſelves; and allow other People their liberty, to practiſe what pleaſes them. But to proceed.

All Games *that brings Loſs*, are prohibited, *Tenis*, *Bowles*, *Billiards*; Not ſo much as a game at *Stool-Ball* for a *Tanſy*, or a *Croſs and Pyle* for the odd Penny of a Reckoning, upon Pain of *Damnation*.

——— *Shortly, Boys ſhall not Play*
At Span-Counter, or Blow-Point, but ſhall Pay
Toll to ſome Presbyter———

What do you think now of *Uncomly Geſtures*? That *a man ſhall be given to the Devil*, for *Lolling* upon his *Elbow*, or ſetting on his *Back-ſide*, in the Preſence of the *Deacon* of the Pariſh.

And the like for *Exceſs* in *Eating*, or *Apparel*. Every bit we put into our mouths, and every rag we put upon our Backs, becomes a ſnare to us. It may be either too *much*, or too *coſtly*: and what reformation ſoever the Kirk ſhall think fit to order, either in our *Clothes*, or *Dyet*, muſt be obſerv'd, with the ſame degree of *Submiſſion*, and *Obedience*, as if the matter in Queſtion were *an Article of our Creed*.

Their Cenſure of *Vain Words* is yet more rigorous, and reaches for ought we know, to the honeſteſt Endearments, and Familiarities of Friendſhip, and converſation, even to the excluſion of common decency, and Civility. But let our words be what they will, we are ſtill dependent upon the good pleaſure of the *Elderſhip*, whether they will pronounce them *Vain*, or *Edifying*.

But why ſhould a man expect to ſcape for *Words*, where *Thought* it ſelf is Cenſurable? *Suſpition* of *Avarice*, *Pride*, &c. (as you have heard) He that ſues to recover a debt, ſhall be *ſuſpected of Avarice*. He that refuſes to crouch like the Aſſe under the Burthen, ſhall be *ſuſpected of Pride*. And for a *Man and a Woman to be only ſeen together*, ſhall be ground enough for a *ſuſpition* of *Incontinency*. Nay, they ſhall be *Cited*, *Interrogated*, *Cloſe Committed*, and Put to *Bread and Water* upon it; and compell'd to *Swear in Propriam Turpitudinem*. After all this, and

that

that no *Proof* appears, and that they purge themselves upon *Oath*: It shall be yet *Enacted by the Assembly, that if ever these two shall be seen again in Company together, unless at Church, or Market, they shall be taken* pro Confesso *for Guilty.* Presbyt. display'd, p. 9.

A whole Volume (says the Authour of *Presbytery Display'd*) *might be written of Young Women by these Courses, disgraced, and Defamed: Of many Families divided and scatter'd; whereas before there was never any jealousie betwixt the man and the wife.*

Presb. *These are Objections rather of* Passion *and* Extravagance, *then of* Argument.

Indep. They are no other then such *Conclusions* as the *Premisses* will very well bear.

Presb. *I have heard indeed of several* wilde *and* senseless Scruples *charg'd upon the* Independents: *as that they made it a matter of* Religion *to piss abed, and ride Hobby-horses, because it is said,* Except ye become as little Children, ye shall not enter into the Kingdom of Heaven, *Matth.* 18.3.

Indep. Pray give me leave to requite you with three or four *Presbyterian Scruples*, out of *Bancrofts Survey of the Pretended Holy Dis.* p. 368.

Move M. Cartwright, *and some other our Reverend Brethren to deliver their Iudgments*, whether all laying out of hair be forbidden to all *Women*; *especially at their repair to the publick meetings of the Church?* Pig to Field, 1586

A Question riseth in my minde, whether one that Professeth Christ truly, may, according to the same Profession, delight in, and use Hawking, *and* Hunting; *so no Unchristian behaviour otherwise be joyned therewith.* Ed. Brown. Field.

Let me know your Iudgment particularly, whether it be in any respect tolerable for Women that profess Religion, and the Reformation, to wear Dublets, Little Hats with Feathers, great gowns after the French & Outlandish Fashion; great Ruffs and Hair, *either* curled, *or* frisled, *or set out upon* Wires, *and such like Devices.* Walker to Field.

I cannot pass from these Phantastical *Absurdities* in your *Practises*, without some Reflection upon those in your *Constitution.* To say nothing of your *Disagreements* among your selves, about your *Officers*, and *Discipline.* What can be more ridiculous than to Authorize a *Cobler* to Correct *Majesty*, *Mechanicks* to Determine in *Points of Faith?* Are not your *Elders joyn'd in Commission with your Ministers, for the Examination of the Person that offers himself to the Ministry, in all the Chief Points in Controversie betwixt us and the* Papists, Anabaptists, Arians; *&c.* Are not the Elders, and Deacons *fit Persons* (think ye) *to be made Judges of Theological* Niceties; *and to Admonish, and Reprove a Minister, that Propones not faithful* Doctrine? Has not your *General Assembly*, Book of Discipl. P. 28. Ibid. 60.

bly, rather the *Face* of a *Council of State*, then of a *Council of the Church*? (And in truth the *Business* too.) Behold the Composition (I beseech ye) of the Pretended *Assembly* at *Glasgow*, 1638. *Seven Earls*, *Ten Lords*, *Forty Gentlemen*, and *One and Fifty Burgesses* to Determine of *Faith* and *Church Censures*.

King's Large Declar. p 315.

Now to take a Brief View of the whole. What greater *Slavery* in the world, can be imagined, then to live in Subjection to a Government; where you shall have, neither *Freedom* of *Conscience*, *Law*, *Person*, or *Fortune*? Where you shall not *Speak*, *Look*, *Move*, *Eat*, *Drink*, *Dress your self*; Nay, not so much as entertain a *Thought*, but at your *Peril*? And to be in this Bondage too unto the *Meanest*, and most *Insolent* of your *Fellows*? For none but such will ever engage themselves in the Exercise of so Inhumane a Tyranny. And for a further Aggravation of the *Shame*, and *Guilt* of the Faction, let me desire you, but to cast an eye upon their Proceedings, under King *James* in *Scotland*, and here under Queen *Elizabeth*; where you shall find that they were never so Impetuous, and Bold, as when they found the *King*, and ☞ the *State* in distress, upon the Apprehension of *Foreign Dangers*. And so for the *Queen*, upon the business of *Eighty Eight*: Whereas the *Independents* never so confined themselves to the Prosecution of their *Private Interests*, as to Hazzard the betraying of their *Country* to *Forreigners*: And particularly, in the late Engagements at Sea, against the *French*, and *Dutch*, many of them have given Signal Testimony, and Proof of their Fidelity, and Valour.

I should not have Engross'd this whole Discourse to my self, but in Persuance of a Point, wherein you have confest beforehand, that you had nothing further to oppose: that is to say, concerning the *Principles* of the Parties in Question.

Neither is any thing I have hitherto deliver'd, to be taken as a *Challange*, and *Claim* of a *Toleration*, of such a Quality, as to enter into a *Competition* with the *Peace* and *Security*, *of the Publique*: But This I promise my self, that if it shall appear reasonable to *Authority*, to allow of any *Relaxation*, the *Independents Plea*, upon all considerations of common *Equity*, and *Safety*, will stand good against That of the *Presbyterians*.

From whose Tripple-Crown'd Consistory; that Lords it over Souls, Bodies, and Estates; over King, Nobles, and Commons; over Laws, Magistrates, and all Sorts, and Ranks of Men, and Interests; that turns Gospel into Law; Communities into Deserts; Men into Beasts;

GOOD LORD DELIVER US.

THE END.

AN ACCOUNT Of the *GROWTH* of KNAVERY, UNDER THE PRETENDED FEARS OF Arbitrary Government, AND POPERY.

WITH

A PARALLEL betwixt the Reformers of 1677. and those of 1641. in their *Methods*, and *Designs*.

The Second Edition.

By *ROGER L'ESTRANGE.*

In a Letter to a Friend.

London, Printed by *T. B.* for *Henry Brome*, at the *Gun* in S. *Paul's* Church-Yard. 1681.

AN ACCOUNT Of the *GROWTH* of KNAVERY, UNDER THE PRETENDED FEARS OF ARBITRARY GOVERNMENT AND POPERY.

SIR,

TO give you my Opinion freely of the two Libels that you ſent me, me-thinks the Deſign of them lies too open to do much Miſchief; for I never ſaw ſo bare-fac'd an Arraignment of the Government, and all the Parts of it: *King*, *Lords*, *Commons*, *Judges*, *Miniſters of State*; they are all of them made *Conſpirators*; againſt the Sovereign Multitude, forſooth; and when the *Li-*

beller has done with the *Body* of the *Commons*, he gives you a a Defamatory Liſt of betwixt two and three hundred of their *Members*, provoking and abuſing all Sober Intereſts; Inſomuch, that he has left himſelf nothing to truſt to, but the contemplation of a *General Tumult*, which is the very Point he drives at in his *Appeal* to the *Rabble*.

The Man, I confeſs, is a great Maſter of Words; but then his Talent is that which the Lord St. *Albans* calls *Matter of Wonder without Worthineſs*; being rather the Suppleneſs and Addreſs of a Tumbler, than the Force and Vigor of a Man of Buſineſs. And you cannot but obſerve too, that his Excurſions, many of them, are unmannerly and Vulgar, and fitter for the Stage of a *Merry-Andrew*, or a *Jack-Pudding*, than for a Paper of *State*.

You would have me gueſs at the Author; and you might as well bid me tell you the right Father of a Child by a Common Strumpet: But I think I may call him *Legion*, for they are *MANY*; and there's a *Club* to his *Pen*, as well as to h's *Pocket*. This I dare aſſure you, that the *Author* of *A Letter from a Parliament-man to his Friend in the Country, concerning the Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons, in* 75. is very particularly acquainted with the Author of *An Accompt of the Growth of Popery, and Arbitrary Government, &c.* and the *Seaſonable Argument*, &c. that follow'd it, in 77.

The Pretence of the former Pamphlet is exhibited in the Title of it, *viz. An Account of the Growth of Popery, and Arbitrary Government in* England: and more particularly from *November* 1675, to *July* 1677. Upon theſe *Nineteen Months* the *Compoſer* has beſtow'd precifely *Nineteen Sheets of Paper*, and laid himſelf out moſt wonderfully in his Politicks and Conceits, for the better Grace and Reliſh of the Diſcourſe: But the Malignity of it is ſo rank, that there is ſcarce a Page where the Poyſon has not eaten quite thorough the Verniſh, and diſcover'd the Spring and Malice of the Deſign. View it narrowly, and you ſhall find the Pique to be as well Perſonal as Seditious, and the Work only of ſome Mercenary Pen to ſerve his Principall's Animoſity, as well as his Ambition. For a Man may ſee with half an Eye, how he *aggravates*, or *extenuates*; *diſparages*, or *commends*; *reflects* upon, or *paſſes* over, as well *Actions*, as *Men*, aceording to the various

Aſpects

Aſpects of *Affections* or *Parties*; and without any regard to the Pulſe or Truth of publick proceedings. By his Vein of improving the Invective Humour, it looks in ſome places as if he were *Tranſproſing* the *Firſt Painter*; only he has chang'd his Battery, which is a Property peculiar to his Party, conſtantly to hate thoſe that are uppermoſt.

I was once a thinking to write a Juſt Reply upon the whole Relation, and to lay open the falſhood of many paſſages in it in matter of Fact; the Partiality of it in others; how perverted, and miſapply'd it is throughout; and to ſhew what Gaps and Maims the Compiler of it has left in the Story, purpoſely to divert the *Reader* from minding the Coherence of Actions, and the reaſonable Congruity of Counſels, and Affairs: What uncharitable and illogical Inferences he has drawn from matters as remote as *Tenterden* Steeple from being the cauſe of *Goodwin* Sands. This was the Method I had propounded to my ſelf; but upon ſecond thoughts I quitted it, for theſe Reaſons. Firſt, It would have been too tedious; for I muſt in honeſty have printed the Libel as well as the Reply, which in proportion would have amounted to near forty ſheets of Paper. Secondly, It would have been ſuperfluous; for part of my buſineſs being the Vindication of Truth from Calumny; I find the thing already done to my hand, in the common Sentence is that paſs'd upon it for a lewd and ſhameleſs Impoſture. And Thirdly, The Author himſelf, you ſee, has upon better conſideration reduc'd his Pamphlet of nineteen Sheets, into another of *three*, as a more Compendious Expoſition of his meaning: I ſpeak of that Libel which you ſent me, under the Name of *A Seaſonable Argument to perſwade all the Grand Juries in* England *to Petition for a New Parliament; or a Liſt of the Principal Labourers in the great Deſign of Popery, and Arbitrary Power, &c.* So that my Task is only to make good in my Diſcourſe the Parallel that I promis'd you in my Title, and then to paſs ſome Remarks upon the Scope and Venom of the Pamphlets themſelves.

Now to the end that you may not take the Libels here in queſtion for *Originals*, let me aſſure you that theſe Notable Pieces are neither better, nor worſe, than the Old *Declarations* of 40. and 41. only *turn'd*, and *new trimm'd*; The *Contrivance*, the *Poſitions*, and the *Drift* the very ſame; and upon the

the whole matter, there is so near a resemblance between them, that one Egg is not liker another. If you would have a full History of the Faction, you may read it at large in *Bancroft's Dangerous Positions*, or *Heylin's AERIUS REDIVIVUS*. But my purpose is principally to compare the Project of 77. with that of 40. and 41. and by tracing the Footsteps of that Rebellion, from the undeniable fact of things pass'd, to gather some probable conjecture at things to come.

To begin my *Parallel* with the Alarm of *Popery*, and *Arbitrary Government* in 1677. take notice that it was likewise the Pretext and the very Foundation of the Rebellion in 41. *A Malignant and Pernicious Design* (says the *Remonstrance* of *December* 15. 1641.) *of subverting the Fundamental Laws, and Principles of Government, upon which the Religion and Justice of this Kingdom is firmly establish'd.* Husband's Collections, p. 4. and in the same Page he tells us of *such Counsellers and Courtiers, as for Private Ends have ingag'd themselves to further the Interest of some Forreign Princes or States, to the prejudice of his Majesty and the State at home.* Which *Counsellers*, and *Courtiers* of those deys, are now translated into *French Pensioners* and *Conspirators* in 1677. But if you would see the Reformers in their Colours, read the *Declaration, and Protestation of the Lords and Commons in Parliament* (as they stile it) *to the Kingdom, and to the whole World*: where, beside the horrid Invocation of Almighty God to countenance the Juggle, the whole stress of the Quarrel is laid upon the Kings being *Popishly inclin'd*; and the War founded upon that Execrable Cheat. *The Kings Counsels and Resolutions* (say they) *are so ingag'd to the Popish Party, for the suppression and extirpation of the true Religion, that all hopes of Peace and Protection are excluded; and that it is fully intended to give satisfaction to the Papists, by alteration of Religion*, &c. And a little further they say, that *the King endeavour'd to keep off all Jealousies and Suspitions, by many fearful Oaths and Imprecations of maintaining the Protestant Religion.* But what were all their Stories of *Popish Plots, Intercepted Letters, Dark Conspiracies*, but only Artifices to gull the Credulous and silly Vulgar? For the King was so far from being *Popishly affected*, that never any Prince purg'd himself of an Imputation, by Two more Credible and Dreadful Solemnities: The first, Publickly upon the *Sacrament* in *Christ-Church Oxon.* 1643.

1643. and afterward, at his *Death* upon the *Scaffold.* Now ſee the Harmony betwixt *thoſe Remonſtrants*, and *our Libeller* in his *Growth of Popery. There has now for divers years*, ſays he, *a Deſign been carri'd on to change the Lawful Government of* England *into an abſolute Tyranny, and to convert the eſtabliſh'd* Proteſtant Religion *into down-right* Popery. P. 3. He begins in the *Method* of *the Remonſtrants* with a *General Charge* upon *Ill Miniſters*, and he ſhall *Advance* with them too, next ſtep, to an *Attaque* upon the *King Himſelf.* And not a Pin matter what is ſaid on either ſide to the contrary.

It is true, (ſays the *Growth of Popery*, p. 155.) *that by his Majeſty and the Churches care, under God's ſpecial Providence, the Conſpiracy has receiv'd frequent diſappointments*, &c. And do not the *Remonſtrants* on the other ſide ſay as much for the late King? That *his Majeſty indeed had paſt more Bills to the advantage of the Subject, than had been in many Ages*, pag. 16. But how comes our *Libeller* to be ſo kind to the Church all on a ſudden? From whoſe Pen there never fell any thing yet but Poyſon upon that Subject. Can any thing be kinder than the *Remonſtrants* were to this late King (pag. 2.) where they promiſed to *ſupport his Royal Eſtate with Honour, and plenty at home; with Power and Reputation abroad; and by their Loyal Affections, Obedience, and Service, to lay a ſure and laſting Foundation of the Greatneſs and Proſperity of his Majeſty and his Royal Poſterity after him.* But what do you think rather of the pretended Loyalty of theſe People afterwards, even in the ſtate of an Actual Rebellion? p. 663. *We the Lords and Commons in this preſent Parliament aſſembled, do in the preſence of Almighty God, for the ſatisfaction of our own Conſciences, and the diſcharge of that great Truſt which lies upon us, make this* Proteſtation *and* Declaration *to this* Kingdom *and* Nation, *and to the* whole World, *that no private paſſion, or reſpect, no evil intention to his Majeſties Perſon, no deſign to the prejudice of his juſt Honour, and Authority, ingag'd us to raiſe Forces, and take up Arms againſt the Authors of this War, wherewith the Kingdom is now inflam'd.* And does not our *Libeller* follow the *Remonſtrants* in their *Hypocriſie* too? *This Book*, (ſays he, p. 156.) *though of an extraordinary Nature, as the Caſe requir'd, and however it may be calumniated by interreſſed perſons, was written with no other intent, than of meer Fidelity and Service to his Majeſty; and*

God

God forbid that it ſhould have any other effect than that the mouth of all Iniquity, and Flatterers may be ſtopt; and that his Majeſty having diſcerned the Diſeaſe, may with his healing Touch apply the Remedy: For ſo far is the Relator himſelf from any ſiniſter ſurmize againſt his Majeſty, or from ſuggeſting it to others, &c. The Pamphlet, I confeſs is, as he calls it, *a Book of an extraordinary Nature*; But why does he ſay, *As the Caſe requir'd?* Where's the Importance of it? unleſs he means, that it was the very Nick of Time for him to imbroil the Nation: And for the *intereſſed perſons*, who (he ſays) may *calumniate* it, they are only the King and his *Miniſters*, who are all of them the ſubject of his *Scoptical* and *Malevolent Satyre*. Of his *intent*, we ſhall ſpeak hereafter.

This is not the firſt time that we have heard of *words ſmoother than Oyl, which yet are very Swords.* It is the very Stile that brought the late *King* to the Block; and the Saviour of the World was betray'd by a *Hail Maſter*, and a *Kiſs*. It is the very Crown of the *Parallel* betwixt 77. and 41. Now to proceed: What was the *Old Remonſtrance*, but a ſpiteful and Invidious Miſrepreſentation of the State of the Kingdom, under the Notion of declaring Common Grievances? (*For his Majeſties Healing Touch* too no doubt) and is not that alſo the very aim and profeſſion of theſe two Libels? What is the Publication of this ſame Scandalous Liſt, but the Old Trick over again, of *Poſting* thoſe Members for *Straffordians*, that would not conſent to the Death of the Earl of *Strafford?* And is not their tampering of the *Grand Juries* to Petition for a *New Parliament*, the Old Practice reviv'd of drawing and ſolliciting Petitions againſt Grievances of their own framing; and managing Affairs of State by *Tumults*? Would not our *Remonſtrator* of 77. rather than his Life, be at the Old Sport again, with a Kennel of Brutes at his Heels, in full *Cry, with No Biſhops, No Popiſh Lords, No Evil Counſellours, No Rotten Members, No Porters Lodge*; and at laſt, *No King too*, which was the very Fact in Conſequence upon this Method.

So ſoon as the *Remonſtrants* (thoſe Sons of *Cham) had laid open their Fathers nakedneſs*, with a malicious aggravation of all Errours and Misfortunes, (beſide falſhoods innumerable) to irritate the Multitude againſt their Superiours; their next Art was to draw that Party to themſelves, which they had now

now detached from the Government; with an *Oh! that we were made Judges in Israel!* Boasting what wonderful things they had then upon the Anvil for the Publick Good; and not forgetting to arrogate all those Acts to themselves, which his *Majesty* had pass'd of his proper Grace and Bounty. *Other things* (say they, p. 15.) *of main Importance for the good of this Kingdom, are in Proposition; as the Establishing and Ordering the Kings Revenues, that so the Abuse of Officers, and superfluity of Expences may be cut off, and the necessary Disbursements for his Majesties Honour, the Defence and Government of the Kingdom, may be more certainly provided for: the Regulating of Courts of Justice, and Abridging both the Delays and Charges of Law-Suits, &c.* See now if our *Reformer* of 77. does not Fish with the very same Bait. *The House of Commons* (says he, p. 63.) *took up again such Publick Bills as they had on foot in their former sitting, and others that might either remedy present, or prevent future mischief: As the Bill for* Habeas Corpus; *that against sending Men Prisoners beyond Seas; that against raising of Money without the consent of* Parliament; *that against* Papists *sitting in either House, &c.* The Libels in fine of 77. are so exact a Counterpart of the others of 41. that two Tallies do not strike truer: And undoubtedly such a Correspondence in Method, cannot be without some Conformity also of Design.

There needs no other Argument to prove the *late Rebellion* to have been originally a *Conspiracy* against the Government, than the Proportion that appears betwixt the Means, and the End; and the orderly Connexion of proper Causes and Regular Effects. For it was a perfect Train of Artifice, Hypocrisie and Imposture, from one end of it to the other. The Confederacy was form'd in a Cabal of *Scotch* and *English Presbyterians*; as appears not only from their Correspondent practices in both Nations; but from his late Majesties Charge against the *Five Members*; and likewise from the Care that was taken upon his Majesties *Restauration to date the* English *Act of Indemnity from the beginning of the* Scotch *Tumults* (Jan. 1. 1637.) which was three Years before the Meeting of the Long Parliament in *November* 1640. The two Ministers that stood in the Gap betwixt the Conspiracy, and the Government, (and who were only cut off, as appear'd by the Sequel,

to clear the paſſage to the King himſelf) were the Earl of *Strafford*, and *Archbiſhop Laud*: So that their *Firſt Attaque* was upon the *Earl*, and their *next* upon the *Archbiſhop*, under the *Notion* of *Evil Counſellors*; and upon the *common charge* of *Popery*, and *Arbitrary Proceeding*, their Impeachments were carri'd on by *Tumults*, and theſe Brave Men were rather baited to Death by Beaſts, than ſentenc'd with any Colour of Law or Juſtice: And as they liv'd, ſo they dy'd, the Reſolute Aſſertors of the *Engliſh Monarchy* and *Religion*: The Earl of *Strafford* in *May* 41. but the *Archbiſhop* was kept languiſhing in the *Tower*, till *Jan.* 44. And their Crime was not in Truth, their being men of *Arbitrary Principles themſelves*, but for being the *Oppoſers* of thoſe Principles in *others*.

As the *Remonſtrants* in 41. for want of *Papiſts*, in *Practice* and *Profeſſion*, directed their ſpleen againſt the *Kings Miniſters*, only as perſons *Popiſhly affected*, (which in time came to be moſt injuriouſly apply'd to his Majeſty, and his whole Party) Juſt ſo does our Libeller in 1677. *Were theſe Conſpirators* (ſays he) *but avow'd* Papiſts, *they were the more Honeſt, the leſs Dangerous, and their* Religion *were anſwerable for the Errours they might commit in order to promote it*: *But theſe are men* (ſays he, in the next pag.) *obliged by all the moſt Sacred Tyes of Malice and Ambition, to advance the ruine of the King and Kingdom; and qualifi'd much better than others, under the Name of* Good Proteſtants, *to effect it*. As who ſhould ſay; Popery *is to be brought in by ſome that paſs for* Good Proteſtants. (As *Rebellion* and *Tyranny* were brought in by the *Remonſtrants*, under the Profeſſion of *Loyalty* and *Duty* to their Country.) A very Compendious way of making every man, that will not be a *Traytor*, a *Papiſt*. For who can ſay what any man is, or what he is not, in his Heart?

From his Majeſties yielding in the Buſineſs of the Earl of *Strafford*, the Faction took their Meaſures how to deal with him in *other Caſes*; and never left, till by gradual Encroachments, and Approaches, they firſt ſtript him of his *Friends*; Secondly, of his *Royal Authority*; Thirdly, of his *Revenue*; and Laſtly, of his *Life*. Whereas, had but this Pious and Unfortunate King follow'd the Advice of his Royal Father to Prince *Henry*, he might upon cheaper Terms have preſerv'd himſelf, and his Three Kingdoms. *Take heed*, (ſays King *James*)

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to ſuch Puritans; *very Peſts in the Church, and Common-weal, whom no Deſerts can oblige; neither Oaths, or Promiſes bind. Breathing nothing but Sedition, and Calumnies, and making their own imaginations (without any warrant of the Word) the ſquare of their Conſcience. I proteſt before the Great God, (and ſince I am here as upon my Teſtament, it is no place for me to lye in) that ye ſhall never find with any* Highlands *or* Border-Thieves, *greater Ingratitude, and more Lyes, and vile Perjuries, than with theſe* Phanatick Spirits. *K. James* his Works, p. 305. and 160.

Upon the ripping up of *Publick Grievances*, it was but matter of Courſe to follow their Complaints with Petitions for *Redreſs*; and the Good King, on the other hand, *to heap Coals of Fire upon their Heads*, deni'd them nothing: But *the two firſt Bills* that his Majeſty paſs'd, were fatal to him: That for the *Attainder* of the Earl of *Strafford*, and the other for the *continuance* of the *Parliament*. They complain'd of the *Star-Chamber*, *High-Commiſſion-Court*, *Ship-Moneys*, *Forreſt-Laws*, *Stannary-Courts*, *Tonnage*, *and Poundage*, *&c.* and had every Point for the Asking: Nay, and as an inſtance of his good Faith and Meaning, his Majeſty took ſome of their Principals even into his very Councel. But ſo ſoon as he had parted with ſo much, as almoſt put it into their power to take the reſt, they began then to think of ſetting up for themſelves (ſee his Majeſties *Declaration* of *Auguſt* 12. 1642.) *and nothing but a thorough Reformation they ſaid would ever do the Work.* Now ſee the *Gradation*. Firſt, The people muſt be alarm'd with the noiſe of *Tyranny*, and *Popery*; and the *Evil Counſellors* muſt be remov'd, that are *ſaid*, not *prov'd*, to ſtand that way inclin'd. *His Majeſty muſt be humbly Petition'd by both Houſes to imploy ſuch Counſellors, Ambaſſadours, and other Miniſters, in managing his buſineſs at home, and abroad, as the Parliament may have cauſe to confide in*, &c. Nay, *It may often fall out*, they ſay, *that the Commons may have juſt cauſe to take Exceptions at ſome men for being Counſellors, and yet not charge thoſe men with Crimes; for there be grounds of Diffidence which lye not in proof; there are others which though they may be prov'd, yet are not legally Criminal; to be a known favourer of* Papiſts, *or to have been very forward in defending or countenancing ſome great offenders queſtioned in Parliament*, &c. So that at firſt Daſh all the *Kings Officers* are but *Tenants* at the *Will* of the *Faction*.

The next ſtep is, to fill the places of thoſe whom they caſt out, with *Miniſters* and Officers of their *own chuſing*; as well *Privy Counſellors*, as *Judges*. As in the nineteen *Propoſitions* of *Jan.* 2. 42. wherein they demand, *The Tranſlation of the Power of chuſing Great Officers, and Miniſters of State, from the King to the Two Houſes.* Secondly, *All matters of State in the Interval of Parliaments to be debated, and concluded by a Council ſo choſen, and in number not above* 25. *nor under* 15. *and no publick Act eſteem'd of any validity, as proceeding from the Royal Authority, unleſs it be done by the advice and conſent of the major part of that Council, atteſted under their Hands, and theſe alſo ſworn to the Senſe of both Houſes.* Thirdly, *The Lords and Commons muſt be intruſted with the* Militia. Fourthly, *His Majeſty may appoint, but the two Houſes, or the Council (in ſuch manner as aforeſaid) muſt approve of all Governours of Forts and Caſtles.* Laſtly, *No Peers hereafter made, muſt ſit, or vote in Parliament, unleſs admitted thereunto by the conſent of both Houſes.*

By this time the Plot is ripe for a *Rebellion*; they *Levy War*, *Impoſe Oaths*, *Seize* the Revenues of the *Church* and *Crown*; *kill*, *plunder*, and *impriſon* their *Fellow-Subjects*; *depoſe* and *murther* their *Sovereign*, under a Form of *Publick Juſtice*; by theſe means advancing themſelves into that *Arbitrary Power* which they pretended to fear; *over-turning* the *Government*, under the Colour of a Zeal to *ſupport* it; and inſtead of ſetting us *Right* in our *Religious* and *Civil Liberties*, they left us neither *Church*, nor *Law*, nor *King*, nor *Parliament*, nor *Properties*, nor *Freedoms*. Behold the bleſſed Reformation; and remember that the Outcryes againſt *Tyranny*, *Popery*, and *Evil Counſellors*, were the *Foundation* of it. What was their *Covenant*, but a Blind to their Deſigns? *A Popular Sacrament of Religious Diſobedience*; and only a Mark of Diſcrimination who were againſt the King, and who for him? Nay, in the very Contemplation of their purpoſe, they knew before-hand, that there was no gaining of their point, but by *Rapine*, *Sacriledge*, *Perjury*, *Treaſon*, and *Bloud*.

After theſe Notorious Violations of *Faith*, *Honour*, *Humanity*, and *Religion*; to the common deſtruction of *Prince*, *Government*, and *People*, and all upon the ſame Bottom with our late Libels; what can this *Underminer of Parliaments*, what can our *Geneva-Faux* find to ſay for himſelf? Is not *Mercury*

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as good *Poyson* in 77. as it was in 41? Do we not *strike Fire* the same way *now*, that we did *then*? And may not a *Spark* in the *Gun-Room* do as much mischief *this year*, as it did *thirty* or *forty years* ago? Are not the *People* as much *Tinder* now, as they were formerly? and as apt to take ill Impressions? What if the same Method should work the same Confusion over again? or in truth, what is there else to be expected? For *the same Cause, acting at Liberty, must eternally produce the same Effect.* There's no *Chance-medley* or *Misadventure* in the Case; but the thing is manifestly done with *Prepense malice*, and on *set purpose*, to embroil the State: As upon Examination of the matter will undeniably appear.

You cannot but take notice, that the Author of *the Growth of Popery*, does upon the Main, *principally* labour these two things. First, To insinuate that the King is in some Cases *Accomptable to his People*, (of which hereafter.) And Secondly, To provoke the *People*, by suggesting that their *Souls*, and their *Liberties* are at stake, to make use of that *Power*. From the former Proposition he passes into a Florid and Elaborate Declamation against *Popery*; and when he has wrought up the Figure to a height, to make it Terrible and Odious, his next business is to tell the *People*, that this Gobling is coming in among them, and to possess the Multitude with the Apprehension of a Form'd Conspiracy against our *Religion* and *Government*: And this too, under the Countenance of an *Historical Deduction of Affairs*; but with the Faith of a *Jesuitical Legend*; wherein all the Kings *Ministers* are in general terms branded for *Conspirators*.

His hand being now in, he is resolv'd to go thorough-stitch, and nothing scapes him that falls in his way: He makes the *House of Lords* (p. 72.) to be *Felon of it self*; and (p. 82.) *Non Compos*; Arraigning their Proceedings in several Cases with Boldness and Contempt. But he makes a great deal bolder yet with the *House of Commons*; he divides them into *three Parts*. *It is too notorious to be conceal'd* (says he, p. 73.) *that near* a third part of the House, *have Beneficial Offices under his Majesty in the Privy Council, the Army, the Navy, the Law, the Houshold, the Revenue both in* England, *and* Ireland, *or in attendance upon his Majesties Person.* Upon this Exception, he expounds

expounds himself, that *'tis to be fear'd, their Gratitude to their Master, with their own Interest, may tempt them beyond their Obligation to the Publick.* What can be more Audacious than this Charge upon *King*, *Lords*, and *Commons*, in the Face of *a Sitting Parliament*? He says, that *it is too notorious to be conceal'd, &c.* And where's the Crime, or the Shame, I beseech you, for an Officer of the Kings, to be a Member of the House of Commons? As if he that has an Office, and he that has none, had not both of them the same Master; or that a man might not as well be a Knave without an Office, as with it. This was the Complaint also of 41. against Officers, till the Complainants had gotten those Offices themselves, and then all was quiet. This is only a slier way of declaring the Kings Servants Enemies to the Kingdom, and Erecting an Opposition betwixt the Common, and inseparable Interests of his Majesty, and his Subjects. Beside that, the same Reason would reach to the Excluding of the Kings Servants from any other Trust in the Government, as well as from that of a Member in the House of Commons; and his Majesties Favour should at that rate incapacitate any man for Publick business. If the Libeller had open'd his mouth a little wider, he would have told us in plain *English*, that there are three or four of *Oliver*'s Old Servants out of Office, and that the King is strangely overseen to bestow his Boons upon a Company of Fellows that never had any hand in the bringing of him to the Crown, by the Murther of his Father, as they did. But yet he is content upon some terms, that they may be admitted, *provided that they do not croud into the House in numbers beyond Modesty*, (pag. 74.) which may seem to be some amends for the Rascals he made of them the very Page before. *Suppose* (says he) *that the Question concerning this* Prorogation, *were by the Custom of* Parliaments *to be justify'd, (which hath not been done hitherto) yet who that desires to maintain the Reputation of an Honest Man, would not have laid hold upon so plausible an occasion, to break Company, when it was grown so scandalous?* And then he assigns the matter of Scandal. *For it is too notorious* (says he) *to be conceal'd, that near a third part of the House have Beneficial Offices under his Majesty, &c.* Here's a great deal of business done in one Period. First, He pronounces this *Parliament* void, and consequently all their Proceedings to be Nullities. *Secondly*, He will

will not allow any man to be honeſt, that right or wrong would not improve the opportunity of breaking this *Parliament*. *Thirdly*, He makes *the Houſe of Commons* to be *ſcandalous Company, and ſcandalous for having Beneficial Offices under his Majeſty*. The firſt time that ever I heard the Kings Bounty was a Scandal to any man. But to my Point.

And yet (ſays he, p. 77.) *Theſe Gentlemen being full, and already in Employment, are more good natur'd, and leſs dangerous to the Publick, than thoſe that are hungry, and out of office, who may by probable Computation make* another third part of this Houſe of Commons. And a while after, *They are all of them*, he ſays, *to be bought, and ſold*. And when he goes on; (p. 78.) there is a third part ſtill remaining, *but as contrary in themſelves, as Light and Darkneſs. Theſe are either the worſt, or the beſt of men; The firſt are moſt profligate perſons*, &c. Concluding (p. 79.) That *it is leſs difficult to conceive how Fire was firſt brought to Light in the World, than how any thing good could ever be produc'd out of a Houſe of Commons ſo Conſtituted*. And (p. 149.) he calls them *this Houſe, or BARN of Commons*; treating the Members accordingly. *They liſt themſelves* (ſays he) *into ſome Court-Faction, and it is as well known among them to what Lord each of them retain, as when formerly they wore Coats and Badges*.

And he has not done with them yet neither; for nothing will do his Job, but a Final Diſſolution; *Conſidering*, (ſays he, pag. 81.) *how doubtful a Foot this long Parliament now ſtood upon by this long Prorogation, there could not have been a more* Legal, *or however, no more* Wiſe *and* Honeſt *a thing done, than for both the* Lords *and* Commons *to have* ſeparated themſelves, *&c.* I could wiſh that he had not appeal'd from the *Legality* of the thing, to the *Wiſdom* and *Honeſty* of it: But however Legal, or not Legal, the thing is to be done: for he knows very well, that ſo long as this Houſe of *Commons* continues in being, Rebellion can never turn up Trump again. *But it was otherwiſe order'd*, he ſays, and ſo he betakes himſelf to an Experiment of Tampering all the *Grand Juries* in *England, to Petition for a New Parliament*, upon the Credit of his Story concerning the Corruptions of this. Wherein by the foul Reflections he has paſt upon many Perſons of Known and Eminent Example, for Piety, Integrity, and Moderation, he has utterly

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ly disappointed the Malice of his Scandal upon the rest. It was well enough said, methoughe, by a Worthy Member of the House of *Commons*; *Do not you see*, says he, *how they have Libell'd me in that damn'd List of the Parliament-men?* One told him that he was mistaken, for his Name was not in't. *Why, that's the business*, says he, *for 'tis only a Libel upon those that are left out.* Nay, rather than fail, he does as good as advise a down-right Insurrection, (in these words, p. 155.) *It is now come to the fourth Act* (says he) *and the next Scene that opens, may be* Rome, *or* Paris, (by the Plot, it should be rather *Geneva*, or *Edinburgh*) *yet men sit by, like idle Spectators, and still give Money toward their own Tragedy.* And why does he blame them for *Sitting by?* And like *Idle* SPECTATORS? unless he would have them enter into *Tumult*, and *Action.* A very fair Encouragement to make men bestir themselves, and without more Ceremony, lay violent hands upon the Publick. Good God! That ever such a Creature as this should propound to himself by the dash of a Pen, to move the Foundations of the *English Government.*

From the *Parliament*, he descends to the *Judges. Alas!* (says he) *the Wisdom and Probity of the Law went off, for the most part, with* Good Sir Matthew Hales, *and Justice is made a meer Property.* And then he raves upon *the constant Irregularities, and Injustice from Term to Term, of those that administer the Judicature betwixt his Majesty, and his People* (p. 154.) *This Poysonous Arrow* (meaning the Choice of the Judges) *strikes to the very Heart of Government, and could come from no Quiver, but that of the* Conspirators. *What* French Counsel, *what* Standing Forces, *what* Parliamentary Bribes, *what* National Oaths, *and all the other Machinations of wicked men have not yet been able to effect, may be more compendiously acted by Twelve Judges in Scarlet* (p. 66.) And is not this directly 41 again? When no *Judges* would serve the turn, but those that betray'd the People to *Slavery*, and his *Sacred Majesty* to the *Scaffold*: He has another Fling at the *Sheriffs. If any Worthy Person* (says he, p. 80.) *chance to carry the Election, some Mercenary or Corrupt* Sheriff *makes a double Return*; and so the Cause is handed to the Committee of Elections, *&c.* And truly he does not give either the *King*, or the *Monarchy* of *England*, much better

ter Quarter than he allows the reſt; as you ſhall ſee by and by: So that nothing leſs than the *thorough Reformation* of 41. will do the work of 77. And the whole Frame of the Government muſt be unhing'd, to gratifie the Caprice of a Pragmatical *Male-content*.

The *Paſſion* and *Malice* of the Libeller is ſo evident, that he does half confeſs it himſelf, by an *Anticipation* of the *Charge*. *The Relator* (ſays he, pag. 155.) *foreſees that he ſhall on both hands be blam'd for purſuing this Method. Some on the one ſide will expect that the very Perſons ſhould have been nam'd: whereas he only gives Evidence to the Fact, and leaves the Malefactors to thoſe that have the Power of Enquiry.* If he can but acquit himſelf on the other hand for *writing the Libel*, as well as on this for not *naming the Perſons*, he will do well enough. For *firſt*; It is not his buſineſs to *prove*, but to *defame*. *Secondly*, The *naming* of *Particulars* would have reſtrain'd the Calumny: whereas his work is to wound *all the Kings Miniſters* that faithfully adhere to their Maſter in the *generality* of the *ſcandal*. *Thirdly*; He judges it ſafer, and more expedient to amuſe the multitude with *jealouſies* that cannot be *diſprov'd*, than point-blank to faſten upon *Particulars* an Accuſation that cannot be prov'd. What does he mean by ſaying that *he gives Evidence to the Fact*? It is the firſt *Libel* certainly that ever was given in *Evidence*. But where's the *Relator* himſelf all this while, upon whoſe bare word Parliaments are to be Diſſolv'd; Miniſters of State Arraign'd, Judges diſplac'd, and the whole Government new Modell'd? What if he ſhould appear, and be found at laſt to have been one of *Oliver*'s *Cabal?* Would any man deſire a more competent Witneſs for *Charles the Second*, than the *Murtherer* of *Charles the Firſt*? But he has been ſo us'd to call the King himſelf *Traytor*, that he may be allow'd to call his *Friends Conſpirators*.

On the other hand (ſays he, pag. 155.) *ſome will repreſent this Diſcourſe (as they do all Books that tend to detect their Conſpiracy againſt his Majeſty, and Kingdom) as if it were written againſt the Government. For now of late, as ſoon as any Man is gotten into Publick Employment by ill Acts, and by worſe continues it; he, if it pleaſe the Fates, is thenceforward the Government, and*

by being Criminal, pretends to be Sacred. This is only crying Whore first, to call those people *Conspirators*, who are likely to censure him for a *Libeller*; which with his Learned leave, is but a Course Figure neither; and runs much better in the *Common Billingsgate* of *You are a Knave your self to say that I'm one.* Which in few words is all that's in't. For he does not offer so much as one syllable in his Justification, but with another Lash or two at the Kings Ministers, winds up his Period. *Now of late*, says he, (he means, I suppose, since *Oliver* went out of Play) *as soon as any Man is gotten into Publick Employment by ill Acts, &c.* He should do well to consider who Governs, before he says that Villany is the ready way to Preferment; *He, if it please the Fates, is thenceforward the Government, and by being Criminal, pretends to be Sacred.* I answer, That in the Case of a Publick and Legal Accusation, the Minister is not the Government; for the Charge terminates in, and operates no further than his person; but in the Affront of a nameless, and Indefinite Libel, the King himself is wounded in a General Reflection upon his Ministers; for it is his Choice, and Commission, not the Officers Misdemeanour, that is there in Question: Nor does he pretend to be *Sacred* because he is *Criminal*; but the *Libeller* (who still writes after the *Remonstrance*) makes every thing *Criminal* that is *Sacred*, and gives the Construction of *Rebellion* to *Loyalty*, and of *Loyalty* to *Rebellion.*

But if there be not Mischief in the very Project of this Libel, there's nothing at all in't; for I cannot frame to my self the least colour, or possibility of any other End. He says, *It was his Design indeed* to give Information, *but not to turn* Informer. That is to say, he would set the people together by the Ears, and no body should know who did it. Now see the *End* he propounds. *That those* (says the Relator) *to whom he has only a Publick Enmity, no private Animosity, might have the Priviledge of States-men to repent at the last hour, and by one single Action to expiate all their former misdemeanours.* Which is e'en as Civil a way as a body would wish, of recommending a Publick Minister to his last Prayer. It remains now to speak a word to the *Timing* of his Enterprize, which, in a wicked sense, is in truth the Glory of it.

I ſhall not need to ſpeculate upon the Power, and Deſigns of *France*, the deplorable State of *Flanders*, or the Conſequences that muſt inevitably reflect upon *England* in the loſs of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*: the matter being agreed upon at all hands, that an Union of Affections, Counſels, and Intereſts, was never more neceſſary to this Nation than at this inſtant it is; and that *delay* is *Death* to us. This being given for granted, it is likewiſe as certain, that nothing under Heaven, but the Credit of this Sitting Parliament, and the Bleſſing of a Fair Underſtanding betwixt his Majeſty, and his Two Houſes, can preſerve this Kingdom, (Morally ſpeaking) from Irreparable Ruine. And yet this is the Critical Juncture that the Libeller has made choice of, for the blaſting both of the Government, and the Adminiſtration of it; for the violent Diſſolution even of this moſt neceſſary Parliament; for the ſowing of Jealouſies, and alienating the Peoples Hearts from their Duty to their Sovereign. Let the World now judge betwixt the *Libeller*, and the pretended *Conſpirators*; who are more probably the *Penſioners of France*; thoſe that are only *Calumniated* in the Dark, and without any *proof*, or the leaſt *colour* of it, or the *Calumniators themſelves*, (I mean, the *Libeller*, and his Adherents) who are doing all that is poſſible toward the Facilitating of the Work of *France*, and the putting of *England* out of Condition to defend it ſelf. What is it, I beſeech you, that can now ſupport us in this Exigent, but the Wiſdom and Reputation of a Parliament? which they are at this very inſtant, labouring to defame and diſſolve: diſtracting and dividing the Nation, at a time when our beſt Union is little enough to preſerve us; and obſtructing thoſe Parliamentary ſupplies, without which we muſt unavoidably periſh: For it is to this Seſſion, that the *Libeller* directs the *Mock* of *Still giving Money toward their own Tragedy*. But ſure we are not ſo mad yet, as to take the Subverters of our *Church* and *State*, for the *Advocates* of our *Religion* and *Freedom*. I would know, in the next place, What any man can ſay to excuſe his *Growth of Popery*, from being a *daring*, and a *ſpiteful Libel* againſt the King, and his *Government*. And I ſhall begin with the Liberties he takes with his Majeſty, ſometime in direct Terms, and otherwhile under the Blind of the *Conſpirators*.

Speaking of the Shutting up of the *Exchequer* (pag. 31.) *The Crown* (says he) *made Prize of the Subject, and broke all Faith, and Contract at Home, in order to the breaking of them abroad with more advantage.* The *Copy* has in this Point out-done the *Original*; for the *Remonstrants* were in *Arms*, before they presum'd to Word it at this audacious height. Take it in the Insolent Representation of the Fact; The malicious Construction and Presumption of the Intent; and to both these, add the sordid manner of Reflecting upon an extraordinary thing done upon an extraordinary occasion; and wherein the Subject has since received so ample and generous satisfaction; The Clamour is so foul, as if an *Egyptian Plague* were broken in upon us, and the *Frogs of Geneva crept into the King's Chambers.* And 'tis much at the same Rate, that, he Treats the King about his *Declaration of Indulgence*, (pag. 33.) *Hereby* (says he,) *all the Penal Laws against* Papists, *for which former Parliaments had given so many Supplies, and against* Non-conformists, *for which this Parliament had play'd more largely, were at one instant Suspended in order to defraud the Nation of all that Religion, which they had so dearly purchased, &c.* Observe here how ungratefully he charges the *Design* of this *Declaration* to be *the defrauding the Nation of their Religion*; which on the contrary was a manifest Concession, only to gratifie the restless Importunities of his own Gang. And see what sport he makes, but five or six Lines further, with the very Reason of that Law which he takes here so hainously to be suspended. *It appears* (says he) *at the first sight, that Men ought to enjoy the same Propriety and Protection in their* Consciences, *which they have in their* Lives, Liberties, *and* Estates; *But that to take away these in Penalty for the other, is meerly a more Legal and Gentile Way of Padding upon the Road of Heaven; and that it is only for want of* Money, *and for want of* Religion, *that men take these desperate Courses.* Now, by his Favour, there is a great Disparity betwixt a Pretence to *Propriety*, and *Protection* in *Consciences*, and a Pretence to them, in *Lives*, *Liberties*, and *Estates*; for the Latter are lyable to *Violence*, and may be taken away, but the *other cannot.* And now he talks of *Padding* upon this *Road*; The *Remonstrants* (as I remember) were very good at it, *That drove away from their Churches*, 85 *Ministers, of* 97, *within the Walls of* London. We'll agree in the matter with him, that *want of Money, and want of Religion, will put Men upon desperate Courses*; for my

my charity perſwades me, *He would never have written theſe Libels elſe.* He is a little poſitive, methinks, in Averring that a Great Lord loſt his Place for defending the *Proteſtant Religion*, (pag. 44.) But he has forgotten the Statute of his own *Citing*, (pag. 15.) that makes it *Incapacity*, for ſaying that the *the King is a Papiſt, or an Introducer of Popery*; and that it was the King himſelf that remov'd his Lordſhip. And what do you think of his *Irony* (pag. 43.) where he ſays, That the Parliament *by* the Conſpirators *good Leave, was admitted to ſit again at the day appointed.* He tells us of another Affair too, pag. 51; *which being tranſmitted to his Majeſty, was eaſily chang'd into a* Court Intrigue; and (pag. 63.) That *the Conſpirators might ſo repreſent things to his Majeſty, as to incenſe againſt the Parliament, and diſtruſting all Parliamentary Advice, to take Councel from* Themſelves, *from* France, *and from* Neceſſity.

In this Diſloyal and irreverent Licence, he drops you a word or two now and then, before he is aware, againſt the *King himſelf*; and other whiles, diſcharges his Malice to the *Government*, upon the Heads of *Publick Miniſters.* The Subject Matter of his Complaint is a Tendency of Counſels and Actions towards *Tyranny*, and *Popery.* But *the King* (ſays he, pag. 4.) *can do no wrong*; and ſo goes on, *nor can he receive wrong.* What is this, but a Juſtification of all the Violences that were acted upon the late *King*; even to the very Murther of him; under that Mortal, and Treaſonous Diſtinction betwixt his *Authority* and his *Perſon?* And an Allowance, that the ſame Courſe may be taken with his Royal Succeſſours? *The King can receive no wrong*; (he ſays) What does he mean by this? Is not his Majeſties Breath in his Noſtrils? Is he not Fleſh and Bloud? Is not his Body lyable to Wounds, Diſtempers, Impriſonment, and Death? He'll tell you, *Yes*; But this is not the *KING*, but the *MAN*, the *PERSON*: But the *KING*, all this while, that is to ſay, the *Authority*, is Sacred and Invulnerable.

Now for Peace, and Brevity ſake, Let us ſuppoſe that this Charge of a *Popiſh*, and *Arbitrary Deſign*, does neither intend nor reflect any imputation upon his Majeſty; (his Religion, and his Tenderneſs of Nature being unqueſtionable) It is yet *a worſe Libel another way.* Worſe (I ſay) both as to the *Drift*, and to the

the *Scandal* of it, by how much *Contempt* is more dangerous to a Prince, than *Hatred*: For he employes his utmoſt Skill to Repreſent his Majeſty only *Paſſive* in all his *Adminiſtrations*, and ſo to leſſon the indubitable Fame of his Royal Prudence, and Courage among his People.

You ſee, *Sir*, the Freedom he takes with the *King* and his *Miniſters*; The next Point, will be to enquire, how he ſtands affected to the *Government* it ſelf. *The Subjects* (ſays he, pag. 3.) *retain their Proportion in the* Legiſlature. In which ſaying, he makes them *Partners of the Sovereignty*; and turns the *Monarchy* of *England* into a *Tripartite* and *Coordinate Government*; which is as well deſtructive of *Parliaments*, on the One Hand, as of *Royalty* on the Other. Upon the Admittance of this *Coordination*, any *Two* of the *Three* may deſtroy the *Third*: the *Two Houſes* may deſtroy the *King*, and the *King*, with *Either* of the *Houſes*, may deſtroy the *Other*. Which if it be ſo, what Prince that is Imperial in the *Intervals*, would ever hazard the Dethroning of himſelf by a *Seſſion*? *The making of Laws is a peculiar and incommunicable Privilege of the Supreme Power*, and the Office of the *Two Houſes* in this Caſe is only *Conſultive*, or *Preparatory*; but the Character of *Power* reſts in the Final *Sanction*, which is in the *King*: And Effectually the Paſſing of a *Bill*, is but the granting of a *Requeſt*: The *Two Houſes* make the *Bill*; 'tis true, but the *King* makes the *Law*; and 'tis the *Stamp*, not the *Matter*, that makes it *Current*: Nor does the *Subject* any otherwiſe make *Laws*, then the *Petitioner* makes *Orders of Council*.

It is a Suſpicious, and Ill-looking Paſſage that he has, *pag.* 14. *As to Matter of Government*, ſays he; *If to murther the King, be (certainly it is) a Fact ſo horrid*, (he does not ſay how horrid) *how much more hainous is it to Aſſaſſinate the Kingdom?* Here is firſt involv'd in this Clauſe, the *Depoſing Poſition* of 41, that the King is *Singulis major*, *Univerſis minor*: For it is clear that the *Compariſon* was only made to draw on the *Preference*, and to poſſeſs the People that they have a greater Prize at Stake in the hazard of their *Religion*, than in the *Tye* of their *Civil Obedience*. (the very *Tranſlation* ſtill of 41.) And for their further Encouragement, he tells them (pag. 4.) that *we have the ſame Right (modeſtly underſtood) in our Propriety, that the Prince hath in his Regality*;

Regality: which carries with it an *Innuendo*, that the *King* may as well Forfeit his *Crown*, as the *Subject* his *Free-hold*. It cannot be imagin'd that all these Leading and Desperate Hints should fall from a Man of Brains and Sense by Chance; and you see the whole Tract takes the same Byas.

No King of England (says he, pag. 58.) *had ever so great a Treasure of his Peoples affections, except what those ill men have (as they have done all the rest) consum'd; whom, but out of an Excess of Love to his person, the Kingdom would never (for it never did formerly) so long have suffer'd.* Here's still the Crocodile of 41. nothing but Love and Reverence to his late Majesty too, till his Head was off. But let us reason the matter in a word. *These ill men* have no *Names*, it seems; so that any Man that's near the King, is by this Libeller set up for a Mark to the Outrage of the people. And then he says, *The Kingdom would never have suffer'd them.* Who are they, I pray, that he calls the *Kingdom*, but the *Rabble* still of 41. the Execrable *Instruments* of *that Rebellion*, and the *Hopes* of *another*? But if the *Kingdom* would not suffer it, what would he have them do to help themselves? The Law is open, in Case of any Legal Impeachment, and 'tis too early days yet for a Tumult.

In his Descant upon the Test, he is wonderfully free of his Figures. *Never* (says he, pag. 59.) *was so much Sense contain'd in so few words; no Conveyancer could ever in more Compendious, or binding Terms, have drawn a Dissettlement of the whole Birthright of* England. This Test has made a great noise, and it will be worth the while to examine what is said against it. The Form of it is as follows.

I A.B. *do declare that it is not lawful upon any pretence whatsoever to take up Arms against the King; and that I do abhor that Trayterous Position of taking Arms by his Authority, against his Person, or against those that are Commission'd by him in Pursuance of such Commission. And I do swear that I will not at any time endeavour the alteration of the Government, either in Church or State. So help me God.*

He

He ſays, pag. 57. That *it was thrown out of the Houſe in the Plague-year at* Oxford, *for fear of a general Infection of the Vitals of this Kingdom*; whereas in truth, it was *brought into the Houſe* as an *Antidote* againſt that *Poyſon* which had ſeiz'd the *Vitals* of this *Kingdom* already; and amounts to no more than the *Unſwearing* of that on the *behalf* of the Government, which had been formerly ſworn for the *deſtruction* of it. The Author of *A Letter from a Perſon of Quality, &c.* calls it, p. 1. *STATE-MASTER-PIECE*, and deſign'd to theſe Ends. *Firſt, To make a diſtinct Party, from the reſt of the Nation, of the High Epiſcopal Man, and the Old Cavalier.* Now I took it rather to be a Deſign of *Uniting* all Parties, under one Common Bond of Duty, and Obedience to the Government: And where that could not be obtain'd, to diſtinguiſh who were for the Government, and who againſt it; for the late King was murther'd upon this very Diſtinction betwixt his *Authority* and his *Perſon*. Nor is there any Government upon the Face of the Earth, without ſome Obligation upon the Subject, Equivalent to this Teſt.

Next, ſays he, *they deſign to have the Government of the Church ſworn to as* Unalterable, *and ſo Tacitly own'd to be of Divine Right*. This, under favour, is a Fallacy. The Teſt does not concern it ſelf, whether the Government be Changeable, or not, but only provides that the State may be ſerv'd with Magiſtrates and Officers, that ſtand well Affected to the Eſtabliſhment. Thoſe that do ſo, will never ſcruple the Oath; and for thoſe that do not, it is the very intent of it to diſcriminate, and to exclude them: And to encounter the *Covenant*, by Virtue of which they diſſolv'd the *late Government*, with an *Oath* never to endeavour any further *Alteration* in *this*. And certainly, a man may better ſwear the *Maintaining* of a Government *according* to the *Law*, than the *alteration* of it *againſt* Law.

Thirdly, ſays the Author of the Letter, *In Requital to the Crown, they declare the Government* Abſolute, *and* Arbitrary, *and allow* Monarchy, *as well as* Epiſcopacy, *to be* Jure Divino, *and not to be bounded, or limited by Humane Laws.*

How

How *this Teſt* does either declare, or pretend the *Government* to be *abſolute*, and *arbitrary*, I cannot imagine: But on the contrary, every man is ty'd by it from endeavouring to make it ſo, if it be not ſo already, in *Swearing that he will not any time endeavour the* Alteration *of it*. And then in his Explication of the meaning of *Church*, and *State* in the *Teſt*, by *Monarchy* and *Epiſcopacy* in his *Reflection* upon it; he has done us a greater kindneſs than he was aware of; for he has wholly diſappointed the Spight, and the Intent of his next Clauſe. *And* (as he goes on) *to ſecure all this, They reſolve to take away the Power and Opportunity of* Parliaments; *to alter any thing in Church or State, only leave them as an Inſtrument to raiſe* Money, *and to paſs ſuch Laws, as the Court, and Church ſhall have a mind to: The Attempt of any other, how neceſſary ſoever, muſt be no leſs a Crime than Perjury.*

See now whether or no this be fair dealing. It is, by his own Confeſſion, the *Form* of *Monarchy*, and the *Order* of *Epiſcopacy*; The *Government* it ſelf, and not the *Adminiſtration* of it, that is here in Queſtion. He would have it believ'd, That by this Teſt, *Parliaments* are barr'd upon pain of *Perjury* from *attempting* any *Alteration IN Church OR State*: Whereas they are left at Liberty to debate what Alterations they pleaſe in the *Parts* of the Government, provided they do not ſtrike at the *Root* of the Government it ſelf. And the Deliberation and Reſult of the whole matter, is no more than this. Many of the People (and all the Principles) are yet living, that deſtroy'd the King, and the Biſhops in the laſt Rebellion: Let us have a Care of the ſame Hands again, and truſt none of them in the Government but under an Oath; not to endeavour the *Alteration* of it: That is to ſay, of the *Monarchy* into a *Republick*; or of *Epiſcopacy* into *Presbytery*, as they did before. And this was the clear Scope of the Teſt.

The Author of the *Growth of Popery*, diſcourſing upon this Subject; *There is nothing* (ſays he, pag. 57) *more Portentous, and of worſe Omen, than when ſuch an Oath hangs over a Nation like a New Comet, foreboding the Alteration of Religion or Government.*

A Word first to the *Oath*, which, for want of an *Epithete* to expres's the heinousnes's of it; The *Libeller* so Emphatically calls *SUCH an Oath.* It is an *Oath* founded upon the same consideration with the *Oath* of *Allegiance*, and directed to the same End; and every jot as necessary under this King, as that was under his Grand-father. The *Jesuited Papists* had invited the *Spaniard* to Invade *England*: The *Jesuited Protestants* in the late Rebellion did in like manner apply themselves to the *French.* The *Former* laid a Plot for the Blowing up of the *Parliament*; The *Other* executed the Plot of destroying *Parliaments*, changing the *Government*, and murthering the *King.* The People were misled in the *One* Case, upon the *Jesuitical* Principle, that a Prince being Excommunicate by the *Pope*, the Subject is discharg'd of his Duty to him; and they were seduced in the *other*, by a Persuasion that the Sacred Character of a *King* Rests in the *Authority*, and is separable from the Person: which *Authority* they lodg'd in the *Two Houses*, and so did their Business. This Practice of the *Jesuites* occasion'd the *Oath* of *Allegiance* in the Statute 30 *Jacobi*, Entitled *an Act for the discovering and Repressing of* Popish *Recusants.* In which Oath you have this Clause. *And I do further swear that I do from my heart detest and abjure, as impious and Heretical, this damnable Doctrine, and Position, That Princes which be Excommunicated, or deprived by the Pope, may be deposed or Murther'd by their Subjects, or any other whatsoever.* Here was an *Act* for the *Discovering* and *Repressing of Popish Recusants, with an Oath, under a Penalty, and a Declaration against, and an Abhorrence of* that impious Position, whereupon the Treasons of those Times were founded: And why not a Provision as well against those People that with premeditated Malice, aswell as Ambition, overturn'd the late Government; and against that Principle of dividing his Majesties *Authority* from his *Person*, which was the Countenance and Support of the late Rebellion: Take it in short, and the *Test* is but a Supplement to the *Oath* of *Allegiance.* The *Scottish* Faction impos'd upon the People that they might be true to the *King*, though they Levy'd Arms against his *Person*: and the end of this Oath is only to expound *That Position* to be *Treasonous*, and to secure the Government for the future against men of such Principles; according to equity and conscience, and to the common practice; and according to the prudence of all well-order'd States.

Is this the Oath now that he calls *SUCH an Oath?* The Oath, *than which there is nothing more* Portentous, *and of worse* Omen *to a Nation?* He has forgotten the *Fore-boding*, and *Portentous Omens* of *Forty One*, and the Dire Events of those Presages. What do you think of a deliberate Design, to spoil the *Crown*, the *Church*, and the *Subject*: And all this in the Name of *God*, for the Honour of the *King*, and the Good of the *People*? And then the Entitling of Providence to all the Advantages that the Faction got by the Ruine of *Three Kingdoms?* Here's the unrepented Guilt of *Sacriledge*, *Treason*, and *Bloud*, to the Highest Degree, and so Transcendent an *Ingratitude*, that some of the very men that were pardon'd for one Rebellion, are now the Advocates for another. If these Practices should be suffer'd, there would be no need to consult the Stars for a Prognostick of Change of Government.

The *Oaths* (says he, pag. 58.) *in our late Kings time taught the* Phanaticks, *because they could not swear, yet to Covenant.* His memory fails him, I perceive, for the *Covenant* was a-foot in *Scotland* before any *Oaths* complain'd of here; by the Token that the Assembly at *Glasgow*, in 1638. came to this Resolution upon the point. *It is lawful for Subjects to Covenant and Combine, without the King, and enter into a Bond of mutual Defence against him.* Take notice next, that the *Oath* complain'd of, was the Oath *ex Officio*, which Oath was abolish'd, before any *Covenanting* in *England:* And he is so much out again, in saying that the *Phanaticks Covenanted*, &c. *because they could not swear*, that in truth *they Covenanted, because they car'd not* what *they swore.* Witness their *Covenants*, *Negative Oaths*, and Oath of *Abjuration*, in Opposition to their *Oaths* of *Allegiance*, and *Canonical Obedience*: There was no *Compounding*, no living in their *Quarters*, without *Swearing*. There was an *Oath*, given at a Communion at *Fife*, obliging people not to take the Kings Covenant; And *it was one Condition upon the Treaty at the Isle of* Wight, *that his Majesty himself should give assurance by* Solemn Oath *under his Hand, and Seal, for settling Religion according to the Covenant*: So that they made no Conscience (you see) either of *Swearing*, or *Forswearing*; either of *taking* Oaths *themselves*, or of *forcing them* upon *others* for the advancement of their Design.

He takes Exception (pag. 59.) to the *two Declaratory Points* of the *Teſt*. Firſt, That *it is not lawful upon any pretence whatſoever, to take up Arms againſt the King*. And he reaſons the matter in theſe words: *It were difficult to inſtance a Law, either in this, or other Country, but that a private man, if any King in Chriſtendom aſſault him, may, having Retreated to the Wall, ſtand upon his Guard.* That is to ſay, a private man may kill his Prince in his own Defence. For he puts this Caſe in oppoſition to the Declaration; only tranſlating the *taking up of Arms againſt the King*, into a Man's *Standing upon his Guard*. All that's honeſt in't is this, that he refuſes to declare that to be *unlawful*, which he holds to *be lawful*.

His ſecond Scruple is, *The Abhorrence of that Trayterous Poſition of taking Arms by his* Authority, *againſt his* Perſon, *or againſt thoſe that are* Commiſſioned *by him, in purſuance of ſuch* Commiſſion. *Here* (ſays he) *is neither Tenour, or Rule of any ſuch* Commiſſion *ſpecifi'd, nor the Qualification of thoſe which ſhall be Armed with ſuch* Commiſſions, *expreſſed, or limited.*

The Author of this Frivolous Shift, knows very well, that the *Rules* and *Meaſures* of *Commiſſions* vary according to the Circumſtances of *Time, Place, Fact, Perſon*; that the *Qualification* of the *Commiſſioner* does not at all operate upon the *Authority* of the *Commiſſion*; and that if the *Bill* were drawn out to the length of the *Book of Martyrs*, there would not yet be room enough to obviate all Cavils, and Objections. But in the next Page, he ſpeaks his mind a little plainer.

As to the Commiſſion, (ſays he) *if it be to take away a Man's Eſtate, or his Life by force, yet it is the Kings Commiſſion: or if the Perſon Commiſſionate be under never ſo many Diſabilities by Acts of Parliament; yet his taking this Oath, removes all thoſe Incapacities, or his Commiſſion makes it not diſputable.*

This Seditious Hint (for I cannot call it an Argument) lies open ſo many ways, that I am only at a loſs where to begin with it. Firſt, Let the *Commiſſion*, and *Commiſſioner* be what they will, *no Man is to be a Judge in his own Cauſe*; but the *Law* muſt be the *Judge* both of the *Legality* of the *one*, and the

the *Capacity* of the *other*. Secondly, If upon this ground *an injur'd Perſon* may take Arms, in *one* Caſe; ſo may a *Criminal*, upon the bare *pretence* of it in any *other*: For 'tis but ſaying that the *Commiſſion is unwarrantable*, or that *the Officer is a Raſcal*, and there's his Juſtification. Thirdly, Suppoſe a *double abuſe* in Manner, as is here ſuggeſted; that *abuſe* does not yet void the *Authority*, to which the Law on the *one* ſide requires *obedience*, or at leaſt *ſubmiſſion*; and there is no Law, on the *other ſide*, that allows *reſiſtance*. Fourthly, The End and Proſpect of all Laws is Publick Convenience, and there was never any Law invented, ſo profitable to a *Community*, but it was in ſome reſpect or other, to the detriment of ſome *particulars*: So that the very admittance of his ſuppoſitions, does not at all affect the Reaſon of the *Teſt*, if the *benefit* be *general* on the *one* hand, and the *Miſchief* only *particular* on the *other*. How many men are ſworn out of their Lives and Fortunes by *falſe Witneſſes?* Shall we therefore quarrel the Method of proceeding *Secundum Allegata, & Probata?* A man is arreſted upon a Fobb'd Action, for a ſum of Money, knowing firſt, that he owes not a Peny: Secondly, that the Conſequence of it will be his Ruine: Thirdly, that the Action is meerly Malicious: And fourthly, (to make it ſtrong enough) that the Officer that ſerves the Writ is Confederate with his Adverſary, and that they have both complotted his deſtruction: All this will not yet Authorize a reſiſtance; but if an Officer that has the *Kings Writ*, or any other lawful Warrant, though *Erroneous*, ſhall be ſlain in the Execution of it, this is *MURTHER*. A word now as to the occaſion of it.

The People of 41. when they had forced his Majeſty from his Palace, by Affronts and Arm'd Tumults, publiſh'd this Doctrine to the Nation, that though his *Perſon* was gone, his *Authority* reſided in the *two Houſes*: under which colour they impoſed *Ordinances* upon the people, for *Laws*, and by Degrees proceeded to an Exerciſe of all the Acts of *Sovereignty*; making War againſt the *Perſon* of the King, and thoſe that were *Commiſſion'd* by him, under the pretence aforeſaid: as *Rebellious*, *Traytors*, and *Conſpirators*. Now to prevent the *ſame Miſchief* again, from the *ſame Principles*, it was thought fit to propoſe this *Declaration* of *Abhorrence*. The Objections againſt

gainſt it are, that *the King may grant a Commiſſion to take away a Man's Life, or Eſtate, and imploy any man at a venture to execute it*: which is Firſt, The ſuppoſal of an *unjuſt*, and *Tyrannical Commiſſion*: Secondly, A Caſe ſo *rare*, that it would be a hard matter to produce a *Precedent* for it, without a Reference to a Tryal at Law: And Thirdly, What would be the Fruit of ſuch a *Reſiſtance*, but the turning of an *Oppreſſion* on the *one* ſide, into a *Rebellion* on the other; and the *forfeiting* of that *Life*, and *Eſtate* to the *Law*, which was otherwiſe invaded *contrary* to the Law? For 'tis a thouſand to one that the power that iſſu'd the Commiſſion, will find Aſſiſtants to Execute it. So that the Reſiſtance pleaded for in this Caſe, is Firſt, of a very remote Suppoſition: Secondly, of dangerous Conſequence to the Reſiſtent: And Thirdly, of no Avail to him at all.

If we may not *reſiſt* (ſays the Faction) under theſe Circumſtances, our Lives, Liberties, and Eſtates are at the Kings Mercy; for that which may be one Mans caſe, may be any mans: And ſo becauſe of this poſſibility of wrong to particulars, we judge it reaſonable, that every particular man ſhould be allow'd to defend himſelf. See now the Inconvenience, which upon the allowance of this Liberty in favour of Particulars, will redound to the Publick.

An honeſt man is charg'd with Treaſon in the Kings Name, and by his Majeſties Order to be taken into Cuſtody, and by an Officer too, under what *diſabilities* you pleaſe. Here's the whole Caſe. *An Innocent Perſon*; *Life*, *Liberty*, and *Eſtate* at ſtake, and an *Unqualifi'd Commiſſioner*. If *one* man may *reſiſt*, becauſe he is *Innocent*, *another* upon the ſame pretence may *reſiſt* too, although he be *Guilty*. For no man under a Charge, is either Guilty, or Innocent in the Eye of the Law, till he be Legally, either Convicted, or Acquitted. So that the *Innocent*, and the *Guilty*, are to be try'd indifferently by the *ſame Law*, and ſo are the pretended Errours either in the Commiſſion, or *Commiſſioner*. Take matters once out of the Channel of *Tryal by our Peers*, there's an end of *Magna Charta*; and the Government it ſelf is bceome Paſſive, and Precarious. Will you have the true Reaſon now, why this *Abhorrence* goes

ſo

ſo much againſt the hair with ſome People? The *Poſition* is to be *Cheriſh'd*, and kept in Countenance, till the time comes for putting it in *Practice.*

No man can be ſo blind, as not to diſcern by the correſpondent Motions of the *Conſiſtorians* in *Scotland*, and the *Scottiſh Engliſh*, that they act already by *Concert*; and it is as plain by this bold and adventurous way of Libels all on the ſudden, that they depend upon *France* for a *Second*: Which is no more than was done in the late Rebellion, by the ſame Faction, as appear'd by a Letter of the Lord *Lowdens* to the *French King*, for his Protection and Aſſiſtance, for which he was committed to the *Tower*; and it was alſo confirm'd by the Fourth Article againſt the Five Members, accuſing them to have *Trayterouſly invited and encourag'd a Forreign Power to invade his Majeſties Kingdom of* England. *Husband's* Collections, p. 35. Theſe are the *French Penſioners*, and the *Betrayers* of our *Religion* and *Freedom*, under *Oaths*, and *Covenants* to *preſerve* them. Were not our Divines Pillag'd, Sequeſtred, Impriſon'd, either for praying for his Majeſty, or for refuſing to Abjure him? How many Reverend Divines were poyſon'd in *Peter-Houſe?* I could give you the Hiſtory of their *Spiriting* away ſeveral *Perſons of Honour* for *Slaves*; *their Sale of three or fourſcore Gentlemen to the* Barbadoes: Their *Sequeſtrations*, *Decimations*, *Excluſion* from all *Offices*, *Plunders*, *Baniſhments*, *Confinements*, *Prohibition of Correſpondence with the King*, upon pain of Death: The Juggles of the *Iriſh Adventures*; *Money, and Plate* upon the *Propoſitions*; *Confiſcated Eſtates*; *Twentieth Parts*, *Weekly Aſſeſſments*, and a hundred other Pecuniary, and Arbitrary Stratagems, till they finiſh'd the ruine of the Nation, in the Diſſolution of the Government, and in the Bloud of their *Sovereign.*

THE END.

TYRANNY
AND
POPERY
Lording it Over the
CONSCIENCES, Lives, Liberties,
AND
ESTATES
BOTH OF
KING
AND
PEOPLE.

By *Roger L'Eſtrange.*

The Second Edition.

LONDON,
Printed for *Henry Brome*, at the *Gun* at the Weſt
End of St. *Paul's* Church-Yard, 1681.

TYRANNY

HORRY

CONSCRIPTS,

LIVES, LIBERTIES,

AND

PROPERTIES

OF

KING

AND

PEOPLE

TYRANNY AND POPERY

Lording it over the Conſciences, Liberties, and Eſtates both of *King* and *People*.

To all thoſe that Love either their *Religion*, their *Prince*, their *Country*, or Themſelves.

THIS, *and no leſs than All This, is the Import of the Matter in Queſtion. The* Government *is charg'd by a* Faction *to be* Tyrannically, *and* Popiſhly Affected; *and This Pamphlet is to Prove, that the very* Faction *which charges This upon the* Government, *is in all Matters* Eccleſiaſtical *and* Civil, Publick *and* Particular, *the great* Impoſer, *and* Uſurper it ſelf.

But before I enter upon the Subject, I do here previouſly Swear by the Hopes of a Chriſtian, *that I am not mov'd to this Diſcourſe by any Byaſs, either of* Partiality, *or* Faction; *That I have no Averſion to the* Party, *any further than as I find them the* Mortal Enemies *of our* Government, Laws *and* Freedoms; *and that in the Proſecution of this Argument, I will not Preſs one Syllable, (according to the beſt of my Skill, and Knowledge) beyond the ſtrict Limits of* Truth, *and* Reaſon; *My Purpoſe being only to Uncover the Pit, that the Unwary may not a ſecond time run Headlong into the ſame*

Precipice. I shall begin with the Platform *of the* Scottish Presbytery, *and shew you the* Soveraign, *and* Unaccomptable Power *which that* Judicatory *claims to it self. My next work will be, to observe the Harmony betwixt* Simeon *and* Levi; Their Consistorians, *and* Ours, *in the* Frame, *and* Scope *of their* Discipline. *In the next place, we'll Compare their* Positions, *and then conclude, with a View of their* Usurpations, Arbitrary Practices, *and* Proceedings: *and all This, extracted from the Undeniable Memorials, and Records of the Times, and Actions, whereof we are about to Treat; and in as few words as may be, to speak Home to it, and Clear.*

The Platform of the Scottish *Presbytery.*

THe *Presbyterial Government* has *Four Judicatories. A Parochial Session; A Presbyterial Consistory; A Provincial Synod;* and *A General Assembly.*

The *Parochial Session* is constituted of One *Minister*, or more with a Competent number of *Lay-Elders* (their *Presbyteri non Docentes*) and *Deacons*. It meets once a Week, or oftner, if there be occasion, and takes Cognizance of all *Parochial Cases* concerning *External Order*, and *Censure*. If there be but One Minister in the Parish, he is Constant *Moderatour*: If More, they take their Turns as they can agree upon't; and they are all of them Equal in Honour, and Jurisdiction. There passes no Act without the Joynt Consent of the *Minister*, *Lay-Elders*, and *Deacons*; or *Plurality of Votes*; and Note, that the *Minister* has no *Casting Voice*. The Power of *Binding*, or *Loosing*; of *Censures Ecclesiastical*; and of *External Order*, and *Worship*, is Radically, and Equally in all; So that the *Lay-Elders*, and *Deacons* have as much *the Power of the Keys*, as the *Ministers*.

To support this Jurisdiction, they have their *Four Sacred Orders*, which they challenge to be of *Divine Right*. First, Their *Preaching Elders* (whom they call *Ministers*.) Secondly, Doctors (or University Professors.) Thirdly, *Lay*, or *Ruling Elders*, who have as much Authority in the Debate, and Decision of Matters of Faith, Worship, Polity, Ecclesiastical Censures; as the *Preaching-Elders*. Fourthly, *Deacons*. Take notice that their *Lay-Elders*, and *Deacons* are *Annual*, and consequently one Year Sacred, and another Profane.

This

This *Session* meddles only with things *Parochial*, as the Ordering of the *Parish-Church*, and *Peculiar Service*; the *Censure* of *Lesser Scandals*; as Fornication, Drunkenness, Scolding, Sabbath-breaking, *&c.* And in difficult Cases, they apply themselves to the *Presbytery*.

In their *Censures*, they impose *Civil Punishments*, and *Fines*; they Imprison Offenders at pleasure; Cart them through the Town; set them in Pillories; Shave one half of their Heads; Cut off their Beards: Nay, they take upon them by their own Authority to *Banish* whom they *please* out of the Bounds of the Parish; which is a direct Usurpation of *Soveraign Power*: In Case of a Pecuniary Mulct inflicted, or of a Child born in Fornication, they will not allow the Infant to be Baptiz'd, if either of the Parents have not paid the Fine, or secur'd it, or satisfi'd the Church.

The *Presbytery* is next; and it is made up in some places, of *More*, in others, of *Fewer Parishes*, and the King himself is not Exempt from the Power, and Jurisdiction of this *Consistory*; nor in Effect from the Authority of the very *Parochial Session*, living within the Precinct, either of the One, or of the Other. This *Judicatory* is Compos'd of all the *Parochial Ministers* within its Compass, and a *Lay-Elder* for *Each Parish*: so that the *Lay-Elders* are Equal to the *Preaching-Elders* both in Number, and Power; and a Botchers Vote goes as far under that Capacity, in Divine Matters, as the Voice of the most Reverend, and Learned of the Clergy; only a *Lay-Elder* cannot properly be a *Moderatour*; tho' in several Cases they have dispens'd with that Scruple.

This Court takes Cognizance First, Of what is *Referr'd*, or *Presented* to them from every *Individual Parish*. 2. Of all *Capital Crimes*, and *Scandals* of the Highest Degree. 3. Of such Offences as fall under the Censure of *Excommunication*. 4. Of all *Appeals* from *Sessions*. 5. Of all Differences that cannot be Compos'd, or Determin'd in the *Parochial Conclave*. 6. Of the *Visitation*, and *Censure* of what's amiss in *every Parish*, either in *Preacher*, or *Other*. 7. Of the appointing of *Readers*, and *Schoolmasters*.

They meet commonly once a Week, or a Fortnight; at which Meetings, all the Ministers, in their Turns, *Exercise* (as they call it) in the expounding, and applying of Texts of Scripture: In these *Exercises* they have a sort of People which they call *Expectants* of such or such a *Presbytery*, who are Licensed to Preach

in

in any Parish-Church within its Bounds. These *Expectants* have usually some smattering in Divinity; as Country-School-Masters, or the like: and they are Authoriz'd to do all *Ministerial Acts*, except *Baptizing*, or Administring the *Lord's Supper*; without *Holy Orders*, *Imposition of Hands*, or any Qualification for the Sacred Function. There are more or fewer Presbyteries in a County, according to the Number of Parishes; but all of them Independent one from another: If the King himself be Cited, he must *Appear*, or be *Excommunicate* for *Contempt*; and submit his Earthly Scepter to their *Scepter of Christ*, as they term it, and from thence, receive *Christ's Laws* and *Ordinances*. As no *Person* is Exempt, so neither is any *Crime* whatsoever that is either Committed, or suspected to be Committed within the Limits of their Jurisdiction; but they hook it in, as *scandalous to a Christian Profession*.

A *Provincial Synod* is an *Associate Body* of the *Commissioners* chosen out of all the *Individual Presbyteries*, within the Precinct of the Province: they meet twice or thrice a year, and Exercise an Over-ruling power over all the *Prebyteries* within that Province, in such manner as the *Presbytery* superintends the *Parochial Session*. In this *Judicatory* the Leading men of the Faction lay their Heads together; form their Projects; and when the *Commissioners* return from hence to their several *Presbyteries*, they intimate to the particular Ministers what Points they are to Preach upon, for the Advancement of those Designs.

The *General Assembly* is *Soveraign*, and *Independent*: Hither lies *the Last Appeal*, and the Jurisdiction of it is Universal in what concerns *Ecclesiastical Matters*, and *Persons*, or *Temporals* in Order to *Spirituals*. They look upon themselves as immediately entrusted by *Christ*, and to Him only do they hold themselves Accomptable. Whosoever does not obey this Soveraignty, (tho' the King himself) he is to be Excommunicate, and the Nobility, Gentry, Collective Body; nay, every Individual person is to assist to the Compelling, Censuring, and Punishing of him to the utmost of his power. So that the King himself is at their Command, and to order the Execution of their Censures, in Estate, Body, Life, and Death.

To this *Judicatory Two Preaching Elders*, and a *Lay-Elder* are sent as *Commissioners* from every *Presbytery* in the Kingdom; so that

that the Clergy have thus far two to one: but then reckoning that every *Borough*, and *Corporation* ſends *One Commiſſioner*, and the *Univerſities*, and *Colledges their Commiſſioners* too, which are moſt of them *Lay-men*, this *Aſſembly of the Kirk* is turn'd into a *Council of State*.

The *King* himſelf is alſo a Member of this *Aſſembly*, either *Perſonally* by *Himſelf*, or *Virtually* by his *Commiſſioner*; but without a Negative Voice, or any Power there, beyond that of a *Lay-Elder*: the Major part carryes it, and whatſoever they Vote, (tho' againſt the Kings Opinion, and Conſcience) he is bound to ſee it put in Execution, upon pain of being *Excommunicate*, and *Depos'd* from his *Government*. And if any thing be propos'd in this Aſſembly, as *Spiritual*, (tho' never ſo hazardous to the Crown) if they tell you that it is for *Chriſt's Glory*, there's no oppoſing of it in favour of the Publick Peace, or State. The proper *Preſident* is a *Preaching Elder*, and this *Judicatory* they account as *Chriſt's higheſt Tribunal upon Earth*, from whence there lies no *Appeal*. They are oblig'd to meet once a year, and they Indict, and Adjourn themſelves by their own power, without allowing the King to appoint either the Time, or the Place, only if there be any Occaſion of meeting before the time ſet, their Commiſſioners give an account of it to the King.

The ſteps by which they mounted to this Arbitrary Juriſdiction were, A *Diſlike*, Firſt, Of the *Church-Government*; Secondly, Of the *Church-Governours*. Thirdly, They propos'd a *Reformation* after the *Geneva*-Copy; which not being admitted, Fourthly, They fram'd a Model of their Own. And laſtly; by Fraud, Violence, and Rebellion they Impos'd it upon the Nation.

The Engliſh *Presbytery*.

THis was the Method alſo, and the Deſign of the *Engliſh Diſciplinarians*, under Queen *Elizabeth*, as appears by the Records of thoſe times, tho' many particulars of the Conſpiracy were never brought to Light. The Examples of *Geneva* and *Scotland*, were at every turn preſs'd upon the *Engliſh*; and a Confederacy was carry'd on in Both Nations, for the Erecting of the *ſame Platform* of *Presbyterial Diſcipline*; which one *Daviſon*, a *Scotchman*, affirms *to have no leſs Warrant to be continu'd perpetually within*

the

the Church, under this Precept, Feed my Sheep, *than hath the Preaching of the Word, or the Administration of the Sacraments.* From 1560, to 1572, they vented their Spleen only in Libels, and Conventicles. In *November* 72. they Erected a *Presbytery* at *Wandesworth* in *Surry*; and from that time, to 1583, their Design was agitated in secret *Meetings*, which they call'd *Conferences*, wherein, (at a *London-Meeting*) they came to this Conclusion, *That the Present Government of the Church by* Arch-Bishops, *and* Bishops *is* Anti-Christian, *and that the only* Discipline, *and* Government *of* Christ, *that is, by* Pastors, Doctors, Elders, *and* Deacons, *shall be Establish'd in place of the Other.* In 1583, their Book of *Discipline* is Drawn up; (which they call'd the *Synodical Discipline*,) and an Assembly being held upon it, among other Decrees, it was order'd, *That the* Comitial Assemblies *are to be monished, to make Collections for Relief of the poor, and of Scholars: but especially for Relief of such Ministers here, as are put out for not Subscribing to the Articles tender'd by the Bishops: also for Relief of* Scottish Ministers, *&c.* These *Scottish Ministers* were they that Justify'd the Rebellious Act of making King *James* a Prisoner in 1583. and took Sanctuary in *England*, upon the Parliaments Declaring it *Treason*: And who so proper Instruments as they, for the promoting of another Rebellion in *England*? their Book of *Discipline* was review'd, and put in practice, in 1587. In 1589 it was perfected, and in the Year following, the Conspiracy was detected; when upon Examinations of *Littleton, Edmunds, Johnson, Barbon, Holms, Brown, &c.* it appear'd that the Discipline was Fram'd, Subscrib'd, and Carry'd on, in all respects after the *Scottish Project*, and *Model.*

By publick Justice upon some of the principal Incendiaries, and King *James* his Vigilance, and Care afterwards, the *Consistorians* were for a long time kept within some tolerable compass. Their Mouths were stopt, upon the Conference at *Hampton-Court*, *Anno* 1603, with a strict Proclamation for the Observing of an *Uniformity* in the *Church*: *Episcopacy* was restor'd in *Scotland* in 1610, and an Act pass'd in a General Assembly at *Aberdeen* in 1616, Authorizing the Compiling, and Framing a Publick Form of Liturgy, or Book of Common Prayer to be first presented to the King, and after his Approbation, to be Universally receiv'd throughout the Kingdom: Which Book, pursuant to the Act, was by the Arch-Bishop of *St. Andrews* sent up to his Majesty, and by himself, and his Order, Examin'd, Corrected, and Return'd:

But

But his Majesty dy'd before it could be put in practice. And this was the Book, which with very little Alteration, and that too, in favour of their pretended Scruples, was by the late King's Proclamation in 1637, commanded to be publickly us'd in all Counties of that Kingdom. There were also diverse of the *English* Rites and Ceremonies setled in 1618, by five Articles that pass'd the Assembly at *Perth*; which Articles cost King *James* an Expensive Journey into *Scotland* the Year before; where he was forc'd to tell them plainly, in a Speech at St. *Andrews*, *That it was a Power belonging to all Christian Princes to order matters in the Church*, and that *he would never regard what they approv'd, or disapprov'd, except they brought him a Reason which he could not answer.* To which, upon Consideration they made his Majesty this Return, *That if he would grant them a Free Assembly, they would therein satisfie his Majesty in all the Points he had propounded.* The King depending upon it, return'd into *England*, and the day of the Assembly being come, and nothing done according to their promise; his Majesty went a short way to Work with them, and took away their *Augmentations*, that he had formerly allow'd them out of the Exchequer, which brought down their Stomachs, and made way for the passing of the aforesaid Articles.

It is not my Intent to write any thing more of the History of the Times, than what I find pertinent to my present purpose: so that passing over the Grumblings and Mutinous Dispositions that appear'd in the Remainder of King *James*; and the first Seven or Eight Years of King *Charles* his Reign; I shall only tell you, by way of Introduction to what follows, that the late King (having before-hand order'd a Convention of the Estates) upon the 13*th* of *May*, 1633. began his Journey towards *Scotland*, in order to his personal *Coronation*, where he was receiv'd with a pomp, and Acclamation, befitting the Dignity, and the Solemnity of the occasion. His first work was to ratifie the Laws, and Statutes of his Predecessor, in Relation to *Church-Government*; which pass'd not without some Opposition: but the *Commission of Surrenders* went yet nearer them, tho' both the *Owners of Lands*, and the *Ministers* were so abundantly satisfi'd, that *the Former* (as the King himself says in his large Declaration, *pag.* 9.) *acknowledg'd it as a Deliverance from an Intolerable Bondage, under which They and their Ancestors, ever since the Reformation of Religion, had grievously Groan'd; and the Other, with Infinite Gratitude Celebrated his Majesty, as the Father, and Founder of their Churches.* The Case was

this, (as *Heylin* renders it in his *Cyprianus Anglicus*, *pag.* 224.) *In the minority of King* James, *the Lands of all* Cathedral Churches, *and* Religious Houses, *which had been setled on the Crown by Act of Parliament, were shar'd among the Lords, and Great men of that Kingdom,* (*by the Connivance of the Earl of* Murray *and some other of the* Regents,) *to make them sure unto that side: and They, being thus possess'd of the Lands, with the Regalities, and Tithes belonging to these Ecclesiastical Corporations, held the Clergy to small Stipends, and the peasantry in Vassalage.* His Majesty was advis'd by Council, to take them into his own hand, *the present Occupants having no other Title to them, than the unjust Usurpation of their Predecessors.* And this was carry'd in such a manner too, that the very *Nobility*, and *Lay-patrons* could not open their Mouths against it; for they were satisfi'd for their Tithes, to the Uttermost Farthing, only they lost the Dependency of the *Clergy* and *Laity* upon them, by Virtue of these Tithes, and consequently the power of making a party to embroil the Government. They contented themselves within the Bounds of Libels, and Clamours, till that Rebellious outrage in the great Church of *Edenburgh*, on the 23 of *July*, 1637. Which was no more than the emprovement of an occasion to put the Principles of the *Consistory* in Execution. I'le make some amends for the length of this Digression, by contracting my self upon the *Discipline* which was afterward erected in *England*, after the *Scotch pattern*.

It will be a hard matter to pass from 1637, to 1648 without taking some notice of the Horrid Distempers in that Interval: I shall only tell you that after three or four Years spent in Dissolving the Legal Government, and Debating what we should have in the place of it; out comes the *Directory*, *Jan.* 3. 1644. with an *Ordinance* of the *Lords* and *Commons*, for the Authorizing of it. And afterward, *Aug.* 23. 1645. another *Ordinance*, for the more effectual execution of it; which was follow'd, *Jun.* 5. with an *Ordinance* for the present setling of it without further delay, and *Aug.* 19. 1646. with *Directions for the Chusing of* Ruling-Elders *in all the* Congregations, *and in the* Classical Assemblies *for the Cities of* London, *and* Westminster, *and the several Counties of that Kingdom, in order to the speedy setling of the* Presbyterial Government. There pass'd also an *Ordinance* for *the manner of* Ordination *of Ministers, with Rules for Examination, and Suspension from the Holy Supper*, &c. And another of *January* 29. 1647. *for the speedy*

speedy dividing, and setling the several Counties of this Kingdom into Distinct Classical Presbyteries, *and* Congregational Elderships: and they came at last, *Aug.* 29. 1648. to *The Form of Church Government, to be us'd in the Church of* England, *and* Ireland, *agreed upon by the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, after Advice had with the Assembly of Divines.* And all this, toward the promoting of an Union with the Kirk of *Scotland*. I should have told you of the *Ordinance* of *Jun.* 12. 1643. for the calling an *Assembly* of *Learned*, and *Godly Divines*, to be consulted with by the Parliament, for the setling of the Government of the Church: the Knights of every Shire to make choice of two, that should serve as Members for that County: and these, in Conjunction with so many of the Members of Both Houses, as might serve to inspect their Actions, took upon them the Powers, and Authority of a Convocation.

The Form of their Government was the same with that of *Scotland*: they had their *Congregational*, *Classical*, *Provincial*, and *National Assemblies*; with the same degrees of *Subordination*, and Vested, in proportion, with the same Powers. They had their *Expectants* too, and the Constitution of their several *Judicatories* was the very same; only the Lords, and Commons (under the Notion of a Committee for judging of Scandal) were so wise as to reserve the *Last Appeal* to *Themselves*, which was formerly lodg'd in the *General Assembly*; by which Device, the *Schism* was made subservient to the *Rebellion*; whereas in *Scotland* it was the clear contrary. And they had also another Hank upon them, in appointing that the *National Assembly* should meet upon a Summons by *Parliament*, and then sit, and continue, as the Parliament should order, and not otherwise: for they were not able to consent (they said) in a Declaration of the House of Commons, *Apr.* 17. 1646.) to their *Granting of an* Arbitrary, *and* Unlimited Power, *and* Jurisdiction, *to near* ten thousand Judicatories, *to be erected in the Kingdom, which could not be consistent with the Fundamental Laws, and Government of it; and which, by necessary Consequence, did exclude the Parliament from having any thing to do in that Jurisdiction.* But the Nation is never the better yet for this Caution, so long as the *Tyranny*, and the *Slavery* is still the *same*.

From this view of their *Brotherly Agreement* in *Government* we shall now proceed to their *Harmony* in *Positions*; and our Brethren of *Scotland* shall lead the way.

The Positions *of the* Kirk, *under the* Queen Regent, *and* James *VI.*

THe Punishment of such Crimes (says Knox) *as touch the Majesty of God, doth not appertain to Kings, and Chief Rulers only, but to the whole Body of the People, and to every Member of it, as Occasion, Calling, and ability shall serve: Nay, they are bound by Oath to God, to Revenge the Injury done to his Majesty. If Princes be Tyrants against God, and his Truth, their Subjects are discharg'd from their Oaths of Obedience. The Nobility, and Commonalty ought indeed to Reform Religion; and in that Case, may remove from Honour, and Punish such as God has condemn'd; of what Estate, Condition, or Degree soever. It is not Birth-Right only, nor nearness of Blood, that maketh a King Lawfully to Reign over a people professing* Christ Jesus; *but Princes, for Just Causes, may be Depos'd. Kings, Princes, and Governours, have their Authority of the People; and, upon occasion, the People may take it away again.* Thus far *Knox*; Now for *Buchanan.*

The People (says he) *have the same Power over the King, which He has over any one man; They are better than the King, and of Greater Authority, and may bestow the Crown at Pleasure. The making of Laws belongs to Them: They may Arraign their Prince; the Ministers may Excommunicate him; and He that by Excommunication is cast into Hell, is not worthy to Enjoy any Life upon Earth. It were Good* (says he) *that Rewards were appointed by the People, for such as should Kill Tyrants; as there are for those that Kill Wolves, or Bears, or take their Whelps.*

The Seizing, and Imprisoning of King *James*, in *Aug.* 1582. being adjudg'd *Treason* by the Three Estates, in *Decemb.* 18. 1583. and some of the Criminals Executed; an Assembly of *Ministers*, and *Elders* at *Edinburgh*, in 1585. did not only Authorize, and Avow the Action, but also ordain'd all people to be Excommunicated, that would not Subscribe to their Judgment. And *Andrew Melvil*, being Cited to answer for Treason deliver'd in a Sermon, declin'd the King's Authority, affirming, that *what was spoken in the Pulpit ought first to be try'd by the Presbytery; and that neither King, nor Council, might in the first instance meddle therewith, although the Speech were Treasonable.*

Upon

Upon King *James* his coming to the Crown of *England*, he order'd the *Proroguing* of the *Assembly* at *Aberdeen*, which was to have met in 1604. to a longer day: But thirteen or fourteen of them, for all this, met formally at the day appointed: the Lords of Council discharg'd their Meeting; Whereupon they *Protested, That in Conscience, and in Duty to Almighty God they were bound to preserve the Churches Right, and neither could, nor would give way to that Power the King had* Sacrilegiously *Usurp'd over it.* Hereupon they were Convented, and Appeal'd from the *King's Council*, to the next *General Assembly.* I had almost forgotten the Determination of *Wilcock*, and *Knox*; who positively gave their Judgments, *That it was Lawful to Depose the Queen Regent.* Whereupon, she was solemnly *Proces'd*, *Sentenc'd*, and *Depriv'd.*

The Positions *of the* Presbyterians, *under Queen* Elizabeth.

THE *Church* (*says* Cartwright) *wherein any Magistrate, King, or Emperor is a Member, is divided into some that are to* Govern, *as* Pastors, Doctors, *and* Elders, *and into such as are to* Obey, *as* Magistrates *of all sorts, and the* People. The *Admonitour* holds it fit, *that he, and his Companions may be deliver'd by Act of Parliament, from the Authority of the Civil Magistrates; as Justices, and Others, from their Indictings, and Finings. Every fault* (says *Cartwright*) *that tendeth either to the hurt of a Man's Neighbour, or to the hindrance of the Glory of God, is to be Examin'd, and Dealt in by the Order of the Holy Church.* Nay, the very *Suspicion* of Avarice, Pride, Superfluities in Meat, or Clothing, falls under their Lash.

All men (says *Goodman*) *are bound to see the Laws of God kept, and to Suppress, and resist Idolatry by force. Nor is it sufficient for Subjects not to obey the Wicked Commands of Princes, but they must resist them; and Deliver the Children of God out of the hands of their Enemies, as we would deliver a Sheep that is in danger to be devour'd by a Wolf. If the Magistrate shall refuse to put Mass-Mongers, and false Preachers to Death, the People (in seeing it perform'd) shew that Zeal of God which was commended in* Phineas. *Subjects do promise Obedience, that the Magistrate might help them; which if he does not, they are discharg'd of their Obedience. If Ma-*

Magistrates without Fear transgress God's Laws themselves, and Command others to do the like, they are no more to be taken for Magistrates, but to be Examin'd, Accus'd, Condemn'd, and Punish'd, as private Transgressors. Evil Princes ought by the Law of God to be Depos'd, and Inferiour Magistrates ought chiefly to do it. And now hear *Gilby* to the same Tune.

Kings, Princes, and Governours have their Authority of the People, and upon occasion, the People may take it away again, as men may revoke their Proxies, and Letters of Atturny. It is Lawful (says he) *to kill wicked Kings, and Tyrants;* the Subjects *did kill the Queens Highness* Athalia: Jehu *kill'd the Queens Majesty* Jezabel: Elias, *being no Magistrate, kill'd the Queens Majesties Chaplains,* Baal's Priests: *These Examples are left for our Instruction, where Justice is not Executed, the State is most Corrupt. If neither the Inferiour Magistrates,* (says he) *nor the greatest part of the People will do their Offices; (in Punishing, Deposing, or Killing of Princes) then the Ministers must Excommunicate such a King.* It would be endless to follow these Instances as far as they would carry me; so that I'le back now again into *Scotland*; and you will find them much of the same Opinion under *Charles* I. as they had been under *his Royal Father*.

The Positions *of the* Kirk *under the Late King.*

IN their Protestation of *September* 22. 1638. against the King's Declaration, they say, First, *That what Subjects do of their own heads, is much better than what they do in Obedience to Authority, the One savouring of Constraint, but the Other being Voluntary, and Chearful Obedience.*

Secondly, *That the Parliaments Power does no more reach to the Placing of Officers Originally in the Church, than the Church has Power to make States-men in the Common-wealth.*

Thirdly, *The Parliament can make no Law at all concerning the Church, but only Ratifie what the Church Decrees: And after it has Ratify'd it, yet if the Assembly of the Church shall prohibit it, and Repeal that Decree of the Church, all the Subjects are discharg'd from yielding Obedience to the Act of Parliament.*

Fourthly, *The Assembly has power to discharge all Subscriptions to the Confession of Faith commanded to be Subscrib'd by his Majesty; and as it is Interpreted by Him, or his Commissioner.* Fifthly,

Fifthly, *The Assembly, without the King, is the Church, and the only Judge Competent, fit to Interpret, and Explain all Doubts arising upon the Confession of Faith commanded by his Majesty.*

Sixthly, *Tho' the Law be Interpreted, yet if the Interpretation be disliked by most of the Kingdom; the Body of the Kingdom (for whose Good the Law was made) may crave the lawful Redress of Grievances sustained by that Law.* Take Notice here, that they had already actually transgress'd the Law (without staying for Leave) and Justified the Doing of it.

Seventhly, *The Assembly is Independent either from King, or Parliament, in matters Ecclesiastical.*

Eighthly, *That the King is to Receive all the Determinations of an Assembly, as a Son of the Church, tho' they be not matters of* Faith, *but only of* Government; *and concluded by Acts of Parliament.*

Ninthly, *It is Lawful for Subjects to make a Covenant, and Combination without the King; and to enter into a Bond of Mutual Defence against the King; and all Persons whatsoever* (tho' against several Acts of Parliament.)

Tenthly, *It is Lawful for themselves, (sitting in an Assembly) to Indict a New Assembly, without the Kings consent.*

Eleventhly, *If Subjects be convented before the King and Council for any misdemeanour; they may Appeal from the King and Council to the next General Assembly, and Parliament, if they think either the Glory of God, or the Good of the Church concern'd in the matter in Question.*

Twelfthly, *They do not desire the King to Indict a General Assembly, as needing his Authority, but rather for his Honour, and for the Countenance of their Proceedings: Alledging, that if the Prince shall omit to do his Duty, the People, from whom he had his Power Originally, may Resume it.*

Thirteenthly, *If the King's Voice shall be deny'd to any thing, tho' never so Unjust, and Illegal, that shall be carry'd by the major part of the Assembly, his Majesty is bound* Jure Divino *to enforce Obedience to those Acts, and the Counsellors, or Judges refusing to Execute, shall be Excommunicate, and depriv'd of their Places, and Estates.*

Fourteenthly, *An Assembly may Abrogate Acts of Parliament, and discharge the Subject from Obeying them, if they any way reflect upon the Business of the Church.*

Fifteenthly, *The Protestation of the Subjects against Laws Establish'd, either before the Judges of the people, or the people themselves*

who

who are born to be Judg'd, doth void all Obedience to those Laws, without ever bringing of them to be discuss'd before a Competent Judge.

Sixteenthly, *The major part of the people may do any thing* (they say) *which they Themselves conceive conducing to the Glory of God, and the good of the Church, any Laws to the contrary notwithstanding.*

These *Positions* you will find in his Majesties *Large Declaration concerning the Tumults in* Scotland *pag.* 407. *& deinceps.* We shall now see how the *Counterpart* of this *Confederacy* behav'd it self in *England:* and shew you the *Doctrine*, and *Principles* of the *Faction*, in the very Infancy of the *Rebellion*: as appears out of their own *Acts*. See *Husband's Exact Collections*, Printed in *London*, 1643.

The Positions *of the* English-Covenanters: *and First, In Case of the* King's Authority.

After that the Faction had extorted from his Late Majesty such Concessions as never any Prince granted before Himself; and when they had Defam'd his Government, and his Person; and poyson'd his people, with Contemptuous, and Scandalous Libels; upon *March* 2. 1641. they began to *Unmask*, and to discover to the World, that their Design was not to *Reform*, but to *Govern*; and upon pretence of Fearing an Invasion from abroad, took the power of the *Militia* into their own hands at Home; *Resolving* upon the *Question*, p. 96. *That the Kingdom be forthwith put into a Posture of Defence, by the Authority of Both Houses.* This Vote was seconded by another, of *March* 15. p. 112. *That in Case of Extreme Danger, and of his Majesties Refusal* (to give them the Power of the *Militia*) *the Ordinance agreed on by Both Houses for the* Militia, *doth Oblige the People, and ought to be Obey'd by the Fundamental Laws of this Kingdom.* His Majesty insisting upon the Illegality of This Proceeding, *Both Houses* pass'd this following *Vote*, *March* 16. *That when the Lords, and Commons in Parliament, (which is the Supreme Court of Judicature in the Kingdom)* shall Declare what the Law of the Land is; *to have This, not only Question'd, and Controverted, but Contradicted, and a Command that it should not be Obeyed, is a High Breach of the Pri-*

Privilege of Parliament, pag. 114. Finding themselves pinch'd upon this Point, they fly to a *Distinction* betwixt the *Letter*, and the *Equity*, of all Laws, *pag.* 150. *There is* (say they) *in Laws, an* Equitable, *and a* Literal *Sense: His Majesty is Entrusted, by Law, with the* Militia, *but 'tis for the Good, and Preservation of the* Republique *against Foreign Invasions, or Domestique Rebellions; not that the Parliament would by Law Entrust the King with the* Militia, *against Themselves, or the Common-wealth; that Entrusts Them to provide for their Weal, not for their Woe. So that upon certain Appearance, or Grounded Suspicion, that the* Letter *of the Law shall be improv'd against the* Equity *of it, the* Commander *going against its* Equity, *discharges the* Commanded *from Obedience to the* Letter.

The pretence of *Defending* the Government is now advanc'd to the *Reforming* of it. *Apr.* 9. 1642. The Lords and Commons do Declare, *That they intend a Due and Necessary Reformation of the Government, and Liturgy of the Church, pag.* 135.

Having already by Violence encroach'd upon the *Militia*, as against a *Foreign Power*, the first Considerable use that they make of it, is to employ it against his *Majesties Authority*, and *Person* before *Hull*; and pass'd *Two Votes*, *Apr.* 28. in Justification of the Action. *Resolved*, &c. *That His Majesties declaring of Sir* John Hotham *Traytor, being a Member of the House of Commons, is a High Breach of the Privilege of Parliament.* And *That, without Process of Law, it is against the Liberty of the Subject, and against the Law of the Land.* Nay they *Vote* it *May* 17. *To be against the Law of the Land, and the Liberty of the Subject, his Majesties Commanding of* Skippon *to attend him at* York; *and the* very *Removing of the* Term *to* York *from* Westminster *(sitting the Parliament)* they *Vote* to be *Illegal, and Order the Lord Keeper* (notwithstanding His Majesties Command) *not to Issue out any Writs, or Seal any Proclamation for that Adjournment.* May 20. *They Order also the putting of all the Magazines in* England, *and* Wales, *into the hands of Persons well affected to the Parliament*, pag. 194.

They find themselves now in Condition to Threaten the King, and the Kingdom with Open War: and pass upon the Question, these *Three* following *Votes.* First; *That it appears, that the King (Seduc'd by Wicked Counsel) intends to make War against the Parliament, who, (in all their Consultations, and Actions) have propos'd no other end unto themselves, but the Care of his Kingdoms, and the performance of all Duty, and Loyalty to his Person.* Secondly,

That whensoever the King maketh War upon the Parliament, it is a Breach of the Trust reposed in Him by his People, Contrary to his Oath, and tending to the Dissolution of his Government. Thirdly, *That whosoever shall Serve, or assist him in such Wars, are Traytors, by the Fundamental Laws of this Kingdom, &c.* And pursuant to these Votes, *July* 12. they *Resolve, That an Army shall be forthwith Rais'd for the Safety of the King's person; Defence of Both Houses of* Parliament, *and of Those who have Obey'd their Orders, and Commands; and preserving of the True Religion, the Laws, Liberty, and Peace of the Kingdom,* pag. 457. All these *Votes,* and *Declarations,* they cause, with all Solemnity to be Printed, and publish'd: but at the same time, *His Majesties Proclamations, and Declarations are said to be contrary to Law,* pag. 449. *And all Officers are forbidden any way to Publish, or to Proclaim the same. The King's Commissions of Array are Declar'd,* July 20. *to be against Law, the Liberty, and Property of the Subject. And the Actors in it to be Esteem'd Disturbers of the Peace of the Kingdom,* pag. 478. And again, pag. 576. *All such persons as shall, upon any pretence whatsoever, assist His Majesty in this War, with Horse, Arms, Plate, or Monies, are declar'd Traytors to His Majesty, the Parliament, and the Kingdom; and to be brought to condign Punishment.*

The Poyson of their Artificial Delusions you will find Maliciously enough Diffus'd in their *Remonstrance* of *May* the 26. 1642. *pag.* 263. And the Doctrine of That Declaration summ'd up with great exactness, in his Majesties Answer to it, contracting the Venom of it into these *Six Positions.*

First, *That they have an Absolute Power of Declaring the Law; and that whatsoever they declare to be so, ought not to be question'd, either by King, or People: so that all the Right, and Safety of the Prince, and Subject, depends upon their Pleasure.*

Secondly, *That no Presidents can be Limits to Bound their Proceedings; which, if so,* The Government of the *Turk* Himself is not so Arbitrary.

Thirdly, *That a Parliament may dispose of any thing, wherein the King, or Subject hath a Right, for the Publique Good;* (speaking all this While of the Remnant of the Two Houses) *That they, without the King, are This Parliament, and Judge of This Publick Good; and that the King's Consent is not Necessary. So that the Life, and Liberty of the Subject, and all the Good Laws made for their Security, may be dispos'd of, and Repeal'd by the Major part of Both Houses, at any time present, and by any Wayes, and Means*

pre-

procured so to be, and his Majesty has no Power to Protect them.

Fourthly, *That a Member of either House ought not to be troubled, or medled with, for Treason, Felony, or any Other Crime, without the Cause first brought before them, that they may judge of the Fact, and their Leave obtained to proceed.*

Fifthly, *That the Soveraign Power resides in Both Houses of Parliament. The King has no Negative Voice; and becomes Subject to their Commands.*

Lastly, *That the Levying of Forces against the* Personal Commands *of the King, (tho' accompany'd with his* Presence) *is not Levying War against the* King: *But to Levy War against his* Laws, *and* Authority, *(which they have Power to Declare, and Signifie) is Levying War against the* King; *and that Treason cannot be Committed against his* Person, *otherwise than as he is Entrusted with the* Kingdom, *and Discharging that Trust: and that they have a Power to judge, whether he discharges it or no.* And to justifie their Usurpations, they do maintain, *pag.* 270. *That the Kings of this Realm are Oblig'd to pass all such Bills as are Offer'd unto them by Both Houses of Parliament.*

It would be superfluous to tell you of their *Proclaiming Fasts*, and assuming to themselves other *Rights of Soveraignty*, under the specious Pretence of a *Parliament*. But to shew you that it was all an Imposture: If the *King* will not agree, the *Two Houses* (they say) may Act without him: If the *Two Houses* differ, the Soveraignty rests in the *House of Commons*. As in the Case of a Bill they sent up to the Lords for Directing a *Protestation* which they had Fram'd to be generally taken throughout *England*. This Bill the Lords Rejected; Whereupon, the Commons pass'd this *Vote*, *That* That House *did conceive that the Protestation made by them is fit to be taken by every Person that is well Affected in Religion, and to the Good of the Common-Wealth; and therefore doth declare, that what person soever shall not take the Protestation, is Unfit to bear Office in the Church, or Common-Wealth.* And so they order'd the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses to send down to the several Places for which they serv'd, Copies of that Vote of the House concerning the *Protestation*, and that the *Vote* should be Printed. They began with a *Contempt* of the Lords; they laid them quite *aside* at last; and in the Conclusion, they *themselves* were, upon their Own Arguments, Confounded by the *Rabble*. You see the Dominion these People Challenge over their *Master*; and it cannot be expected that they should give any better Quarter to their *Fellow*

Subjects; But it is *their Way* of making *Kings Glorious*, and *Patronizing the Liberty of the people.*

The Positions *of the* English-Covenanters, *as to the* Liberty, *and* Propriety *of the* Subject.

IN *May*, 1641. they enter'd upon their Design with the Protestation abovemention'd, in these Words: *I* A. B. *do in the Presence of Almighty God, Promise, Vow, and Protest to Maintain, and Defend, as far as Lawfully I may, with my Life, Power and Estate the true Reformed Protestant Religion, expres'd in the Doctrine of the Church of* England, *against all Popery, and Popish Innovations within this Realm, contrary to the same Doctrine, and according to the Duty of my Allegiance to his Majesties Royal Person, Honour, and Estate; as also the Power and Privileges of Parliament, the Lawful Rights, and Liberties of the Subjects*, &c. Here was first, an *Usurpation* in the *Imposing* of it; and Secondly, an abominable *Fraud* in the *Construction* of it. The *Matter* of it was so plausible, that it went down without much Enquiring into the *Authority* of it; but upon the Commons declaring, that *the Doctrine of the Church of* England had no Regard to the Maintaining of the *Discipline* and *Government* of it: and afterward, that the *Soveraignty* was Virtually in the *Two Houses*, and that by *this Protestation*, they were oblig'd to serve *that Interest*, Mens Eyes came then to be Open'd, and they saw their Error: For they were call'd upon according to their *Solemn Vow*, and *Protestation*, to Subscribe for *Money*, and *Plate*, *pag.* 340. and to Maintain *Horse*, *Horse-men*, and *Arms*, for the Defence of the *King*, and *Both Houses of Parliament.* In *York*-shire there was a *Neutrality* propounded by some Persons of Eminent Condition in the County; but the Lords, and Commons Declar'd against it, *pag.* 629. as a Contradiction to the Tye of their General *Protestation.* And it went so high, that they past a Vote, *Oct.* 15.42. *That such Persons as shall not Contribute to the Charge of the Common-wealth in this time of Imminent Necessity, shall be held fit to be Disarm'd.* And the same day, they Voted the *Sequestring of Church-Lands, Delinquents Estates, and Revenues of the Crown.* They Order'd *Victuals*, and other *Necessaries for the Army* to be taken up upon *Publick Faith*, Nov. 29. 42. *pag.* 763. and where any thing was Refused,

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to Force it: and likewise they appointed a Committee of *Six Citizens* of *London*, or any *Four* of them *for the Assessing all such* (*to the twenty'th part of their Estates*) *as had not contributed upon the Propositions of raising Money, Plate, Horse,* &c. *in proportion to their Abilities.* The said *Assessment* to be levy'd by *Distress*, and *Sale*; and in Case of *Refusal*, the Parties to be *Imprison'd*, pag. 767. With further authority, *Feb.* 3. 42. p. 777. *to Break open any Chests, Trunks, Boxes, Dores, with Power to Seize such Chests, with* Money, *or* Goods, *for the Satisfaction of the Sums Assess'd.* And the same Power, Amplifi'd, they granted to Commissioners *for Levying of Money by a Weekly Assessment, upon* London, *and* Westminster; *and every County, and City in* England *and* Wales; *the City of* London *being Rated the Weekly Sum of* 10000 l. *and Others in Proportion.*

You have here from their own Publick Acts, (for I cite none of their Pamphlets) a Breviate of the Powers they assumed to themselves over King, and People: and this so early in the War too, that the Faction was not as yet sure in the Saddle. (For this was all before 1643.) You shall now see the *Execution* of these *Arbitrary Principles* by the *Covenanters* of *Both Kingdoms* in their Turns, and you shall Confess that tho' the Rigours of the *Kirk* may serve as a Foil to any *Other Tyranny*, the *English* have yet had the Honour to out-strip their Masters.

According to the Common Method of *Innovators*, their First Work was, by *Press* and *Pulpit*, to *Defame* the Government; their Next was, by Popular Artifice, to stir up the Multitude by *Tumults* to *Reform* it; and Lastly, (if they found their party strong enough to Depend upon) to Enter into a *Confederacy*, and Set up for themselves. This was the Course that *Knox, Willock*, and their Followers took in *Scotland* under the *Queen Regent* in 1555. and afterward, under King *James* VI. and *Cartwright* with his Complices went the same way to Work also under Queen *Elizabeth*; only the Conspiracy of *Arthington, Hacket, Coppinger, Wiggington, &c.* was Discover'd, and the Plot disappointed. But the Libels, and Tumults in *Scotland*, 1637. which led to that Impious *Bond*, and *Covenant* in 1638. had better success. (See his Late Majesties *Large Declaration* upon that Subject.) And after their Pattern, so had the practices in *England* in 1641. when the Parliament was so Over-aw'd by *Tumults* that the Vote of the *Two Houses* was no other in Effect than the Sense of the *Rabble* in the *Lobby*. It was but their Bawling for Justice upon the Noble

Earl

Earl of *Strafford*; their Crying down of *Biſhops*, and *Popiſh Lords*, and the thing is done. The Riots were ſo Great, that the Lords preſs'd the Commons at a Conference, to Joyn with them in a Declaration for the Suppreſſing of them. But it was anſwer'd, ſaying, *We muſt not diſcourage our Friends, this being a time we muſt make uſe of all our Friends. God forbid* (ſays Mr. *Pim*) *that the Houſe of Commons ſhould proceed in any way to diſhearten people to obtain their juſt Deſires in ſuch a way*; Exact Collections, *pag.* 532. The *Kirk* would have ſaid, that *they did not know with what Spirit they were Over-Rul'd*, as they told King *James* in the Caſe of *Gibſon*, and *Black*, for delivering Treaſon in the Pulpit. The next thing that follow'd in Courſe, was a *Combination*; and that ſhall be the firſt Point we'l handle in the Common *Practices* of the Party; which in One Word amounts to no leſs than *the Diſſolution* of a *Legal*, and the *Setting* up of a *Tyrannical Government*.

The Practices, *and* Uſurpations *of the* Presbyterians *upon the* Civil Government.

TO be as Clear now in their *Practices*, as I have been in their *Poſitions*, you ſhall have as good Evidence for their *Proceedings*, as you have had already for their *Principles*. And I'le begin with the Foundation of their Empire; their audacious, and myſterious *Covenant*: Not with the *Matter*, or the *Deſign* of it, but only to ſhew you that *Covenanting* is the *Method* of the Party.

Covenanting is the Method of the Party.

The *Firſt Covenant* of *Scotland* bears date *Decemb.* 3. 1557. at *Edinburgh*: The *Second* at *Perth*, *May* 31. 1559. The *Third* at *Sterling*, *Aug.* 1. And a *Fourth*, at *Leith*, *Apr.* 27. 1560. They Enter'd alſo into another *Covenant* at *Ayr*, *Sept.* 4. 1562. which *Knox* calls a *New Covenant*.

In *England* 1583. they Subſcrib'd their Diſcipline, and Enter'd into a *League* both by Promiſe, and Writing, to do their parts toward the Eſtabliſhing of it.

In *Scotland* 1638. ſo ſoon as ever they had ſetled their *Tables of Advice*, the *Firſt Act of thoſe Tables was their Solemn Covenant*.

And ſo likewiſe in *England*, the Commons Impos'd a *Proteſtation*, and then went on to *Covenants*, and *Oaths* without End.

Here's

Here's an *Usurpation* upon *Soveraignty*, the very first step they set; in the exacting of an *Oath* without due *Authority*; beside, that *all Leagues of Subjects among themselves are* (in the Eye of the Law) *no better than Seditious Conspiracies*. Wee'l come now to the *Pretence* of these *Covenants*, which is only an Artifice of Inveigling the Silly people into a *Confederacy* against the *Government*, under the Notion of promoting the *Common Good*.

All Leagues without Authority are Seditious.

The End of the First *Scottish Covenant* above-mentioned (at *Edinburgh*) is said to be the *Defence of* Christs *Gospel, and his Congregation, and of every Member of it against all Opposers, to the Death*. The *Second* at *Perth* goes further, and extends to *all persons that shall trouble them* upon what pretence soever. In the *Third* at *Sterling* they bind themselves from any *Correspondence with the Queen, either by Word, or Writing*. In the *Fourth* at *Leith* they Covenant a Direct Revolt, and *the reducing of all men by Force, that are not of their Opinion*. In their *Last Bond*, at *Ayr*, they declare against *all men as Enemies that shall not submit to their Government*. And upon the whole *matter*, they found all their subsequent Proceedings upon the Obligation of the *First Covenant* for the Defence of *Christ's Gospel*.

The Pretended Ends of the Covenant.

The Pretext of the *Scottish Covenant* in 1638. was *the Defence of the King's Majesty, his Person, and Authority in the Defence, and Preservation of the True Religion, Liberties, and Laws of the Kingdom*: as also *the Mutual Defence, one of another*, against all sorts of persons whatsoever.

And the *English Protestation* of 1641. looks the very same way, *viz. for the Maintenance of the Doctrine of the Church of* England; *the Power and Privileges of the* Parliament, *and Liberty of the* Subject. And what's the very Title of their *Solemn League* and *Covenant*, in 1643. but *Reformation, and Defence of Religion; the Honour, and Happiness of the King; the Peace, and Safety of the three Kingdoms?*

So soon as ever they had by these specious appearances decoy'd an Inconsiderate part of the Nation into the Net, they emprov'd the Fraud by expounding upon all their *Bonds* and *Covenants*, quite contrary to the Common Intent, and acceptation of the same. And made way thereby to the Destruction of all those Interests which the people thought they had Sworn to preserve. But the Subject was so hamper'd betwixt the dread of the *Oath*, among those that did

did not understand the *Nullity* of the *Obligation*; and the Forfeiture of *Life*, *Fortune*, and *Estate*, if they should not pursue it according to the Oraculous sence of them that Impos'd it, that betwixt their *Consciences*, their *Safeties*, and *Estates*, they were in a great straight. He that considers the Solemn, and the awful Circumstances that accompanied the taking of these Engagements; the *lifting up of the Eyes and Hands*; the attesting of *Almighty God*; the Invocations of *the Great Name of the Lord*, and their appeals *to the Searcher of all hearts*; and compares their *Actings* with their *Protestations*, will find them perhaps the most Impious, and extravagant Contradiction in Nature. And That's the thing next to be Observ'd in a View of the *Fabrick* they raised upon this goodly *Foundation*.

After this Hypocrisie in the very *Frame* of their Project, there was but little of Good Faith to be expected in the *Menage* of it: And all their *Covenanss*, under Colour of *Reforming* the Government, were both in Construction, and in effect, but so many Oaths for the *Abjuring* of it; and the setting up of a more *Blasphemous Oracle* in the *Name* of *Christ Jesus*, than ever was silenc'd at his taking Flesh upon him by his *Holy Power*. I call their *Covenants*, *Oracles*; as well in respect of the *Inspiration*, as of the *Imposture*. But we shall better understand them, by Tracing their Motions from one Usurpation to another.

The steps by which the Holy Discipline Advanc'd into a Direct Rebellion.

By Letters from *Sterling* of *March* 10. 1556. *Knox* was invited from *Geneva*, with This Assurance, That *the Faithful in* Scotland *were ready to jeopard their Lives, and Goods for the setting forward of the Glory of* God, *as he would permit*. These Letters came to his Hand in *May*. And in *September* following (with the privity, and encouragement of *Calvin*) he left *Geneva*, and *Octob.* 24. arriv'd at *Diepe*, (with intent to Imbark for *Scotland*) where he met with other Letters, dissuading his return. (See his *History* of Scotland, *Fol.* 107.) The Faction was now ready to give up the Cause; and had undoubtedly so done, but for *Knox* his Letter to some of the Nobility upon that Occasion; which re-confirm'd them in their Resolutions. *Your Brethren* (says he) *are Oppress'd* (Fol. 109.) *and you ought to Hazard your own Lives, (be it against Kings, or Emperours) for their Deliverance.* (So that here was *Violence* intended, you see, in the very first Proposition.) By the Instigation of this Letter, they enter'd into their *first Covenant* at *Edin-*

Edinburgh in *Decemb.* 1557. (*Fol.* 110.) and immediately after the Subscribing of it, *they Order'd the Common Prayer* (*of* England) *to be read weekly on Sunday, and other Festival days, in all the Parish-Churches of that Kingdom, with the Lessons of the Old and New Testament, Conformed to the Book of Common Prayers.* (Fol. 111.) Soon after This, they Petition'd the Queen and Council for the Use of the Common Prayer in the Vulgar tongue, which was granted them, with an exception only to *Edinburgh*, and *Leith*, for fear of Tumults: And upon the Neck of this *Petition*, follows a *Protestation*, deliver'd in Parliament, 1558. *against all Acts of Parliament for the punishing of Hereticks; the Removal of all Prelates, and their Officers from any place of Judgment*: (Fol. 133.) Foretelling, by way of Menace, that *if Abuses should chance to be Violently Reform'd, the Government may thank it self.* From *Protesting* they *Gather'd themselves together*, at St. *Johnston*, the Town Declaring for them. Hereupon, the Preachers were Summon'd to appear at *Sterling*, *May* 10. 1559. And on the other side, *The Brethren Concluded that the Gentlemen of every Country should accompany their Preachers, to the Day, and Place appointed:* that is, to St. *Johnston*, where they had their *first Assembly.* Upon this Contempt, the Ministers were Proclaim'd Traytors, and the Multitude fell to the Demolishing, and Rifling of *Religious Houses*; where they found great Booty; and so they Proceeded to the fortifying of themselves, and calling in of their Friends to their Assistance, maintaining their ground by Force, notwithstanding *A Proclamation for all of them to avoid the Town, under the pain of Treason:* (Which place soon after was deliver'd up upon Composition) From the pretence of *Defending* themselves in St. *Johnston*, they advanc'd, shortly after, to the *Assaulting* of it; and so the Burning of *Scone*; the Seizing of the *Minting-Irons* for the Coyning of their *Plate.* And then from *Monasteries*, and *Abbies*, they went forward to the Defacing, and Pillaging of *Cathedrals*; *Parochial Churches*; and there were few *Chancels* that scap'd them. In their Answer to the Queens *Proclamation* of *Aug.* 28. 1559. they rise from matter of *Religion*, to matter of *State.* (*Knox* Hist. of *Scotland*, Fol. 174.) And in direct Terms, *Fol.* 179. *They affirm, that it appertaineth to the* Nobility, *and also to the* Barons, *and* People, *to bridle the Rage, and Fury of misled* Princes; which was only a *Prologue* to the Formal, and Solemn *Deposal* of the *Queen Regent* at *Edinburgh*, *Octob.* 24. 1559. that ensu'd. After This; they emplor'd aid from *England*, under Colour of maintaining

taining their ancient *Liberties*. And the Treaty was sign'd at *Berwick* by the Commissioners of both Nations, *Feb.* 27. 1559.

They persecuted the Queen Regent into her Grave.

By these Persecutions they brought the *Queen Regent* to her Grave; and upon her Death, a Peace was concluded; the Armies to Disband, and the *French*, and *English* Succours to return Home. In *Decemb.* 1560. *Francis* the *Second* of *France* departed this Life; leaving the Queen of *Scots* an Unfortunate Widow; Poor, and Helpless. They were now out of fear of *France*, and there was no danger from *England*, in regard of the Queen of *Scots* pretensions to that Crown; so that they resolv'd now to play their own Game; and their first Act was the Abolishing of the *Common-Prayer* (in a Convention at *Edinburgh*) which they had formerly embrac'd, and Confirm'd by a Solemn Decree, and Subscription: and the Presenting of a *Church-Government* of *Knox*'s own Contrivance, and not much differing from the *Geneva-Model*, to a Convention of the Estates; under the Title of *The Confession of the Faith, and Doctrine, believed, and Professed by the* Protestants *of* Scotland. The States took time to consider of the Form of *Polity*; but pass'd an Act however for the Demolishing of *Cloysters*, and *Abby-Churches*. Whereupon (says *Spotswood* in his *Church-History*, Fol. 175.) *there ensu'd a Pitiful Vastation of Churches, and Church-Buildings. No difference was made, but all the Churches either Defaced, or Pull'd to the Ground. The Holy Vessels, and whatsoever else men could make gain of, (as Timber, Lead, and Bells) were put to Sale. The very Sepulchres of the Dead were not spar'd. The Registers of the Church, and Libraries cast into the Fire: and all this, colour'd with the Warrant of Publick Authority.* Take notice here, that after the Convention was Dissolv'd, their Book of *Polity* was Subscrib'd, notwithstanding the *Post-poning* of the Question. And we shall see now, that they treated the *Queen her self* no better than they had done the *Queen Regent*.

The daughter *had no better Quarter than the* Mother.

Upon this Nice Juncture of Affairs, the Queen was Invited home. And *Aug.* 20. 1561. She arrived at *Leith*, declaring upon her Entrance, That *there should no Alteration be made in the present State of Religion, only for her Self, and Family she would have a Mass in private.* But the Preachers decrying that Toleration in their Pulpits, produced a Dangerous Tumult against the Freedom of her own Chappel.

After several Riots, and open Rebellions, which were still promoted,

moted, and seconded by the *Presbytery*; In *July* 1564. the Queen was Marry'd to the Lord *Darnly*; and *June* 19. 1566. brought to bed of a Son (afterwards *James* VI.) in the Castle of *Edinburgh*. In 1567. they sent the Queen Prisoner to *Lochlevin*, and pass'd an Act of Assembly for the Securing, and Disposing of the person of the Infant-Prince; with Direction to move the Queen to a *Resignation* of her *Government*, and the appointing of a *Regent*, during his *Minority*; which by Force, and Menaces, her Majesty was compell'd to do; and her *Renunciation*, and *Commission* Publish'd at the *Market-Cross* at *Edinburgh*, the Prince being Crown'd, and Anointed King, in the Church of *Striveling* the Third day after the Publication, being *July* 29. On the 20th of *August*, the Earl of *Murray* was Elected *Regent*: King *James* being as yet but Thirteen months old. At the beginning of the Spring, in 1568. the Queen made her escape, and was convey'd to *Hamilton*, where several Lords meeting in Council, her *Resignation* was declar'd *Void*, (as extorted by fear) and *Proclamation* issu'd against the Rebels that had Usurped her Authority. The dispute, in short, was brought to a Battle, *May* 13. the Queens Army Defeated, and she her self fled into *England* for Protection; where the Faction never left the persute of her, till they brought her to the Scaffold. But here you'l say there was a *Foreign Interest*, and *Popery* in the Case. If that were all, how came it that they handled the Young King at as course a rate every jot as they had treated his Mother? tho' their *Natural Prince*, and afterward, the Celebrated *Champion* of the *Protestant Cause*.

They treated King James *as ill as they had done his Mother.*

The Government of *Scotland* had been Administred by Four Regents, when, upon the Earl of *Morton*'s desire to be Discharg'd of his *Regency*, the King (not twelve years old as yet) accepted of it; and his acceptation thereof was Proclaim'd at *Edinburgh*, *March* 12. 1577. where the Regent himself was assisting. As an earnest of the respect they bare to his Majesties Authority, *Andrew Melvil* presented a Form of *Church Government* to the Parliament at *Striveling*, in 1578. which they referr'd to certain Commissioners, *who agreed to such General Heads as did not touch the Authority of the* King, *nor prejudg the Liberty of the* State. *But this did not content them; so that they resolv'd to put their Conclusions in Practice the next Assembly, without staying for a Ratification* (*Spotswood*'s *Hist.* Fol. 302.) In *Glasgow*, the next Spring, the Ministers put the Magistrates of the City upon Demolishing

the Cathedral, but the Tradesmen Interpos'd, and Defended it. In 1582. *Montgomery* was Proceſs'd for Preaching at *Glaſgow*: The *King* by his Warrant commanded the Aſſembly to deſiſt, which the Moderatour peremptorily refus'd, and thereupon, the Officer pull'd him from his Seat, and Clap'd him up in the *Tolbuyth*; for which they Decreed him to be *Excommunicate*, tho' the King himſelf earneſtly perſwaded them to the contrary.

After this Contempt of the Kings *Authority*, they made a Violent Seizure of his *Perſon*, and carry'd him Priſoner to the Caſtle of *Ruthen*, where they kept him cloſe *Nine Months*; forcing him by a Writing under his hand, to command the Duke of *Lenox* to Depart the Kingdom, and Impoſing upon him what Servants they pleas'd, under pretence of *Zeal to Religion, and Care of his Perſon*. They did alſo Petition the next General Aſſembly at *Edinburgh*, to give their ſenſe of the Action: Who made themſelves Judges; and did ſo highly approve of it, that *they appointed all Miniſters to recommend the Actors of it, as good Chriſtians, and Patriots*, pretending, *that there was no other way to preſerve their Religion and Freedoms*. And yet this Duke dy'd ſoon after in *France*, of the Reformed Communion. For the Countenance of this Proceeding, they force the King (being but Seventeen years of age) to emit a Proclamation, *commanding all thoſe that had Levy'd any Forces upon pretence of his Reſtraint, to Diſband within Six hours, upon pain of Death*; and *Declaring that he was at Liberty, and had only his Friends about him*. In the Summer following, under Colour of Viewing the Caſtle of St. *Andrews*, It was contriv'd that the Gates ſhould be ſhut upon his Followers, and ſo he deliver'd himſelf from his Guard. It would be but the ſame thing over again, to Enumerate the Repeated Uſurpations of their Government, and the Contumacy of their Miniſters: their Rebellious practices at *Striveling*, *Glaſgow*, *&c.* and that Horrid Outrage againſt the *Octavians* in *Edinburgh*, *Decemb.* 17. 1596. When the King appoints a *Feaſt*, they Indict a *Faſt*: The Council Orders the Miniſters of *Edinburgh* to give *Thanks* for his Majeſties Deliverance from *Gowry*'s *Conſpiracy*: Their Anſwer was, That *they were not acquainted with the Buſineſs*. And when it was urg'd, that they were only to affect the People with the Senſe of his Majeſties having ſcap'd a great Danger, they Reply'd, That *nothing ſhould be utter'd in the Pulpit, but that whereof the Truth was known*. Nay, they would not ſo much as pray for the Kings Mother, when her Death was Reſolv'd upon, tho' the very

very Form was prescrib'd in the most Innocent Terms imaginable, viz. *That it might please God to Illuminate her with the Light of his Truth, and save her from the apparent Danger wherein she was cast.*

The Conspiracy under Queen Elizabeth *was nipp'd in the Bud.*

And This would have been the Issue too of the *English* Project under Queen *Elizabeth*; as appears by the Insolence of their Demands, and the Virulence of their Writings, if the Conspiracy had not been nipp'd in the Bud.

The Scotch *Rebellion of* 1637.

The *Scottish Insurrection* in 1637. was only their Old Method Reviv'd. Of which in a few words, out of the *Kings Declaration* upon That Subject.

The Rise, Method, and Progress of it.

Upon occasion of a Seditious Uproar at *Edinburgh*, *Octob.* 18. 1637. his Late Majesty order'd the discharge of all such Meetings, upon pain of Death. And his *Proclamation*, being publish'd at *Sterling*, *Lithgow*, and *Edinburgh*, was encounter'd with a *Protestation* against it, at the same Times, and Places; and with the same Solemnity, as if they had been both by the same Authority. Immediately upon this Affront, the *Protestors* erect *Publick Tables of Council* for ordering the Affairs of the Kingdom without the consent of the King, and in contempt of his Majesty and Council. At these *Tables*, having first agreed upon their *Covenant*, they conclude upon certain Propositions of *Instruction* to the party. *No Answer must be made to State-Questions without Advice. All* Proclamations *to be* Protested *against*; and to take nothing for Satisfaction, less than their whole Demand. This way of *Anti-Protesting* they made use of from first to last. Upon his Majesties *Proclamation* for Dissolving the Assembly at *Glasgow* 1638. they did not only *Protest*, and *Refuse to Depart*, but *Cited the Kings Council that Sign'd the Proclamation, to appear before the King, and Parliament.* In This their *Protestation*, his Majesty observes *Eleven Nullities*; and that *In one Hour they made void Six General Assemblies*; tho' Two of them wholly, and the Other Four, in part, were Ratifi'd by Acts of Parliament. *In another Hour, they damn'd all the* Arminian *Tenets, without defining what they were. In another Hour, they depriv'd one Arch-Bishop, and Two Bishops.* And *in one hour more, they Aboliſh'd Episcopacy; Deposing Four Bishops, barely upon a Libel read in the Pulpit, without Examining any One Witness against them*; and only for the Crime of Obeying Parliaments, and General Assemblies.

They Levy Arms against the King for the Glory of God.

All this they do, as having the Cognition of *Ecclesiastical Matters.* They *Arm* the *Subject*; *Block up*, and Force the Kings *Forts*,

Forts, and *Caſtles*; Intercept *Victuals*, and *Ammunition* for their *Relief*; *Tax the People*; *Levy Soldiers* againſt the King; Iſſue out *Warrants* to *Sheriffs* for Commiſſioners of Parliament; and when they are ask'd *why* they do theſe things; *'Tis for the good of the Church*, (ſay they) *the Glory of God*; and *the Preſervation of Religion*. (Kings Declaration, pag. 415.) Theſe are the men that *bind their Kings in Chains, and their Nobles in Links of Iron*, according to the very Letter. And you ſhall now ſee that the *Engliſh-Covenanters* are as good *Text-Proof* as their *Brethren*. Take Notice here, that my Obſervations are reſtrain'd ſimply to the actings of the Presbyterians, without Imputing any thing to Them that was done by the Influence of the Independents.

The Practices of the Scotch *and* Engliſh *compar'd.*

It appears from what is already ſaid, that *the Name of God* was the Prologue to *Both Rebellions*: The *Form*, and *Doctrine* of the *Engliſh League*, the very *Tranſlation* of the *Scottiſh*: It reſts now to ſhew, that the *Engliſh Practices* are ſo likewiſe; and how far they have put their Seditious *Poſitions* in *Execution*. What was the *Engliſh* way of *Remonſtrating*, and *Declaring*, but the *Scottiſh Mode* of *Proteſting*? *The General Aſſembly* declines the Kings Authority in the Caſe of *Treaſon*; and ſo did *the Houſe of Commons*, in the Caſe of their Members. The *Kirk* refus'd to pray for the *Queen*; and our *Mock-Parliament* made it Penal to pray for the *King*; and they both of them took upon themſelves to *Convene Aſſemblies*; *Impoſe Oaths*, and *Subſcriptions* by their own power: To *Baniſh the Kings Servants*, and *Scandalize his Miniſters*: and with a *Scottiſh* Grace the *Engliſh Faction* tells the King, in anſwer to one of his Declarations, that *his Suggeſtion is as falſe as the Father of Lies can Invent*. As they agreed in the *Intent* of the Reformation, So did they alſo in the *Manner* of it. They alarm'd the City of *London* at Midnight, that *the King was coming with his Papiſts to fire the Town, and burn the Citizens in their Beds*; (the Common pretences of *Scotland*) And after the *Scottiſh Method* too, *they Rifled Wincheſter-Church* in 1642. *Burnt the Communion-Table in an Ale-Houſe*; *brake open ſeveral Leaden Cheſts, wherein the Bodies of ſome of the* Saxon Kings *were Depoſited*; *Caſting the Duſt into the Air*; *and throwing the Bones of them at the Windows*: *Hacking with their Swords the Crown that was there upon the very Statue of the King*. With the ſame Barbarity they proceeded at *Chicheſter*, where *they pickt out the Eyes of* Edw. VI. *his Picture*; ſaying, that *all this was long of his Book of Common Prayer*.

Prayer. At *Canterbury*, and *Rocheſter* they did the like, and turn'd the Church of St. *Paul*, both into a *Stable*, and an *Ale-Houſe*. It might ſerve, in one word for all, to ſay, that they have put all their *Poſitions* before ſpoken of in Practice.

The Uſurpations of the Two Houſes.

The *Two Houſes*, by their own Authority, ſet up *Ordinances* for *Laws*; ſetled the *Militia*; ſtil'd themſelves *the Supreme Judicature* of the Kingdom; chang'd the Whole Frame of the *Government*; puniſh'd thoſe as *Traytors* that *ſerv'd* the King; Seiz'd the Kings *Forts*, *Towns*, *Magazines*, and *Revenues*; *Rais'd an Army againſt him*; Impos'd *Taxes*, *Exciſe*, *Cuſtoms*; took away *Epiſcopacy*, and the *Common-Prayer*, and ſetled the *Directory*; *Proclaim'd Faſts*; ſpoil'd the *King* of his *Authority*; made him a *Priſoner*, under Colour of taking him into *Protection*; and then for a Sum of Money, with *Judas*, *betray'd their Maſter to be Crucifi'd*.

The Rigours of the Covenant.

All this and more was not only the *Effect* of the *Covenant*, but the very *Drift*, and *Meaning* of it; as appears by the Artificial Emprovement of it to all their purpoſes: (being the very Teſt of the Faction.) No man was allowed to practiſe the Law, no man admitted into the *Miniſtry*, that had not taken it; and it was Impos'd, under a Penalty upon the whole Nation. And then after the Taking of it, it was made *Death* for any man to return to his Allegiance; and all the Deſerters of the Conſpiracy, that were murther'd under a Form of Juſtice, were put to Death for *Breach of Covenant*.

The Kirk betray'd, and Sold the King in his Diſtreſs.

When the late King, *May* 1646. in his Diſtreſs, apply'd himſelf to the *Scotch*, and they receiv'd him, as into Protection; his Friends were kept from him at *Newcaſtle*, by as ſtrict an Order, as afterwards at *Holdenby*. But they Formaliz'd the matter however, * *how Baſe a thing it would be for* Scotland *to Deliver up their King*; *and how Inconſiſtent with the Duty of their Covenant, and how Diſhonourable to the Army*; to whom in his Extreme Danger he had Recourſe *for Safety*. The *Scotch Commiſſioners* alſo aggravating the Matter. ‖ *If it be contrary* (ſay they) *to the Law, and Common Practice of Nations, to deliver up the meaneſt Subject, fled to them, tho' it be for the greateſt Crimes*; *How much more would the World abroad condemn our Army for a Baſe, Diſhonourable Act, if they ſhould deliver up their Head, and Soveraign* (*having caſt himſelf into their Hands*) *to be diſpos'd of at the Arbitrament of another Nation? Nay*, (ſays the Chancellour) *I ſhall deſire that the Word of* Diſpoſing of the Kings Perſon, *may be rightly underſtood*; for to *Diſpoſe of the Kings Perſon, as Both Houſes, or both Kingdoms*

Low'on's Second Speech at a Conference, Oct. 6. 1646.

‖ *Anſwer to the Vote of* Sept. 24. 1646.

doms shall think fit, may in some sence, be to Depose, *or* worse. But alas! these difficulties only stuck till the price was agreed upon. How stiff they were, till the Bargain was struck, and after that, how Flat, and Supple! For then he tells his Majesty plainly, If *he refuses the Propositions, both Kingdoms will be constrain'd (for their mutual Safety) to agree, and settle Religion, and Peace without him.* And he is told afterward by the pretended *Declaration of the Kingdom of* Scotland, *of* Jan. 16. 1646. that *by reason of his Refusal, there would be a Joynt Course taken by both Kingdoms concerning the Disposal of his Person.* And then a little after, [*with respect had to the Safety, and Preservation of his Royal Person.* * In the preservation, and Defence of the True Religion, and Liberties of the Kingdoms. *According to the* COVENANT, &c.] On *Feb.* 12. They Exhort their *Covenanted Brethren* (the Assembly at *Westminster*) *to hold fast their Solemn League, and Covenant; to Entertain a Brotherhood, and Unity between the Nations*; but not a Syllable of the King. And again *Jan.* 18. the *General Assembly* of the *Kirk* presses the Two Houses to a *speedy Establishment of the Presbytery.* (And here again no mention of his Majesty.)

Lowdon's *Speech to his Majesty,* 1646.

But what's the Sum now of these *Propositions* that stand in Competition with the Kings *Freedom, Life,* and *Dignity*? First, *Only the Justifying, and Confirming of all they had done.* Secondly, *The giving away of the* Militia *of* England, *and* Ireland, *for* Twenty Years, *with Power to Raise* Men *and* Money. Thirdly, *His Majesty must Swear, and Sign the Covenant; Impose it upon the Three Kingdoms; Abolish Episcopacy, and settle Religion, as Both Houses shall agree.* Fourthly, *All Honours* (*since* 1642.) *must be made Null and Void; No Peers admitted in Parliament, for the Future, but by Consent of the Two Houses.* Fifthly, *All Great Places, and Offices of Honour in* England, *and* Ireland, *to be dispos'd of by Consent of Parliament*; and in Fine; his Majesty must deliver to *death, Beggery,* and *Scorn all that ever Serv'd him.*

The Covenanters Barbarous Propositions to his Late Majesty.

Thus was this *Glorious Prince Betray'd, and Sold, according to the* COVENANT. Here's the true *English* of it, and the Divinity of that *Moloch*, to which this Nation has offer'd up so many Noble *Sacrifices.* Are not our Fundamental *Laws, Persons, Consciences,* and *Estates,* Secure, and Happy, under the Care and Wing of such Blessed *Guardians*? How meanly have we Prostituted the Reverence of the Land, and of the Government, to the Lusts of these Imperious shameless Ravishers! Take notice here of some of the *Kirks* following *Resolves* upon the main point in question.

queſtion. Firſt, *That the Kings taking of the* Scotch Covenant, *and paſſing* Some *of the* Propoſitions, *does not Warrant* Scotland *to Aſſiſt him againſt* England. Secondly, *That upon bare taking the* National Covenant, *they may not Receive him.* Thirdly, *that the Clauſe in the Covenant* for Defence of the Kings Perſon, *is to be underſtood* In Defence, and Safety of the Kingdom. Fourthly, *That his Majeſty ſhall Execute no Power in* Scotland, *without ſatisfying every Point.* Fifthly, *That refuſing the Propoſitions, he ſhall be diſpos'd of according to the* Covenant, *and the* Treaties.

The Two Houſes *as bad as the* Scotch.

Nor would the *Two Houſes* probably have us'd him any better if he had gone to them. For, upon his firſt withdrawing himſelf, they Voted it *Treaſon, and Death without Mercy, for any Man to Harbour, and Conceal the Kings Perſon,* (upon a Suppoſition that his Majeſty was then in *London.*) This was the 4*th* of *May*; and on the 6*th*, the *Commons* Voted him to *Warwick Caſtle*, which was Unvoted again, upon the 9*th*; and in *June*, they Voted *the Kings going to the* Scots, *a deſign to prolong the War.*

It was the Faction *of* Scotland, *not the* Nation, *that Ruin'd the King.*

Let me not appear to Confound the *Faction* of *Scotland* with the *Nation*; for no Country affords greater Inſtances of Integrity, and Honour. Nay, I have heard it from good Authority, that *the Kings going into* Scotland, (which he moſt earneſtly deſir'd) *was carry'd in the* Negative, *only by* Two Voices.

Their dealing with the King at Holdenby.

His Majeſty is now under the Care of his New Governours, and a Priſoner to the *Covenanters* at *Holdenby*; where he deſir'd only *two* of his *Chaplains* that had not taken the *Covenant*; and then a *Common-Prayer Book for his own private* Uſe, but Neither could be Granted him.

Their Rigour at the Iſle of Wight; *and the Horrid Murther of* Montroſs.

At *the Iſle of Wight*, the ſame faction had the handling of him again; where they ſtill Treated his Majeſty much at the ſame rate. And they us'd his *Royal Succeſſor* not much better in 1650. When, to auſpicate the Project for the Recovery of his Crown, in the very Dependence of a Treaty at *Breda* with him; upon the Inſtigation of the *Kirk*; they murther'd the Brave, and Generous *Montroſs*, with the moſt horrid Circumſtances of malice Imaginable: and how they us'd the King himſelf afterward at his coming among them, I am not willing to mention.

The Covenanters Juſtifie the Murther of the Late King, upon the Reſtauration of This.

Nay, when the Time appointed by Gods Providence was come for the Reſtoring of the King, the *Presbyterian Miniſters* in *London* publiſh'd a kind of Squinting Gratulation upon that Occaſion; as if Popery were coming in with his Majeſty for Company. And the *ſame Party*, upon the *Re-Admiſſion* of the *Secluded Members*, preſs'd

preſs'd upon the Houſe of Commons theſe Two following Votes, for the Juſtification of the Rebellion in 1641. and in order to the Excluſion of the Royal Party from the next Choice.

1. *I do Acknowledge, and Declare, that the War undertaken by Both Houſes of Parliament in their Defence againſt the Forces rais'd in the Name of the Late King, was Juſt, and Lawful; and that Magiſtracy, and Miniſtry are the Ordinances of God.*

2. Reſolv'd *that All, and Every Perſon, who have adviſed, or Voluntarily aided, Abetted, Aſſiſted, in any War againſt the Parliament, (ſince the firſt day of* Jan. 1641.) *His, or Their Sons, (unleſs He, or They, have ſince manifeſted their Good Affections to This Parliament) ſhall be Uncapable to be Elected, to ſerve as Members of the next Parliament.* So that as their *Feud* againſt *Kings*, is *Implacable*, their *Averſion* likewiſe to all thoſe that *Love their Prince*, deſcends from Generation to Generation.

Presbytery is Inconſiſtent with any other Government.

How Inconſiſtent *Presbytery* is with *Monarchy*, is ſufficiently manifeſt. But they'l ſay for themſelves, that *Kings may be miſled*; and that it is not the *Form* of Government that is Grievous to Them, but the *Male-Adminiſtration* of it. To which, it may be Reply'd, that *All Governours*, under what Form ſoever, are to *Them*, *Alike*, where they *themſelves* are not *Uppermoſt*: and that the Reformation of Perſonal Failings will not do their Buſineſs without the Total Subverſion of all thoſe wholſom, and profitable Laws that ſtand in the way of their Diſcipline: It being their Cuſtom to Reproach *Princes*, and their *Miniſters*, for ſtraining the *Prerogative*, while they Themſelves at the ſame time, Uſurp over *Kings*, *Parliaments*, and *People*: and Trample under their Feet, all that is *Sacred* in *Society*, and *Government*.

The Presbyterians Will is their Law.

Princes, 'tis true, may have their *Errours*, and their *Paſſions*; but what have the Innocent *Laws* done? Are they *Popiſhly Affected* too? But where ever *Presbytery* reigns, there can be no *Law*, but their own *Will*. Did they not (in *Scotland*) Damn *Biſhops*, as *Anti-Chriſtian*, and deprive *Eccleſiaſtiques* of their Voices in *Parliament*, *Convention*, and *Council*? notwithſtanding Three Acts of Parliament; that is to ſay, of 1584. 1597. and 1606. expreſly to the Contrary. And did they not pronounce the Acts of the Aſſemblies of *Glaſgow*, and *Perth* to be *Void*, and *Illegal*, tho' Enacted as *Municipal Laws*? Ask them now (ſays his Late Majeſty; Large Declaration, *pag.* 416.) *by what Authority they do theſe things*, expreſly *againſt Acts of Parliament*, *Acts of Council*, and

and *Acts of General Assemblies.* They Answer, that *those Acts of Assembly were unduly Obtained; and that now they have Rescinded them. For Acts of Parliament,* and *Acts of Council, they Express great Wonder that any man should Question their Authority over them: For if Christ be above the King, Christs Council must likewise be Supreme; Parliaments being only the Council of the Kingdom. And for the Kings Privy Council, and Judges, they must submit to the Counsellors, and Judges under Christ, who is the King of Kings.*

Nor is it all, that they assume to themselves an *Arbitrary Rule*; but whoever refuses *Subscription,* and *Obedience* to their *Acts,* and *Decrees,* stands *Excommunicate* without Mercy. And then (if he persist) follows *Out-Lawry*; *Forfeiture* of his *Goods*; his *Revenue for Life*; *Letters of Caption* for the Seizing of his *Person*; and *Close Commitment* as a *Traytor.* If he does not yet appear, they take out Letters of *Intercommuning*; making it Treason to *Receive,* or hold any *Correspondence* with him. This is Executed by a Warrant to the *Civil Judge* from a Commissioner of the *Presbytery*; and upon his Refusal, to see the Sentence put in Execution, he himself incurs the same Danger.

The Tyranny of the Pretended Parliament in 1641.

And the same *Tyranny* was Exercis'd by the *Two Houses* upon the *English Government*; Whose *Orders* were Impos'd upon the Nation, for *Laws,* and *Obedience* requir'd to them, under pain of *Life, Liberty,* or *Estate,* at Pleasure.

What a Mockery is it now to talk of *Religion, Kings, Parliaments,* or *Laws,* where the *Dictates* of *Mechanicks* shall Overrule the *Articles* of the *Apostolick Faith*; and the Vote of a Seditious *Conventicle,* Dissolve the *Order,* and *Authority* of a *Legal,* and *Establish'd Government*?

The Tyranny of the Presbytery *over the* Consciences, Lives, Liberties *and* Estates *of the* People.

ALtho' these *Usurpations* upon the *King,* and the *Government* it self, do Naturally presuppose, and Imply an *Oppression* upon the *Subject*; It will not be amiss yet, more particularly to Expose the Inevitable, and the Scandalous *Slavery* of living under *That Dominion*; as well in regard of their *Unlimited Power,* as of their *Inherent Cruelty,* and *Rigour.*

In the matter of *Conscience*, *Life*, *Liberty*, and *Estate*, enough is said already in the very Case of their *Covenants*; wherein without any respect to the *Lawfulness* of the *Thing*, or the *Conscience* of the *Person*, it was *Sequestration*, and *Imprisonment*, to *Refuse* them, even where it was the Hazard of *Damnation* to *Take* them: and being once *Engag'd*, 'twas *Death* to *Repent*. The History of *Scotland* abounds with Instances upon This Subject; but I shall rather bring my Observations Home, to the *Covenanters* of *our Own Age*, and *Nation*.

The Tyranny, Cruelty, *and* Profaneness *of the* English Covenanters.

The Early Plunders of Sir *John Lucas*, Sir *William Boteler*, the Lady *Rivers*; with other Persons of Eminent Condition, both *Lay-men*, and *Divines*, are to be read at large, with the Inhumane Insolences that were Acted upon their Persons, and Relations, in *Mercurius Rusticus:* but the Out-rages that follow'd, were so Great, and so Many, that these are hardly worth the Mentioning, and the Other would be too Tedious to Recite; for the Whole Story of the Rebellion was carry'd on with Rapine, and Bloud. How many Noble-mens Houses were turn'd to Prisons, without the Masters knowing either his Accuser, or his Offence? Several Gentlemen of Quality put on *Ship-board*, and half smother'd in the Heat of the Year; where they contracted Diseases, and by an Arbitrary power were to have been *Transported* no body knew whither. Others were Sold for *Slaves* into Plantations: near 100 *Ministers* were brought out of the *West*, and Clapp'd up in *Lambeth-House*, where almost all of them were destroy'd by a Pestilential Feaver. Nay; so Profane was their Barbarity, that upon *Sunday* the 5*th* of *March* 1642. Dr. *Featly* Preaching that day, at *Lambeth-House*, order was given to dissolve the Congregation, and the Reformers took with them some great Guns to do the Work: At which time some mischief was done, and there had been more, but for a Gentleman, who is at present an Eminent Person in the City, who snatcht away the *Linstock* just as they were going to give fire upon the Congregation, into the Quire of the Chappel. This I have upon the Credit of a man of Worth, and Value. I could tell you of a Minister in *Covent-Garden* that refus'd Christian Burial to the Body of a Gentleman that was Quarter'd for his Loyalty; One that made it a *Moot-Point*, upon an *Anniversary Fast*, whether or no the *Kings Death* were a *Murther*.

And these People were as well the Masters of our Estates, as of our Persons: (See *Scobell's Collection of Acts, and Ordinances*) by their own power, taking upon them to *Sequester Delinquents*; borrow Money upon the *Publick Faith*; gathering of other peoples *Rents*, and *Debts*; *Levying of Money*; *Raising of Horse*; *Assessing* at Pleasure; *Sequestring Church and Crown-Lands*; Gulling the people with *Irish Adventures*; Laying new *Imposts*; Authorizing the breaking open of Locks; and Examining upon Oath, for Discovery of Delinquents *Money*, and *Goods*; *Raising*, *Continuing*, and *Enlarging* several *Excises*; Borrowing *Money* for the *Scots*; *Taxing the Whole Nation*; Appropriating the Profits of *Tonnage*, and *Poundage* to themselves; compounding for *Wardships*: Beside their Impositions of a *Weekly Meal*; their *Monthly Assessments*; and other Impositions upon the people to Incredible Value, and without any Colour of Law.

They Disposed of our Estates, and Persons, at Pleasure.

As there is *no Freedom* either of *Conscience*, *Person*, or *Estate*, under their Boundless Dominion; so there's no living under them, with either *Peace*, or *Reputation*. If a Man and a Woman live in such a manner of Conversation, that it is possible for them to be Lewd together in private, the *Presbytery* shall take it for granted that they are so; and without any Evidence, require them *publickly* the next Lords day, perhaps, before the *Congregation* to discharge themselves upon *Oath* that they are *Innocent*. Which if they do, and that they purge themselves of the suspected Crime, they shall yet be forc'd to do *open Penance* for their *Misbehaviour*. But if two persons shall be Presented, under a Suspicion of *Incontinence*, and that being Conven'd, and Examin'd, there shall appear any strong Presumptions that they are so; tho' there be no Proof in the Case, they shall yet be made *Close Prisoners*, to feed on *Bread* and *Water*, and no body to come at them; to try, if either by *Proof*, or *Confession*, any thing can be made out against them by the *next Court-day*: If not, they are dismist, but upon Condition, that if ever they be seen together again, unless in the *Church*, or in the *Market*, it shall be taken *pro Confesso* that they are *Guilty*. There was a *Husband* that confessed to his *Wife* some Faults that he had committed, and She out of Zeal told a *Presbyterian Minister* the Story; for which the *Minister* very fairly *Convented* him, and made him do *Publick Penance*. This Practice has parted many men and their wives; and stirr'd up Feuds never to be

Their Scandalous and Uncharitable Censures.

be Reconcil'd. Nay a man ſhall not Sue for a Debt upon a Bond, or a Landlord, for his Rent, but the *Presbytery* ſhall take the Judgment of it to themſelves, as a Courſe Scandalous to the Profeſſion, where any of their own Gang is concern'd. They muſt have an Oar in every Boat. In *Scotland* they interpos'd in the Buſineſs of *Salt-Pans*, *Salmon-Fiſhing*, *Fairs*, and *Markets*; and fell heavily upon ſome *Scottiſh Merchants* in *Edinburgh*, for carrying Wheat to *Spain* in a time of Dearth. But the Trade of *Wax* thither, was Unpardonable, as not only *feeding Gods Enemies*, but maintaining their *Idolatry*. To ſay nothing of the abſurdity, in their Conſtitution, of making *Trudeſmen Judges* in Matters of *Faith*; and the Unmannerly temper of it, where a *Taylor*, or a *Shooe-maker* ſhall Sit, and Vote Cheek by Jowl with his *Soveraign*.

Having made a Faithful Report of the *Pretended Powers*, the *Avow'd Principles*, and the *Open Practices* of theſe Troublers of our *Iſrael*, ſo far as the Diſcovery may honeſtly conduce to our preſent purpoſe; we ſhall now lay open *the Myſtery of Iniquity*, in the *Secret Contrivances* of their *Cabal*; and upon no leſs Authority, than the Faith, and Honour of *King Charles the Martyr*, in his Remarques upon the Proceedings of the *Scottiſh Covenanters*.

The Scottiſh General Table *was the Pattern of the* Engliſh Cloſe Committee.

The device of our *ſtanding Committees* in 1641. with *Subordination* to the *Cloſe Committee*, was only an Imitation of the *Preparatory Tables of Advice* in *Scotland*, with *Subordination* to their *General Table*. And there, Effectually, was lodged the laſt Reſult of Counſel. It was compos'd of men of *Brains*, *Popularity*, *Boldneſs*, and ſuch as were moſt Obſtinately engag'd to the *Faction*; whether *Preaching*, or *Ruling-Elders*. The Acts of *Aſſembly* were but the Dictates of the *General Table*; as in *England* the *Two Houſes* ſtill agreed to the ſenſe of the *Cloſe Committee*. There it was, that the abuſes of Government were Inſpected; Reformations Modell'd; Court-offices diſpos'd of; all Conſpiracies Form'd, and Digeſted; and the Preachers expreſly directed what Points to Preſs, and which Nail to drive. There can be no better account given of their *under-hand dealing*, than they give of themſelves, in their *two Private Papers of Inſtructions* (Printed in the Late Kings *Large Declaration*, *Fol.* 282. *&c.* with his Majeſties Notes upon them) toward the Securing of a *General Aſſembly* (which was to meet at *Glaſgow*, *Nov.* 21. 1638.) The one of them

them being directed to one *Lay-Elder*; and the other, to *some one Minister* in *every Presbytery*, for the Packing of their Party. In the former of them you have in terms these following particulars in Charge.

That some one Minister, and Gentleman in every Presbytery meet oft together, to resolve upon the Particular Commissioners to be Chosen, and use all diligence with the rest of the Ministers and Gentlemen, that such may be Chosen. Their Private Instructions.

And *Because nothing will avail so much for our purpose, where the most part of the Ministers are disaffected, as that the Gentlemen be present to Vote in Presbyteries, it would be presently tri'd whether this be put in Execution; and if the Minister be slow in urging it, the Gentlemen themselves to urge it, and put themselves in Possession.*

That they linger not, they would be urged again to send their Commissioners to Edinburgh *before the first of* October: *by this we shall know our own strength the better at our Meeting.*

And the Gentlemen (at least the greatest part of them) would be warned to be at Edinburgh, Septemb. 20. *And that only the Gentlemen who are nam'd Commissioners to the Presbytery for chusing their Commissioners for the Assembly, with some to assist them, that day stay at home, and those to come away immediately after the Election.*

That in every Presbytery there be a particular Care taken of the Informations against the Prelates, for Instructing our Complaints.

The Other Paper of Private Instructions of Aug. 27. 1638. *runs as follows.*

THese *Private Instructions shall be discovered to none but to Brethren well affected to the Cause.*

Order must be taken that none be Chosen Ruling-Elders, *but* Covenanters, *and Those well affected to the Business.*

That where the Minister is not well Affected, the Ruling-Elders *be Chosen by the* Commissioners *of the* Shire, *and spoken to particularly for that Effect.*

That they be careful no Chapter-men, Chappel-men, *or a* Minister, Justice of the Peace, *be chosen, although* Covenanters, *except they have publickly renounc'd, or declar'd the Unlawfulness of their Places.*

That

That the Ruling-Elders *come from every Church in equal Number with the* Miniſters, *and if the* Miniſter *oppoſe, to put themſelves in Poſſeſſion, notwithſtanding any Oppoſition.*

That the Commiſſioner *of the* Shire *cauſe Convene before him the* Ruling-Elder *of every Church, Choſen before the day of the Election, and enjoyn them upon their Oath, that they give Vote to none, but to thoſe who are Nam'd already at the Meeting at* Edinburgh.

That where there is a Nobleman *within the Bounds of the* Presbytery, *He be choſen: And where there is none, there be Choſen a* Baron, *or one of the Beſt Quality, and he only a* Covenanter.

The Medly of their Aſſembly.

The King obſerves (Fol. 315.) that *This Aſſembly of* Glaſgow *had not ſo much as the Face of an* Eccleſiaſtical meeting; *not a Gown worn by any Member of it, unleſs it was by one or two Miniſters that liv'd in the* Town: *The Appearance of it was in a manner, wholly* Laical. *Among the Members of it, were* Seven Earls, Ten Lords, Forty Gentlemen, One and Fifty Burgeſſes, *many of them in Colour'd Clothes, and Swords by their Sides; all which did give Voices, not only in very high Points of Controverſie, but alſo in the Sentences of* Excommunication *pronounc'd againſt the Biſhops, and Others. Nay, and all things in the* Aſſembly *carry'd by the Sway of theſe* Lay-Elders; *Inſomuch that it was a very rare thing to hear a* Miniſter *ſpeak there.*

The General Aſſembly is but the Embryo of a Commonwealth.

Now let any man judge whether this be a *Church-Aſſembly*, or the *Embryo* of a *Common-Wealth*: A *Conſcientious Conſultation* for the *Reforming of Religion*, or a *Seditious Practice* for the *Embroiling* of the *State*. How applicable is that Invective againſt *Popery* (in the Libel concerning the Growth of it) to the Caſe of *Presbytery? The Power of it is Abſolute* (ſays the Author of it) *and the Decree is Infallible. It can change the very Nature of things; making what is Juſt, to be Unjuſt, and what is Vice, to be Virtue. All Laws are in the Cabinet of its Breaſt, and it can diſpoſe of Kingdoms, and Empires as it pleaſes. It makes it a Mortal Sin even to doubt of any part of its Religion; and demands, under pain of Damnation, the Subjection of all Chriſtians to its Authority. That Word of* Reformation *miſapply'd, has ſerv'd it to juſtifie all the Executions, Aſſaſſinations, Wars, Maſſacres, and Devaſtations, whereby the Diſcipline hath been Propagated. It is almoſt Unconceivable how Princes can yet ſuffer a Power ſo Pernicious, and Doctrine ſo Deſtructive to all Government. Their ſtrict Oaths, and Vows of Obedience to the* Presbytery *Evacuate the Fealty due to the Soveraign.*

What

What difference now (more than in the *Name*) betwixt the *Papal Tyranny*, as he has set it forth, and the *Presbyterial*, as it appears from their own *Words*, and *Deeds*? What *Power* can be more *Absolute*, or what *Decrees* more *Infallible*, than That of the *Presbytery*; Which challenges *Obedience* to all its Dictates, both from *Prince*, and *People*, under pain of *Life*, *Liberty*, *Dominion*, and *Estate*? It Over-rules *Laws*; sets up *Oaths* of *Treason* against *Oaths* of *Allegiance*; and covers the Crime of *Rebellion* with the Title of *Virtue*. It takes upon it self the Office of *Christs Vicar*; *Depoſes Kings*; and under the maſque of *Religion*, diſſolves the *Order*, and *Authority* of all Governments. *The King in his* Declaration *before-mentioned*, (Fol. 404.) *among other of their Unchriſtian Extravagancies, takes Notice of their Refuſal to Pray for Sir* William Nesbett *upon his Death-bed, becauſe he had not Subſcrib'd the* Covenant; *and that they did Formally bar* non-Covenanters *from the* Communion, *in Expreſs terms with* Blaſphemers, *and* Adulterers; *refuſing* Baptiſm *in the Churches of Miniſters that had not taken the* Covenant, *even to Children that were born in the ſame Pariſh.* *Presbyterial Tyranny.*

The Unchriſtian Rigour *of this* Diſcipline *is ſuch* (*ſays the Author of* Toleration diſcuſs'd, *pag.* 334.) *that* It Crucifies weak *Conſciences with Needleſs, Infinite, and Incurable Scruples, that Haunt, Dog, and Torment m in the moſt Neceſſary, and Ordinary Actions of Humane Life: At the Church, at the Table, at the Market, at Home, and Abroad: At all Times, in all Places, and upon all Occaſions; in our Thoughts, Words, and Deeds.*

As to Exceſs in Eating; *It is* Cenſurable *either in the* Quantity, *or in the* Quality. *So that in the* firſt *place the* Eldership *is to provide one Common Gage for the Stomachs of the Whole Pariſh, for fear of a Mouthful too much. And in the* ſecond *place, It is made a matter of* Salvation, *or* Damnation *whether a man Eats* Beef, *or* Veniſon. *Exceſs in Eating Cenſurable.*

And ſo for Exceſs *in* APPAREL, *one Inch more than to cover your Shame is a* Superfluity; *and One Peny more in the Pound than the* Allowance *of the* Presbytery, *is made as much as a mans Soul is Worth.* *In Apparel.*

It is the ſame thing for VAIN WORDS. *A Nurſe ſhall not dare to ſtill her Child but with a* Pſalm; *and you muſt not preſume ſo much as to ask* What a Clock it is, *without a Text to prove that the Queſtion tends to* Edification. *Vain Words.*

Chiding. *Nay they have drawn* CHIDING *within the Compaſs of* Eccleſiaſtical Cenſure. *So that* Maſters *ſhall not reprove their* Servants, *nor* Parents *their* Children, *without Leave of the* Elderſhip. *And they have taken in* BRAWLING *too; and made every* Billingſgate Quarrel *a Subject of* Conſiſtorial Cognizance.

Lewd Cuſtoms. *Under* LEWD CUSTOMS *are Cenſur'd all ſorts of* Publick Sports, Exerciſes, *and* Recreations *that have been long in uſe, as having their Original from the Times of* Paganiſm, *or* Popery; *As* Comedies, Interludes, Wraſtlings, Foot-Ball-Play, May-Games, Whitſon-Ales, Morrice-Dances, Bear-Batings, *&c. All* GAMES *that bring* Loſs, *are alſo* Prohibited; *as* Tennis, Bowls, Billyards, *&c. And ſo are* UNCOMELY GESTURES; *So that a man may be given to the Devil for* Lolling *upon his* Elbow, *or* Sitting *upon his* Back-ſide *before the* Deacon *of the* Pariſh. *Nay, our very* THOUGHTS *are Cenſurable, and 'tis enough to be ſuſpected. He that ſues to recover a* Debt *ſhall be ſuſpected of* Avarice; *and he that refuſes to Crouch like the Aſs under the Burthen, ſhall be ſuſpected of* Pride.

Ridiculous Scruples. *To paſs now from their* Rigours, *to their* Scruples; *There goes a Story of ſome of them that made it a Matter of* Religion, *to* Piſs a Bed, *and* Ride Hobby-Horſes, *becauſe it is ſaid,* Except you become as little Children, you ſhall not enter into the Kingdom of Heaven. *But* Bancroft (*in his* Holy Diſcipline, pag. 368.) tells you of thoſe that made *Hawking*, and *Hunting*, and *Womens laying out of Hair*, to be Caſes of Conſcience; *and* Walker *conſults* Field *particularly, whether it be in any reſpect Tolerable for Women that profeſs Religion, and the Reformation, to wear* Doublets, Little Hats with Feathers; Great Gowns after the French, and Outlandiſh Faſhion; Great Ruffs, and Hair, either Curl'd or Friz'l'd, or ſet out upon Wyres, *&c.* And *Cholmlye* deſires to be reſolv'd *whether the ſtrict Prohibition of not Kindling of fire on the* Sabboth *be of the ſubſtance of the* Moral Precept.

Among all theſe Scruples I find no difficulty made in the Caſes of *Dethroning Kings*; *Demoliſhing Churches*; *Killing, and taking Poſſeſſion, &c.* But to conclude, with the Treatiſe aforeſaid;

From

From the *Triple-Crown'd Conſiſtory*; that Lords it over *Souls*, *Bodies*, and *Eſtates*; over *Kings*, *Nobles*, and *Commons*; over *Laws*, *Magiſtrates*, and all Sorts, and Ranks of *Men*, and *Intereſts*; That Turns *Goſpel* into *Law*; *Communities* into *Deſerts*; *Men* into *Beaſts*;

Good Lord Deliver us.

THE END.

ADVERTISEMENT.

The History of the Plot: Or, A Brief and Historical Account of the *Charge* and *Defence* of *Edward Coleman*, Esq; *William Ireland*, *Thomas Pickering*, *John Grove*: *Robert Green*, *Henry Berry*, *Laurence Hill*: *Tho. Whitebread*, *William Harcourt*, *John Fenwick*, *John Gavan*, *Anthony Turner*, Jesuites: *Richard Langhorn*, Esq;: Sir *George Wakeman*, Baronet, *William Marshal*, *William Rumly*, *James Corker*, Benedictine Monks. Not omitting any one Material Passage in the whole proceeding. By Authority. *Printed for* Richard Tonson *within* Grayes-Inn-Gate *next* Grayes-Inn Lane. 1679.

THE

Reformed CATHOLIQUE:

OR, THE

True Protestant.

MATTH. 24. 26.

There shall arise FALSE CHRISTS *and* FALSE PROPHETS.

The Second Edition Corrected.

LONDON,

Printed for *Henry Brome*, at the *Gun* in St. *Pauls* Church-yard, at the *West End*, 1679.

THE

Reformed

CHRISTIAN

OR THE

True Protestant.

THE

Reformed Catholique:

OR,

The True Protestant.

THis Paper ſhould have come into the World under the Form of a Letter (as moſt Pamphlets of quality do of late) if the Author had not made a Conſcience of covering the Simplicity of his purpoſe under any ſort of Diſguiſe; ſo that without ſo much as a ſingle *How do ye*, to uſher it in, he comes point blank to the Buſineſs in the very Title. It may be looked upon, I know, as a thing of *Ill Omen*, to begin with an *Alias*: But there is neither *Prieſt* nor *Highway-man* in our Caſe; and yet there may be cauſe enough perhaps for a kind of *Hue and Cry* too; for it is a matter of great moment that every man ſhould both *go*, and be *known* by his right Name; and (peradventure) never more neceſſary than in this juncture, and in this particular: And ſo to my Text.

A Reformed Catholique (properly ſo called) *is an Apoſtolical Chriſtian*, or *a Son of the Church of* England: *A true*

Proteſtant may be ſo too; nay, and many times he *is* ſo; and many a *Loyal, Orthodox, Reformed Catholique calls* himſelf ſo; and (according to the ſtile of the Age) he may be well enough *ſaid* and *accounted* ſo to *be*. But all this is only by *Adoption*, and without any colour for it in the Original of his *Denomination*. Now a *Proteſtant*, in ſtrictneſs of ſpeaking, is a *Lutheran*, which this Church does not in all points pretend to be, and then the *Characteriſtical Note* of a *Chriſtian* is *Catholique*; ſo that the *Appellation* is too narrow for the *Principle*, and draws on the very ſame Implication in a *Proteſtant Catholique*, which we make ſport with in a *Roman-Catholique*, that is to ſay, the Soloeciſm of a *Particular Univerſality*.

Here is enough already (I ſuppoſe) to furniſh an Extract of as much Popery out of it, as may recommend ſome hungry Informer to a Mornings-draught; for we have a ſort of people now-a-days, that will read a mans Heart through his Ribs, though they can hardly ſee his Noſe on his Face; and that give more Credit to their Ears than to their Eyes. Now to eaſe the Reader in two or three peeviſh points, if he ſhould chance to be *Over-critical* and *Imperious*, I will tell him before-hand, in a few words, what he is to truſt to.

To the *firſt Queſtion* or *Objection* fairly ſuppoſed; the Author is no *Diſguiſed* or *Concealed Papiſt*, but of the Communion of the Church of *England*, trained up in the ſtricteſt way of it, and ſtanding firm to it againſt all ſorts of Provocation, Diſcouragement, Temptation, and Argument; and without warping to the *Jeſuites*, either on the *right hand* or on the *left*.

To the *Second*: He is not ſet on to write this Diſcourſe, either directly or indirectly, by any Hint, Deſire, or Appointment whatſoever; nor by any other Motive than the ſenſe of what he owes to the Publique, and to his Conſcience, and the Conſideration of ſome ſmall Preſent from the

the Book-seller. if there be any thing got by it. (A piece of *Good Husbandry* that he hath learnt of his *Superiors.*) He hath no design upon any *Place at Court* in it, nor upon any *Church Lease*; no not so much as a Reversion: And all this is True, by the Faith of a poor Gentleman, that hath worn his Doublet out at the Elbows in his Majesties Service. It might be added, that he is grown Old and Careless, and that even Malice it self were lost upon him. Now under these Circumstances, I hope he may securely advance to tell you a little more of his mind.

So faras *Catholique* and *Protestant* serve only as two *several Names*, intending the *self-same thing*, (though the one by *Propriety*, and the other but by *Translation*) it is all one to me whether of the two any man calls me; all the danger is, the countenancing of an Ill Thing under a Good Name.

The word *Protestancy* falls under a *double acceptation*; the *one*, as it denotes the *Reformed Religion*; the *other*, as it is taken for *the Genus Generalissimum of all Dissenters from the Church of* Rome. The *former* I do heartily embrace, as transmitted to us from our Fore-fathers, and Signed by the Blood of Martyrs; Authorized by the Holy Gospel, and by the Law of the Land; the common Bond of our Civil Peace, and (by Gods Blessing) the Hopes and Means of our Eternal Salvation.

Now to the *latter Acceptation*, I am not at all satisfied with it, and I have both *Reason* and *Experience* to warrant me in that dislike. As to my *Reason*; First, It is an *Agreement* upon an *Opposition*; and next, it is an *Agreement of several Parties disagreeing among themselves*, which carries the Face rather of a *Confederacy*, than a *Religion*: For it is not the *Opposing of Error*, but the asserting of a *Truth*, that must do the work. *One Error* may be *opposed* by *another*, even in a Single Person; as one man Robs his *Neighbour*, and a third Robs *him*. Here is *one Injustice opposed by another*: So

that as it is an *Agreement* in *Oppoſition*, it is a hundred to one there will be *Error* in it: But the *Oppoſers* themſelves being *ſubdivided*, 'tis impoſſible it ſhould be *Right*; for the very *Eſſence* and *Soul* of *Religion* are here wanting; that is to ſay, *Charity* and *Unity*. And for the proof of this, beyond all Contradiction; let but any man look back into the late Troubles, and ſee, when the Factions had deſtroyed the King and the *Church*, (which they called the *Common Enemy*) how they fell preſently to the Worrying of one another; when the *Presbyterians*, *Independents*, *Anabaptiſts*, *Quakers*, *Seekers*, *Ranters*, *Antinomians*, and twenty other wild ſorts of *Sectaries*, under the title of *Proteſtants*, and under the pretence of oppoſing *Popery*, deſtroyed the very Cauſe the *Covenanted* to aſſert; a *Proteſtant-Church*, a *Proteſtant-Prince*, and a *Proteſtant-People*, filled the Land with *Confuſion*, *Sacrilege*, and *Hereſie*; made the *Engliſh Nation* a Reproach and a Scandal to the *Chriſtian World*: And ſo ſoon as they had poſſeſſed themſelves of the *Power* and *Revenue* of the Kingdom, every mans hand was againſt his Brother for the *Booty*.

To proceed now to the matter of *Experience*: I would fain ſee any one Inſtance from the very *Reformation it ſelf*, to *this day*, when ever there was a Clamour advanced upon this point, of a *Conjunct Oppoſition* of *Popery*, that the Church of *England* was not ſtruck at in the *Confederacy*; and that too, not by blind *Inferences* and tacit *Preſumption*, but by *Ouvert acts*, and a Notoriety of *Practice*: That is to ſay, the Men that ſtickled under this Notion, did poſitively declare the *Government* by *Biſhops* to be *Antichriſtian*; and the *Diſcipline* and *Common Prayers* of the *Church*, to be *Popery* and *Superſtition*; yes, and the *Civil Adminiſtration it ſelf* alſo to be down-right *Tyranny*. They did juſt like the Fellows in *Hatton-Garden*, that Stole *Money* and *Plate*, under the pretence of Searching for *Prieſts*; and for the Credit of the Exploit, they Robbed in *Red*

Coats

Coats too, that they might the better paſs for ſome of his *Majeſties Guards*. The Similitude runs upon all Four, for it was the very caſe of our *pretended Proteſtants*; under colour of hunting for *Prieſts*, they ſeized *Money* and *Plate*, and committed *Robberies* in the very *Livery* of the *Government*.

This they did in *Scotland*, under the *Queen Regent*, and King *James*; and in *England*, under Queen *Elizabeth*; and twice in *Scotland* again, under the late *King*; and after that, in *England*: Two actual Rebellions more in *Scotland*, under this *preſent King*, and now God bleſs us from another *at Home*; and all this from that ſort of people that ſtiled themſelves *Proteſtants*. The *Principles*, the *Methods*, and the *Pretences* the very ſame, from one end to the other.

The Story of theſe *Phanatical Conſpiracies* is almoſt as Nauſeous as the thing it ſelf is Deteſtable; only this laſt in *Scotland* methinks ſeems to Crown the Infamy of all the reſt: For a *Party* that calls it ſelf *Proteſtant*; a *Party in full Cry* upon the *ſcent* of *Popery*; a *Popiſh Plot* upon *Oath* too, at the ſame time upon the Life of the *King*, upon our *Religion* and *Government*; and that *Plot*, at that inſtant, under a ſtrict Examination; *the ſame Party* at the *ſame time* alſo preſſing for Juſtice upon the Conſpirators, nay, and complaining of the remiſsneſs of the Proſecution, notwithſtanding the moſt exemplary Rigor in the Caſe that ever was known in this Nation: For *this Party*, (I ſay) under theſe Circumſtances, to flie in the Face of the Government, let the World judge if ever there was a more Conſummated piece of Wickedneſs. They raiſe a *Rebellion*, and make *Religion* the *Ground* of it; they declare a *War* againſt the *King*, and the *Church*, and yet write themſelves *Loyal Subjects* and *Proteſtants*. They cry out of the Danger of *Popery*, and yet in the ſame breath, *draw their Swords upon their Prince, in the very attempt of Cruſhing it*; and all theſe

Aggra-

Aggravations complicated into one Act. Is it not high time then, after an Impoſture that hath coſt this Nation ſo dear, to learn at laſt to diſtinguiſh betwixt a *Religion* and a *Faction*? Betwixt what men *are*, and what they *call* themſelves? Is a *Renegado* ever the leſs a *Turk* for putting out *Engliſh Colours*? Are the *Bleſſed Spirits* ever the leſs *Pure*, for the *Devils* transforming himſelf into an *Angel of Light*? Is the *Kings Broad Seal* one jot the leſs Valuable for being *Counterfeited*? So neither is our *Profeſſion*. And he that diſhonours *Religion*, or invades *Authority* under the Name of a *Proteſtant*, is no more to any ſober man, than a *Goth* or a *Vandal*. *Judas* his *Betraying* of his Maſter was a moſt ungrateful and abominable Sin, but the doing of it with a *Kiſs*, made it by many degrees more execrable: And it was the height of the Prophet *Davids* Affliction, the Circumſtance of a *Familiar Friend*. Where is the harm now of ſaying, *Have a care of* **False Proteſtants**: The **Author** *and the* **Finiſher** *of our Faith*, is (I hope) of Authority ſufficient to juſtifie that Caution. Doth not our *Saviour* himſelf tell us that *there ſhall ariſe* **False Chriſts** *and* Falſe Prophets? and why not **False Proteſtants**: And doth he not bid us *take heed that no man deceive us*; *for many* (ſays he) *ſhall come in my Name, ſaying I am* Chriſt, *and ſhall deceive many*? Doth he not bid us *beware of* Wolves *in* Sheeps Cloathing? And in his deſcription of the *Scribes* and *Phariſees*, he gives us the very Picture of our *Impoſtors*.

We have it upon the credit of Dr. *Tong*, and Dr. *Oats*, that the Sedition of 1641. was totally contrived and carried on by *Popiſh Counſels*; and that not onely the *Conventicles* in that Bloody Revolution, but all our *Separate Meetings* to this day, and particularly the *Scottiſh Commotions* were and are Influenced by *Prieſts* and *Jeſuites*, under the Maſque of Profeſſors of thoſe ſeveral Perſuaſions. Have we not reaſon then to uſe all poſſible Circumſpection, that we may not be impoſed upon by ſuch as theſe for *Proteſtants*? No

man

man hath a greater Veneration for the memory of those Protestants that suffered Martyrdom for their *Faith*; no man a greater *Horrour* for the *Irish*, the *Parisian*, and several other *Massacres*; no man a higher Esteem, or a more Ardent affection for *Protestancy* it self, (so far as the Profession of the Church of *England* is intended by it) than I have. But for those Turbulent Spirits that lay about them as if Heaven were to be taken by *actual Violence*, whose Zeal outstrips Christianity it self, imposing upon the World their own corrupt and impetuous passions, in stead of the Healing and Pacifique Motions of the Holy Ghost. These are a dangerous sort of people, and their ways are not onely a Contradiction to the undeniable Principles of our *Institution*, but to the common Interest of *Mankind*, as well *Individuals* as *Communities*. For if it be true, that *Charity* is the great Lesson of the Gospel: If it be true, that *Unity* in *Faith*, and *Unanimity* in the things of *Civil Government*, would make up the most perfected Blessing that reasonable Nature is capable of in this Tabernacle of Flesh; then must it necessarily follow, that the nearer we approach to *that Agreement*, the *better Christians* we are, and the *happier Men*; and the further we depart *from it*, the more *Wicked* and the more *Miserable* we are. This is either true or false: If the former, there is no Treason in it; if the latter, we may burn our Bibles.

Before I wade any farther into this Controversie, it may do well, I think, to give some Reason, why upon *this Subject*, and at *this Time*; that the World may not take that for the Leaven of an Unquiet Humour, which in great Truth, is onely an act of Conscience in the discharge of a sober and a seasonable duty to my Prince and Country.

To the undertaking of this Office, I have been induced, by the Audacious Liberties of the Press, in the

the matter of Religion and Government, endeavouring to poſſeſs the Multitude with Falſe and Pernicious Principles and Opinions, and by Artificial Hints and Scandals to diſpoſe them (now toward the meeting of this next Parliament) to a Partial and a Factious Choice: So that my Buſineſs is onely to encounter and lay open the Vanity and Weakneſs of thoſe Libels, and without confining my ſelf to any one in particular, to ſum up the Malice of them all, for ſo much as concerns our preſent purpoſe, and to ſubmit my ſelf to the Reader in a fair and ſhort Reply.

It is a Note worthy of Conſideration, that all the Papers here in queſtion, (even to a ſingle Sheet) are the Work of Men exceedingly Byaſſed againſt the *Eſtabliſhed Government*, as *Republicans*, *Anabaptiſts*, and other ſorts of *Diſſenters* from the *Church*; for the Publiſhers of theſe Papers are known every one of them, and moſt of the Authors. Now what advice toward the *Honour* and *Safety* of the Government, theſe People are likely to give, who are United in common *Principles* of *Defaming*, *Diſcompoſing*, and even of *Diſſolving* it, let Heaven and Earth be the Judges: And what work ſuch a Houſe of Commons would make, as theſe forward Undertakers would have, if they were to direct and influence the Election.

Now if *theſe* be the *Counſellors*, let us ſee next if the *Matter* of their *Writings* be not anſwerable to the *Character* of the *Men*; and if it be not moſt evident that it is their very ſcope and deſign (ſo far from endeavouring the Peace and Settlement of the Nation) to poiſon the People with *Seditious Maxims*; to create *Jealouſies* betwixt the *King* and his *Subjects*, and to Undermine the very Foundation of the Government.

They ſupport themſelves with the Multitude, upon two *General* and *Popular Pretenſions*, *Religion*, and *Liberty*: *What Religion*, or *what Liberty*, they do not ſay; but only fill the Peoples heads with a confuſed Notion of things,

and

and wild apprehensions of *Popery* and *Tyranny*: And then their next work is under colour of stating the *Privileges* of *King* and *People*; to Erect *Seditious Positions*; and after all, to prescribe Remedies infinitely worse then the Disease. We shall now make it appear that the *Religion* they talk of, leads to all sorts of *Impiety*; and that their pretended *Liberty* is the ready way to *Slavery*. *First*, of *Religion*.

As to what concerns *Religion*, they do all of them sing the same Song in their *Quæries* and *Proposals* to the *Freeholders* and *Electors of England*, and unanimously agree in the same method of Advice to the People, how they are to govern themselves in their next Choice.

Their first Caution is, *To pursue the Discovery and Punishment of the* Plot, (*the* Trojan Horse *with an Army in the Belly of it.*) *To secure us from* Popery; *and that no* Papist *may be allowed to dwell in the Land*; *Nor any man chosen into the* House, *that shall dare to open his mouth for a* Popish Successor: And all this attended with a Dreadful Enumeration of the *Massacres*, *Fires*, *Treasons*, and *Devastations* that have been wrought by the *Popish Party*.

To this first Point, the *Replicant* most willingly subscribes, so far as stands with *Christian Charity*, and *the Law of the Land*: But then he cannot forget on the other hand, that the *Counterfeit Protestant Horse of* 1641. *had an Army in the Belly of him*, as well as the *Trojan*; and he that would be safe, must look both ways at once.

Another Caution is, not to choose any man that is *Popishly affected*; or (as another hath it) *Ill affected*. But a third proceeds a little more warily, and recommends the chusing onely of *Sincere Protestants*, and not *Disguised Papists*, *who are ready to pull off their Masque*, *when time serves*, *and may be known by their* Laughing at the *Plot*, Disgracing the Evidence, Admiring the Traitors Constancy, *&c.*

This ſame *Popiſhly* and *Ill-affected*, lies open to ſeveral Exceptions; for one Man is made Judge of the Thoughts of another, which is onely the Prerogative of Almighty God. I have heard of a man that was Indicted for *Whiſtling*; but never till now, of any Man that was Incapacitated to ſerve in the Houſe of Commons, for *Thinking*. Beſide the unreaſonable Latitude, and the Horrible Iniquity of the Judgment; for if this be admitted, no man living can be ſecure: It involves the Innocent with the Guilty, and puts a man out of all poſſibility to acquit himſelf. And then forward; It is but turning the *Tables*, and the *Blot* is hit on *the other ſide*: For why ſhould not I be as well allowed to pronounce *another man a* **Diſguiſed Proteſtant**, as he to judg *me a* **Diſguiſed Papiſt**, and the ſame Liberty of Marking him too? You ſhall know him by his *Shiboleth*; for the *Old Covenant* ſticks in his Teeth ſtill, and the whole myſtery of his Profeſſion is wrapt up in that *Oracle* of the *Privileges of Parliament*; *the Kings* **Juſt** *Power and Greatneſs*; *the Proteſtant Religion againſt* **Popery**, *and* **Popiſh Innovations**; the firſt point being wholly *Incomprehenſible*, and the other two, like *Jugglers Knots*, faſt or looſe at pleaſure.

This equal Freedom being granted on all ſides, takes away all Faith, Confidence, and Correſpondence in Humane Society. I know no difference in the World betwixt *one mans Infallibility* and *anothers*; nor any (but in *Terms*) betwixt a *Private mans Infallible Light*, and the *Popes Infallible Sentence:* Nor is there any one Uſurpation in *Popery*, that is either *Grievous* to the *Conſcience*, or *Dangerous* to the *Government*; but a man may ſhew very near an *Equivalent* of it in *Schiſm*.

As to the Marks of diſtinction betwixt a *Sincere Proteſtant* and a *Diſguiſed Papiſt*; the Immorality of *Laughing at the Plot*, ſavours more in my opinion, of an *Unmannerly Fool*, than of a *Diſguiſed Papiſt*; though for my own part, I

am

am so far from *Laughing at it*, that it wounds my soul, the very thought on't. *Disgracing of the Evidence* were something indeed; but to make a man a *Papist* for *admiring the Traitors Constancy*, that, methinks is very hard, and not answerable to what one would expect from an Advocate for Liberty of Conscience. It is much easier to relinquish an *Opinion*, then for a man to devest himself of *Natural Affections*; and more unreasonable to *claim* a freedom in the *one*, then to *refuse* it in the other. I must confess, *I do admire that Constancy*, and if I were to die for so doing, I could not but *admire* it still: And these Impressions are Humane, and not to be resisted.

We fall now into the Old Track of the whole Party: They call for *Toleration*; complain of *Persecution*; cast all their Sufferings upon their *Worshipping according to their Consciences*; and then this Lamentable Condition of theirs must be *Remonstrated to the whole Nation.* Of these Four Points in order.

In the handling of their *Plea* for *Protestant Dissenters*, there are many things to be taken into Consideration. *First*, Is it in matters of *Conscience*, or onely of *Phansie*, wherein they desire to be *Indulged?* If the *Latter*, the upholding of a *Law* is certainly of much greater concern, than the gratifying of a *Caprice.* Now on the *other* side, if they demand it upon an Exigent of *Conscience: First*, Why *Plurally*, for *Dissenters?* When *one* man cannot honestly undertake for *another mans Conscience*: Besides that (*Secondly*) They ask an *Indulgence* for *several Parties*, of *divided Consciences* and *Opinions:* And in short, *they* would have the Magistrate favour *all the Consciences*, that will not endure *one anothers. Again*; They should do well to explain what they mean by *Protestant Dissenters*, upon points of *Conscience*; whether *all* in *general*, or only *such and such Parties:* If *all* in *general*, *Heathens* must be Tolerated as well as *Christians*, for *they* have *Consciences* as well as *we:*

Or if it be reſtrained to *Chriſtianity*, it opens a door to *Hereſies*, more deteſtable than *Paganiſm it ſelf*. So that *an Univerſal Toleration* is utterly *Unlawful*; and a *Partial Toleration* on the other hand, is as *Ineffectual*; for upon a Plea of *Conſcience* they may *all claim alike*: So that it is an *Act of Uniformity* ſtill, to thoſe that are *Excluded*; and it is not fair, in the Government, to *favour one half*, and *exaſperate another*, where *all* may as well be taken in, as *any*. Beſide, upon the ſuppoſal of a *Limited Toleration*, who ſhall judge which are fit to be admitted, and which not? If the *People*, every man juſtifies himſelf, and then we are upon an *Univerſal Toleration* again. They tell us ſtories of *ſound Faith, good Life*, and of diſtinguiſhing betwixt *Fundamentals* and *not Fundamentals*; which is onely treading of the ſame Ring ſtill; for it may be *every bodies Plea* as well as *any mans*: That which the *Magiſtrate* judges *one way*, the *People* ſhall determine *another*: and *one mans Fundamental Truth* ſhall be *anothers Fundamental Error*, which will introduce as many *Religions* as *Phanſies*; bring *Factions* into *Families* as well as into *Governments*, and make the People both *Parties* and *Judges*: And it is not to ſay that the *Word of God ſhall be the Judge*, for that is only a *Rule* by which we are to judge; and by *Erroneous judgments* it is made the *Foundation* of all *Hereſies*; *For when every man may make his own* Creed, *there is nothing ſo Impious, but he will ſhew you a* Text *for it*. Moreover, the very *pretence* of *Liberty of Conſcience* is *frivolous*; for *Conſcience* is out of the reach of *Humane Power*; and the *freedom of Thought, no Law* can either *puniſh* or *take away*.

But it is the *Liberty of Acting*, as well as of *Thinking*, that they inſiſt upon, which upon the whole matter, is neither more nor leſs then a *Licenſe to do what they pleaſe*. The *League* in *Flanders*, under *Maximilian*; the *Holy League* under *Henry* the 3d. of *France*; *Muncers Outrages* in *Germany*; the *Murtherers* of *Henry* the 4th. and the *P. of Orange*; and all

all the Villanies of the late Times here at home, were acted under the *Maſque of Religion.* It is not for the reſtraining of *Opinions* that *Laws* are provided; but for the preventing of *Ouvert Deeds of Violence*, and they are puniſhed for *Action*, not for *Conſcience.* Neither have we any means of diſtinguiſhing betwixt *Faction* and *Religion*, if every mans word ſhall be taken for *his own Conſcience*; and then it is a dangerous way of dividing a Kingdom againſt it ſelf.

Take notice all this while, that they urge a *Toleration*, no body knows for *whom*, or for *what.* Where are their *Articles?* where is the *Model* of their *Accommodation?* or how is it *poſſible* to contrive any *common Expedient* to *gratifie* them? For nothing leſs than a *total Liberty of doing what they liſt*, will pleaſe them, which muſt inevitably produce the *Diſſolution* of the *Government.* If they would have the *wilder* and more *extravagant Sects* excluded, why do they plead for *All* in general, and not rather *particularize* the *Opinions* and *Parties* that they would have *Indulged?* But they dare not do *this*, for fear of diſobliging the *reſt*, their buſineſs being to *Unite all Factions* in the *Quarrel*; when yet you may as ſoon bring *Heaven* and *Hell together*, as reconcile them in *Religion*; ſo that either they ask an *Impious* thing, in the allowance of *all*, or an *Impracticable* thing in propounding any *Limitation*, upon a *Plea of Conſcience.* But the truth is no more than this: They ask a thing which can neither be *granted*, nor ſo much as *underſtood*; and the People are tranſported with the ſound of *Loyalty* and *Religion*, to the deſire of things wholly *Inconſiſtent* with either *Piety* or *Government.*

We ſhould do well to take notice, that againſt *this Plea for Liberty*, there is on the *one ſide*, the *Authority of a Law*, and the ſolemn *judgment of the Church* for the *Equity* of it; and on the *other*, the Kings *Perſonal* and *Political* Conſcience for the *Execution* of it. There is alſo the *Duty* of a *Subject* for the *Obeying* of it; and the *ſame reaſon* that Authorizes

thorizes an *Invaſion* of *this Law*, may as well *Invalidate all the reſt*. Now the *Counterpoize* to all this weight, is (at beſt) onely the *naked Conſcience* of ſome *private Perſons*. The *Peoples Conſciences* call for *Liberty*; and the *Governors Conſcience* requires *Order*: *Their Conſciences* will not down with *this Law*, nor *this Law* with *ſuch Conſciences*: *Which* of the *two* now ſhall *yield* to the *other*?

But what *benefit* might we now expect from this *Indulgence* here, if it *were granted*? Or rather, in the *firſt* place, what colour of *Conſcience*, or of *Reaſon* is there in the very *demand it ſelf* (all the aforeſaid exceptions over and above?) Is it, firſt, *Reaſonable* for them to *ask* what *they themſelves* think *unreaſonable to grant*? Or to claim ſuch an *allowance* to *themſelves*, as a point of *Conſcience*, *which they themſelves*, upon a point of *Conſcience*, *refuſe to others*? For there is not any *one Party* in the whole maſs of *Diſſenters*, that does not *deny* the *ſame freedom* to *others* which they do jointly *challenge* to *themſelves*: Nay, in their very *Propoſitions* to his Majeſty in the *Iſle of Wight*, *Mar.*1647. they *Excepted* the Uſe of the *Common-Prayer*, when they gave *Liberty* to *all other ſorts of Worſhip*. (To which *Conceſſion* they were then *Compelled* by the Circumſtances of *that Juncture*.) Their *Refuſal* muſt proceed either upon the *Right* of the thing, or upon *Reaſon of State*. If *they* did not like *our way*, neither do *we* approve of *theirs*: Or if they *excluded* us out of a reſpect to the *Publique Peace*, the Government hath ſtill the *ſame reaſon* againſt *them*.

But we ſhall better underſtand the Party, from their *own words*, wherein we ſhall *Firſt*, take a ſhort view of their *Opinions* in matter of *Faith*, and *Religion*. *Secondly*, How they ſtand affected, *one Party* to *another*: And *Thirdly*, Their *Poſitions* and *Practices*, with Relation to the *Civil Government*.

As

As to their *Opinions*, *first* see some Extravagances of the *Sectaries*, Cited by a *Presbyterian*, out of *their own Writings*, in *Edwards's Gangræna*, from *P.* 18, to 27.

They say that *the* Scriptures *are* Insufficient *and* Uncertain. God *the Author of* Sin, *even of the* Sinfulness it self. That *the* Magistrate *ought not to* punish *any man for denying of a* God, *if his* Conscience *be so persuaded.* That every Creature *is* God, *an* Efflux *only* from God, *and shall* return to him: That *there is but* One Person *in the* Divine Nature. That *the* least Truth *is of more worth than* Jesus Christ himself. That *the* Doctrine of Repentance *is a* Soul-destroying Doctrine. That *'tis as possible for* Christ himself *to* Sin, *as for a* Child of God *to* Sin. That *the* Moral Law *is of* no use *at all to* Believers. That Peters *Trouble*, *after the denial of his* Master, *issued only from the* weakness of his Faith. That Infants rise not again. Nay, he speaks of a Sectary *pleading for a* Toleration *of* Witches, with several abominable Instances. And he charges *the* Nursery *and* Increase *of them upon the* Presbyterians; *and that it was* their Indulgence, *not* Episcopal Connivence *that wrought our Mischief in that kind.* *They agree* (says he) *with* Julian *the* Apostate, Libertines, Atheists, Unclean, Incestuous, Drunkards, Sabbath-breakers, Liers, Jugglers, Slanderers, Proud *and* Boasting, Insolent, Outragious, Hypocritical, False.

The Sectaries on the other hand, call *the* Assembly, Antichristian, Romish, Bloody, Plagues, *and* Pests *of the Kingdom*, Baals Priests, Southsayers: *The* Presbyterian Government a *Limb of* Antichrist, Tyrannical, Lordly, *an* Egyptian Bondage. An Anabaptist said, *He hoped to see Heaven and Earth on fire, before* Presbytery *should be setled; and to see it troden under foot, as the* Bishops. Sterry *himself says*, The Seed of God *hath two* Capital Enemies, Romish Papacy *and the* Scotch Presbytery. *See what the* Presbyterians *say now to a* Toleration.

It is much (*says the* London Ministers *Letter to the* Assembly,) *Jan.* 1. 45. *that our Brethren should* separate *from the Church, but that they should endeavour to get a* Warrant *to* Authorize *their* Separation *from it; and to have Liberty* (*by drawing Members out of it*) *to weaken and diminish it, till* (*so far as lies in them*) *they have brought it to nothing: This we think to be* **plainly Unlawful.**

And then the Harmony *of the* Lancashire Ministers, *p.* 12. Toleration *would be the putting the Sword in a Mad Mans hand; a Proclaiming* Liberty *to the* Wolves, *to come into* Christs Flock *to prey upon his* Lambs.

Toleration *makes the Scripture a* Nose *of Wax; a Rule of* Faith *to* all Religions. And this is the *great Rabby* of the *Party*. Rutherfords Free Disp. *p.*360.

Liber-

Liberty *of* Conſcience, *and* Toleration *of* all, *or* any Religion, *is ſo Prodigious an* Impiety, *that this Religious Parliament cannot but abhor the very* naming *of it.* Bailies Diſſwaſive Epiſt. Ded. 1645.

It is unreaſonable (ſays the *Defender of the* London Miniſters *Letter to the* Aſſembly, Anti-Toleration, *p.* 16.) *that* Independents *ſhould* deſire that Toleration *of* Presbyters, *which they would not* give *to* Presbyters.

Let it be obſerved from hence, that theſe people do firſt *demand of the Government that Liberty* which they *deny* to *one another.* And *Secondly:* That they pretend to do it upon *Conſcience*, and yet hold the thing it ſelf to be *abſolutely Unlawful*; ſo that they *juſtifie* the *Conſcience of our denying it* to *them*, by the *Conſcience of their refuſing* it to *others.* And the onely way to evade this, is to diſcover all; by confeſſing, that though they now beg a *Toleration* from the *Government*, yet if they get power in their hands, they will make a *Conſcience* again (as they did before) of *allowing* any *freedom* to the *Government.*

It is a clear caſe, that their *demands* are *Unwarrantable*, *Impracticable*, *Unreaſonable*, and not grounded upon *Conſcience*, but directly in *Oppoſition* to it; as we have it under their own hands.

Let us try now if we can diſcover what the deſign *is*, ſince it appears manifeſtly what it is *not*; and that, not only from the *Reaſon* of the thing, but from their *own deeds* and *writings*; and thoſe *matters* alſo, and *Poſitions*, expounded by *Practice.*

One thing remarkable is this; That they have been ſtill *Fiſhing in Troubled Waters*, and taking advantage of all Diſtreſſes, and neceſſities of the *Government.* Did not *Cartwright*, *Coppinger*, *Arthington*, and *Hacket*, take their time for that *Execrable Conſpiracy* againſt Queen *Elizabeth*, when ſhe was juſt upon the very point of ſecuring the *Reformed Religion* againſt the *Power* and *Church of Rome?* Did not the *Sectaries* in 1641. take the ſame advantage againſt the *late King*, when his thoughts were wholly taken

ken up about suppressing the *Irish Rebellion?* And did not the latter *Scotch Tumults* take the same advantage of his Majesties being under many troublesom Circumstances about the *Plot*; and when the Peoples minds were prepared to take Ill Impressions in the matter of Government? So that the very *Timing* of this Revived *Clamour* for *Liberty* of *Conscience*, looks suspiciously; and the more, because their Meetings here have of late been very little interrupted.

To run thorough those pestilent *Principles*, which the Heads of the *Sectaries* have published in their own Names, were endless. Wherefore I shall content my self with some of their *General Positions*, and refer the Reader to *Husbands Collections*, or the *Authors themselves* for the rest; as *Milton*, *Goodwin*, *Rutherford*, and a hundred more.

They make the *Lords* and *Commons* the *Supream Power*; nay, the *People themselves*, in some Cases; *Princes* they say may be *deposed* and put to *death*: They distinguish betwixt the Kings *Person* and his *Authority*, the *Letter* of the *Law*, and the *Equity* of it; and appeal from the *Written Law* to the *Law of Nature*; and according to *these Maxims* they govern their *Proceedings*.

But will you see now the price of all our *Bloud* and *Confusion?*

Upon their Petition to his Majesty for a *Reformation* of the *Liturgy*, the King most graciously issued out a *Commission* for a *Review* of the Book of *Common Prayer*: An equal number of Learned Divines, both *Episcopal* and *Presbyterian* were appointed to meet about it, and *to agree upon such* **Alterations** *as should be thought most* **Necessary.** His Majesty earnestly desiring that the Ministers would not *totally* **lay aside** *the Book of Common Prayer, but read those parts against which there could be no* **Exception.** Now instead of *most* **necessary Alterations**, and those to be agreed upon by **both Parties**, they published a *New Liturgy* of their *own*, under the Title of *The* **Reformation**

of the Liturgy, (which was indeed the **Abolition** of it.) I will give you onely a Taste of some of their *Important scruples* that are cast into the Ballance, against the *Unity* of the *Church*, and the *Peace* of the *Kingdom*: They turn **Wedded** *Wife* into **Married**: **Dost thou** *Believe* into **do you** *Believe*; and *all this I* **Stedfastly** *Believe*, into *this I* **do Unfeignedly** *Believe*.

Let us now suppose these People had their *Askings*: Let any man but shew me from the *Minority* of King *James*, to this hour, where they were not the more violent and importune upon yielding (even to the hazard of a downright Rebellion) and the Author shall give any man his Head, for the President: Did not the *Assembly* in 1578. impose upon the *Parliament* in *Scotland*, fall foul upon the Archbishop of *Glasgow*, and the *whole Order*? pass a *Decree* against their *Votes in Parliament*; command them to renounce their *Temporal Titles*, and *Civil Jurisdiction*, and set their *Quarriers* at work for the demolishing of *Glasgow Cathedral*? (which had been done too, if the *Tradesmen* had not by force prevented it.) And did they not grow bolder and bolder upon the Kings Lenity; and Command the *Bishops*, upon pain of *Excommunication*, not to Officiate as *Pastors*, without *Licence* from the *General Assembly*; and likewise order the Patrimony of the *Church* to be disposed of as they should see meet? And did they not after that, make a Violent and Treasonous Seizure of the *King* at *Ruthven*, and justifie it when they had done? And so on by degrees, till his Majesty was forced, by a Tumult at *Edenbourgh*, in 1596. and *the Ministers Bond of Confederacy* immediately upon it, to a Resolution of *Rigour* and *Severity*; which (as *Spotswood* observes) gave him more quiet and security for the future.

His Majesty was no sooner entered upon the Government of *England*, but he was Assaulted in 1604. with the same sort of people; and at a Conference at *Hampton Court*, this

this Question was put, *How far an* Ordinance *of the* Church *was* Binding, without offence to **Christian Liberty**? Whereupon the King gave this short Answer, *Let us have no more of these Questions, but* Conform *at your peril.* So that they gave him no further trouble upon that subject. And this was Queen *Elizabeths* Case too, to the hazard both of her Life and Government; till by that severe *Act* against them, of the 35 of her Reign, she gave her self ease for the remainder of her Life.

What did the *Late King* gain by his *Indulgence* to the *Scots* in 1637. but farther *Indignities* and *Contempt*? *First*, the *Service-Book* and *Canons* were their Grievance; *then* the *Five Articles of Perth*, though established both by the *General Assembly* and *Parliament*; The *High-Commission next*, and *then* the *Bishops Session* in *Civil Judicatories*. His Majesty gratifies them in every point: Insomuch, that they had nothing further to complain of, but that the King would not *Abolish Episcopacy*, and *admit* the Authority of their *Lay-Elders*; upon which point they brake out into an *Open Rebellion*. After this, upon the Interview of the two Armies at *Berwick* (when the King had them absolutely at his Mercy) upon their Supplication for a Treaty, he Trusted them again, and concluded upon a *Pacification*; of which the *Covenanters* did not keep so much as one *Article*.

Upon his Majesties Return to *London*, he passes the *Triennial Bill*; Abolishes the *Star-Chamber* and *High-Commission Court*; Passes an *Act* for the *Continuance* of the *Parliament*; and in fine, denies them nothing but his *Crown* and his *Blood*; and then by Virtue of what he had given them already, they took away the rest, and stript him of his *Friends*, his *Authority*, his *Revenue*, and his *Life*.

They minister great cause of suspicion in their very *stile* and *scruples*: Why do they run so much upon *Ambiguities*?

As the ſetling of Religion in its **due** *Latitude*; a **due** and **neceſſary Reformation**; **ſound Belief**; **Principles Congruous** *to a* **National Settlement**; the Kings **Juſt** Rights; **Importance** *of* **Intereſts**; **Stated Order** *in the Church*, &c. What is all this, but a jumbling together of ſo many Amuſements, to paſs a Colourable Pretence upon the People? And it ſignifies juſt nothing, but what Conſtruction they ſhall think fit to allow it. If they would offer any *Pertinent*, *Intelligible*, and *Practicable Propoſition*; and ſay, what *Injunctions* they would have abated; what *Parties* they would recommend for theſe qualifications; *where* to *find* them, and *who* ſhall *judge* of them. If they would *State* their *Demands*, and ſay, *This is all we ask*; and then reſt there: If, as they plead for *all Diſſenters*, they would produce ſome *Common Inſtrument*, or *Commiſſion*, to ſhew that they are *Authorized* by *all* to Solicite in *their Names*, and to treat upon *ſuch* or *ſuch Points*; and to *go no further*, the buſineſs might be brought yet to ſome rational Iſſue.

As their *Stile* is exceeding *Dark* and *Myſterious*, ſo are their *Scruples* of an *Extraordinary Quality* too? They cannot *kneel* at the *Sacrament*, but they can *hold up their hands* at the *Covenant*; they can *diſpenſe* with the Oath of *Allegiance*, and yet make a *ſcruple* of diſclaiming the *Solemn League*: They can *ſwallow* a *Schiſm* (or worſe) and yet a *Ceremony* choaks them. Add to all this, many of thoſe very perſons that promoted our *former Troubles*, *this very way*, are now at work again upon the *ſame Pretenſion*; and may, without breach of Charity, be ſuſpected to have the ſame deſign, and to remain in a ſtate of *Impenitency*, if they have not manifeſted their *Repentance* by ſome *Open Recantation*: For (according to the *Caſuiſts*) *Publique Sins require Publique Confeſſions*.

It is an Ill ſign too, for a man to leap upon the ſudden, from matter of *Conſcience* to *Reaſon of State*; and in the

ſame

ſame breath of a *Petitioner* to become a *Reformer*. It would ſeem a ſtrange thing, for a man to requeſt a ſpecial favour from the Maſter of a Family, and at the ſame time to put affronts upon his Domeſticks, and to tell him that his Servants were all of them a pack of Raſcals; which is not much from the point now in hand.

We have had abundance of *Advice* to the *Free-holders* of *England*, toward the choice of this next Parliament; as *Sober and Seaſonable Quæries*, Englands *Great Intereſt*; *the Free-holders Choice*, and *twenty more*; and all of them agreeing in the *general Heads* one with another: They tell us who are *fit* to be choſen, and who *not*.

The former, *ſuch as will* remove *and bring to* Juſtice Evil Counſellors; Corrupt *and* Arbitrary Miniſters of State; *Detect* and *Puniſh the* Penſioners *of the* former Parliament *in the face of the Kingdom, and they muſt chuſe ſuch as will ſecure us from* Slavery.

The People are directed on the *other ſide*, not *to chuſe a man that hath been* reputed a Penſioner, *no* Court-Officer, *or whoſe Imployment is* durante bene-placito; *no* Ambitious men, *or* Non-reſidents, *that live here in Town, and ſeek Honours and Preferments* above.

This is the Counſel of *Englands Grand Intereſt:* And methinks, in theſe Qualifications, there is both too *much*, and too *little*. As to the point of *Evil Counſellors*, *Corrupt Miniſters* and *Penſioners*, he ſhould have done well to have adviſed them all manner of *Caution* and *Circumſpection*, for fear of miſtaking their Men. This was the way that brought the Earl of *Strafford*, and the *Archbiſhop* of *Canterbury* to their *Ends*, under the Notion of *Evil Counſellors* too, though perhaps, *the moſt neceſſary Inſtruments that ever this Nation enjoyed, for the* Common good *both of* King *and* People. So that as it a great Service to bring *Corrupt Miniſters* to *Publique Juſtice*, it is yet a lewd Method to make the *Rabble* the *Executioners*, and to puniſh *Male-Adminiſtration*

miniſtration by *Sedition*: For in this Caſe the Good and the Bad fall indifferently without diſtinction; and inſtead of drawing here and there a piece of *Rotten Timber* toward a *Reparation*, they fall foul upon the main *Pillars* and *Supporters* of the Houſe; ſo that all falls into Ruins. And then the mark of a **Reputed** *Penſioner* goes a little too far; for it lies in the power of two or three Malevolent Tongues to make any man ſo. They that made the *laſt King* a *Reputed Papiſt*, ſhall much more eaſily make any of his Majeſties Subjects paſs for *Reputed Penſioners*.

The total Excluſion of all *Court Officers*, or *Bene-placito men*, is yet *worſe*: For this ſets up a direct Oppoſition betwixt the King and his People; as who ſhould ſay, *Truſt no body that wears any token of the Kings favour*. And the ſame reaſon diſables him as well to any *other Truſt whatſoever*: So that the Kings *Countenance* is a kind of *Incapacity*. And it is the ſame thing with thoſe he calls *Ambitious Men*; as if any Application to his Majeſty made a Man unfit for the Service of his Country. He ſhould have done well to have warned them againſt the *Known Enemies* of the *Government*, rather than the *Suſpected Servants* of the *King*.

The Free-holders Choice is a very *Martin Mar-Prelate*. His Language againſt the Clergy is too coarſe for an Honeſt man to repeat after him, but he has ranged them in good Company; for he ſays that *they lay out themſelves, to accommodate their Maſters, with the verieſt* Villains *that can be pick'd up in all the Country; that ſo we may fall into the hands again of as* **Treacherous** and **Lewd** *a Parliament as the* Wiſdom *of* God, *and* Folly *of* Man *hath moſt miraculouſly freed us from*. Methinks ſome of the Members of that Parliament ſhould concern themſelves to call for Juſtice upon ſo foul a Scandal.

The Author of the *Seaſonable Queries*, does not onely recommend the ſame Cautions with the reſt, but calls his Ma-

Majesty himself to Shrift, and puts the *Question*, *whether* Prorogation and Dissolution *of* Parliaments, *at such a time as this, does not fill the hearts of* Protestant Subjects *with evident fears of destruction?*

And *Secondly* (says he) *Whether it be not high time for all the* Protestants *in* England, *to* Resolve *as* one man, *that they will stand by, and maintain the* Power *and* Privileges *of* Parliament, together with the *Power* and **Just** *Rights of the* King, *according to the Laws of the Kingdom, so as the* **One** *may not intrench upon the* **Other.**

The former *Expostulation* upon the Reason of the Kings Proceedings, would have been more taken notice of perhaps, if it had not been followed with one of the most Audacious Challenges that this Licentious season hath produced; for the meaning of it is, to encourage a direct *Rising*, as if the *King* and the *Parliament* were *going together by the Ears*, (forgive the Expression) and the *People* to interpose, to see *Fair Play*.

This is the very Trace of the Old *Covenant*: They must resolve to maintain *no body knows what* on the one side; (for the *Privileges of Parliament* are past finding out:) But then they are to stand by the *King*, on the other side, with a *Limitation*; only in his **Just** *Rights*, and of those Bounds, they themselves are to be the Judges. This *Epithete* was applied to the late Kings Case, by those very men that cut off his Head.

The Author of *Englands Great Interest*, having directed the Good People what persons to choose for the ensuing Parliament, and what not, His next work is to instruct them in the Knowledge of their *Powers*, which he divides into *three Rights* or *Fundamentals*. *The* First is **Property**, *that is, a* Right *and* Title *to their own* Lives, Liberties, *and* Estates. *For the* Law (*he says*) *is* **Umpire** *between* King, Lords, *and* Commons; *and the* Right *and* Property *is* one *in* **kind**, *through all* Degrees *and* Qualities *in the Kingdom.* **Mark that.** Why

Why does he not ſay that the *King* is *Umpire* betwixt *King*, *Lords*, and *Commons*, as well as that the *Law* is ſo? For the *Law* is only the *Kings Pleaſure* made *known*; and the whole Force and Authority of it, is but an Emanation from *Soveraign Power*. And then for his *Three Fundamentals*: As I am a *Commoner* of *England* my ſelf, I ſhould be loth to loſe any Right of an *Engliſh man*; and yet as I am a *Loyal Subject* alſo, I ſhould be as unwilling to encroach upon the *Privileges* of the *Crown*. I do not know what he means by his *one in* kind; with the *Emphaſis* of Mark that upon it. If it be, that the *People* have as much *Right* to their *Lives*, *Liberties*, and *Eſtates*, as the *King himſelf* hath; though it be *true* in *ſome ſenſe*, it will not hold yet, as he would have it *underſtood*. For the *People* may *forfeit* their *Lives*, *Liberties*, and *Eſtates*, but *the King cannot forfeit his*: Wherefore Mark that *too*.

His Second Fundamental *is* Legiſlation: *Or*, the Power of making Laws,; *for* no Law *can be* made *or* Abrogated (*he ſays*) *in* England without *them*.

It is not Candidly done, to call that the very *act* of *Legiſlation*, which is only *Conſultive* and *Preparative towards* it. *The making of Laws*, is a *Peculiar* and *Incommunicable Prerogative* of *Soveraignty*; ſo that to place the *Legiſlative Power* in the *Commons*, is to make *them* Supream; and to ſet a *King* of *England* once more at the *Commons Bar*. Beſide that, his *Inference* is as *Inconſequent*, as his *Aſſertion* is *Dangerous*. As if a Law muſt neceſſarily be made By them, becauſe it cannot be *Made* or *Abrogated* Without them. Does he that furniſhes the *Ingredients*, therefore make the *Medicine*, becauſe the *Medicine* cannot be made *without* the *Ingredients*? What ſignifies the *Form* of an *Inſtrument* to the paſſing of an *Authority* or *Obligation*, without *Signing* and *Sealing*? Yet the one cannot be done without the other. Does the *Councel* that draws the *Conveyance*

veyance, paſs away the *Eſtate*; becauſe the Act could not have been good *without* him? And again, the *Law* in this Caſe, is no other then a *Promiſe* under the *Kings Hand*, paſt to the *People*, and partakes of the Nature of other Promiſes. It was *made* by the *Promiſer*, and cannot be *diſcharged* without the Conſent of thoſe to whom it was *promiſed*.

His Third Fundamental *is* Executive, *and holds Proportion with the other two, in order to compleat both their* Freedom *and* Security; *and that is their ſhare (as he ſays) in the* Judicatory Power; *in the* Execution *and* Application *of* thoſe Laws *that they* agree *to be made.*

A *Judicatory Power* without Authority to miniſter an *Oath*, is to me, I muſt confeſs, a new thing: And now for the word agree; though it may be pertinent enough to his purpoſe (for there needs no more to the Undoing of the moſt Regular Government upon the Face of the Earth, then *Firſt* to turn the Peoples hearts againſt it, and then to poſſeſs them that they have a *Legal Remedy* in their *Own hands.*) Yet *that word* (I ſay) in this place, is very improper; for it is but a *Requeſt* preſented to his Majeſty for his *Approbation.* The *Requeſt* or *Bill*, is no doubt agreed upon; but it were an Uncouth kind of Expreſſion for a *Petitioner* to ſay that he does agree that his Petition ſhall be *Granted.*

The Buſineſs is fairly puſh'd already: But the Publiſher of a *Pretended Speech* lately printed, carries it a ſtep further.

If a Prince (*ſays he*) *be Born to a* Kingdom, *who is either* Lunatique, *or otherwiſe diſabled to do the Kingdom any good, ſhall not the Subjects, in this Caſe, proceed to chuſe another, who may preſerve the Kingdom, when otherwiſe it muſt of neceſſity periſh? As lately in the Caſe of* Portugal, *they choſe* another *to Succeed, becauſe of the* Diſability *of the* former.

This is, in plain terms, a *Deposing Principle*: For if a *King* may be *Removed*, in such Case of *Disability*, the *People* being made *Judges* of the Case, *it is but their saying that he is not fit to Govern, and the work is done.*

There is a Sheet printed under the Title of *A Plea*, &c. that hath more Brains and Art in it then ordinary. *He says that a* King *is not for his* Own, *but his* Subjects sake *onely*; *and that* we *have, in truth, rather Title*, &c. *to* Him, *then* He *to* Us. *Adding*, *That when* Kings themselves *be* Ill Ones, God *not onely* approves *of their* Removal, *but even* himself does It: This he supports upon Texts extreamly misapplied.

Let it be agreed now that a *Prince* is rather Constituted for the good of the *People*, then the *People* for the advantage of the *Prince*. But let it be granted also on the other side, that Providence hath made *Order* so *necessary* to the well-being of *Mankind*, that *Tyranny* it self is yet more Tolerable then either *Anarchy* or *Sedition*: So that in the matter of *Obedience* to *Superiours*, we find our *Convenience*, even in our *Duty*. He plainly infers, that because *God himself* does many times *remove Ill Kings*, that therefore he approves of *our doing* so too. But *First*, we are not to draw *Gods Extraordinary ways* into *Precedent*. By the same Rule, *Plunder* was formerly justified upon a *Scriptural Commission* for the *spoiling* of the *Ægyptians*. *Secondly*: The very admittance, that an *Ill King* may be *Removed*, makes way to the *destruction* of a *Good one*; for 'tis but *saying* he *is* so, to *make* him so, and it leaves him barely at the mercy of the People: And this is not all neither, for it turns up the very *Root* of *Government*, and casts Humane Affairs into a *Circulation of Confusion*. The *Two Houses* Deposed the *King*; the *Commons* the *Lords*; the *Multitude* they Deposed the *Commons*; and *all* upon the *same Charge of Misdemeanor*. So that the *Trustee* being still accomptable to those that *Entrusted* him, the *Order of Government* is *Inverted*, and the *last Appeal* lodged in the Rabble.

It

It is a strange thing that our *Protestant Dissenters* should so Unanimously agree in their Methods of *Opposing Authority*, and yet keep at so great a *distance* in *all things else*; for how scrupulous soever they may seem be in *Set Forms of Devotion*, they are the strictest people of the World, in the observance of a *Set Form of Wrangling* with the *Government*: For an *Out-cry of Persecution* does as naturally follow a *Plea* for *Liberty*, as one Foot follows another.

Doth not such a day as this (*says our* Quærist) *loudly call for* Repentance, *that* Protestants *have been Persecuting each other*; *and for* Unity *in affection among all* Protestant Subjects, *whether Conforming or Dissenting in some lesser Points*; *and that as Brethren, they* Unite *in such a* Combination *of Conjunction, as was in Q.* Elizabeths *time, with good Success to defend the Crown, Religion, and Kingdom, against the Common Enemy of Mankind?*

Since the *Persecution of this Age* lies so heavy upon him, and that nothing will serve his turn, but the *Uniting* of *Protestants* in such a *Combination* as was in the days of *Q. Elizabeth*, it will not be amiss to look a little into the Behaviour of the *Protestant Dissenters* in those days, and the *Indulgence* which they received from that Gracious Princess.

The *Non-Conformists* that Fled, in Queen *Maries* time to *Franckfort*, and went off from the *English Reformed Catholiques* there, to the *Protestant Dissenters* at *Geneva*, these *Non-Conformists* (I say) returned for *England* upon *Q. Elizabeths* coming to the Crown; and for the *first ten years* of her Reign, plied her so hard with *Libels*, *Clamours*, and *Seditious Consultations*, that betwixt the *Papists* on the *one hand*, and the *Protestant Dissenters* on the *other*, she had much ado to secure the Peace of her Government: And not being in Condition to venture upon any course of Rigor or Severity, the *Protestant Dissenters* in the fourteenth year of her Reign, Erected a Model of their own; called it

the *Church*, Libell'd the *Queen*, *Parliament*, and *Lords*, and afterward entered into a Formal *Conſpiracy* againſt her *Majeſty* and *Council*; which being detected, ſome were Executed, and others Impriſoned: So that at laſt, by one ſevere Law of the 35th. of her Reign, ſhe put an end to that Confederacy.

Here was the *Unity* of the *Combination* our *Pamphleter* ſpeaks of; and we'l give you now the Proviſion it ſelf that did the buſineſs, with the *Preſcribed form* of their *Submiſſion*.

The Penalties were Impriſonment, without Bail or Main-prize, for being preſent at Unlawful Conventicles. The Offender to be diſcharg'd, if within three months he made his Open Submiſſion and Acknowledgment, in the Form by the ſaid Statute appointed. But in caſe of Recuſancy, to Conform within that time, he was requir'd to Abjure the Realm; and in caſe of refuſing to Abjure, or of not departing within a Limited time, or of Returning without Licence, to be proceeded againſt as a Felon, without Benefit of Clergy.

Here follows the Form *of* Submiſſion.

I A. B. do humbly confeſs and acknowledge that I have grievouſly offended God, in Contemning her Majeſties Lawful Government and Authority, by abſenting my ſelf from Church, and from hearing Divine Serbice, contrary to the Godly Laws and Statutes of this Realm; and in uſing and frequenting diſorder'd and unlawful Conventicles and Aſſemblies, under the pretence and colour of Exerciſe of Religion: And I am heartily ſorry for the ſame, &c.

You ſee here what Quarter was both given and taken under Q. *Elizabeth*, which ſhews that the *Quæriſt* was little read in Hiſtory, to appeal to the Practices of thoſe Times, either for the *Innocence* of the *Party*, or the *forbearance* of them. But hear what *Englands Intereſt* ſays to this matter.

Oh! Lay to heart (ſays he) *the Grievous* Spoils *and* Ruines *that have been laid upon your harmleſs Neighbours for* near theſe twenty years. Sixty pounds *diſtrained for* Twelve.

Two

Two Hundred *for* Sixty: *The* Flocks *taken out of the* Fold; *the* Herd *from the* Stall: *Not a* Cow *left to give* Milk *to the* Orphans, *nor a* Bed *for the* Widow *to lie on: Whole Barns of* Corn *ſwept away, and not a Penny returned. And all this, for* **Worſhipping of God according to their Conſcience.** *If you* (ſays he to the Free-holders) *will either* Compel *or* Perſecute *your ſelves, or* chooſe *ſuch as do, you hate the* Papiſts, *but not* Popery.

This is ſo Errant a *Cant* of Begging, as if the *Proteſtant-Diſſenters* had ſerved their Trade in *Moor-fields*; and it runs too in the very *Tone* and *Stile* of their *Petitions* and *Admonitions* to Q. *Elizabeth*, and ſo down by a clear Succeſſion to this Inſtant. *There were* Citations, Degradings, *and* Deprivations; *ſome in the* Marſhalſeas, *ſome in the* White Lion, *ſome in the* Gatehouſe *at* Weſtminſter, *others in the* Counter, *or in the* Clink, *or in* Bridewel, *or in* Newgate. *How many good Mens deaths have the Biſhops been the Cauſe of? How many have they driven to leave their Miniſtry, and live by Phyſick? Men have been miſerably handled with* Revilings, Impriſonments, Baniſhments, *&c. If this Perſecution be not provided for, a great trouble will come of it.*

Under K. *James*, no man (they ſaid) *could be aſſured of his Lands or Life.* And under the *Late King*, how were theſe poor people Oppreſſed by *Fines*, *Impriſonments*, *Stigmatizings*, *Deprivations*, *Suſpenſions*, *Excommunicated*, *Out-law'd*, *Beggered*, Proceeded againſt with puniſhments *Pecuniary* and *Corporal*; nay, *Death* it ſelf: And now they are at the ſame lock again.

But what are theſe People (for the Love of God) that are thus miſerably uſed all this while? Why truly (if we may take their own words for it) under Q. *Elizabeth* they were *Loyal Subjects*, and *Gods faithful Servants*; moſt *Worthy*, *Faithful*, and *Painful Miniſters*, *Learned* and *Godly*, *Unreproveable* before all men; the *Strength* of the *Land*, and

and the *Sinew* of her Majesties *Government.* Under King *James*, they were men of *Conscience*, Preservers of the *Churches Right*, and Asserters of the *Holy Discipline.* Under the *Late King*, they took up the Titles of Men of *Tender Consciences*, *Well-affected*; Men that had the *Power of Godliness*, *Painful*, *Laborious Preachers of the Word*; *Faithful* in their Generation, and men *Zealous* in the defence of the *Protestant Religion*, the *Privileges of Parliament*, and of his Majesty in his **Just Rights.** And in our days, they call themselves Lovers of *Gods Ordinances*, and *Enemies* of all *Humane Inventions*; a People *Zealous* of *Religion*; *sound* in the *Faith*, *Intelligent*, *Sober*, *Numerous*, *Peaceable*, *Orthodox*: The *Ceremonies* they look upon as an *Excess*; they dissent from the *outward Order* of Worship, (for the *Conscience* will interpose in the Dictates and Injunctions of men, in *Divine Worship.*) All these People agreeing in this common Complaint, that they are *Persecuted* for *Worshipping according to Conscience.* Whether they do *well* or *ill*; whether they speak *true* or *false*; whether they have *Reason* on their side, or *not*, in these *Remonstrances* let the Reader judge.

Let it be first observed, that the Author dates this Persecution from his Majesties *Return*; *near these twenty years* (he says) as if there had never been any such thing before; whereas from the time of Q. *Elizabeths* Act above-mentioned, to the very Act for *Uniformity*, (the late Times excepted) the Church was never without a *Legal Provision* for the preventing and suppressing of *Conventicles*; and the *Law* much more Rigorously put in Execution. Beside that, as they were more or less Indulged, the Nation was still more or less at quiet.

Observe again, that there is no notice taken of the *Liberty* of the *Late Times*, or the deplorable *Effects* of that *Licence*, though the *Presbyterians little Finger* was heavier then the *Loins* of the *Bishops*, in the point of Restraint,

as

as we have shewed already, from the mouths of the other *Sectaries*. But they are too prudent to fall foul *one upon another*, when their business is to join in a *Confederate Party* against the *Government*: So that they are now *One and All*, and every separate Opinion stickles for all the rest: And then comes on the Cry of the *Orphans* and *Widows* against the Cruelty of the *Oppressor*: *Sixty Pounds Distrained for Twelve*; *Two hundred for Sixty*, &c. Methinks the Plaintiff should have been so ingenuous, as to have reflected upon the Persecutions that other men suffered even from these people that now complain of a Persecution; and that *they suffered for Worshipping according to their Consciences too*, and they had not only *Religion* on their side, but *Law* also; whereas the *other* founded a *Rebellion* upon a pretended scruple of *Religion*, and opposed the Rules of *Christianity* and *Civil Authority*, both in one: But it *is a Persecution* to them, to be kept from *Persecuting*.

Neither does this Clamour keep it self within the bounds of *Spiritual* matters, but breaks in upon the *Civil Administration*, and alarms the Multitude with the terrible apprehensions likewise of *Tyranny* and *Slavery*. Wherefore we are enforced to oppose the *sensible Experiment* of an *actual Tyranny* and *Slavery* to the *artificial* and *imaginary fears* of it; to leave all Mortals without excuse, that shall read these plain and well-meaning Papers, if ever they should fall into the same mistakes again.

The taking away of mens *Goods* and *Liberties*, the forcing of their *Consciences*, and tying them up to an *Implicit Obedience* to the Decrees of *Government*, are terrible things, I must confess: But yet much worse sure, where they run directly *against* the Stream of a *Received Authority* and *Usage*, then where the *so doing* is Warranted by *known Laws* and *uninterrupted Practice*.

There

There are ſeveral ſorts of *Perſecution*: A *Perſecution* in matter of **Conſcience, Good Name, Propriety** of *Goods* and *Eſtate*; *Freedom of Perſon*, and that is the moſt odious Aggravation of *Perſecution*, when it is ſet up in defiance of a *Publique Law*, and Introduced under a colour of *kindneſs* to all *theſe Intereſts*. We will be as ſhort in theſe Particulars as we can, and leave the Reader to ſay where the *Odium* of the Perſecution lies.

Firſt, to the point of *Conſcience*. It was the judgment of the *Late Royaliſts*, that they were obliged in *Conſcience* and *Duty*, to pay Obedience to the *Laws*, both *Civil* and *Eccleſiaſtical*; and with the hazard of their *Lives* and *Fortunes*, to endeavour the preſervation both of the *Church* and *State*. The *Proteſtant Diſſenters* pretended the ſame reſpect for the *King* and *Church*, with the *Royal Party*: And when by popular Pretexts they had ingratiated themſelves with the Multitude, they plaid their Game the contrary way, and took up *Arms againſt* the *Government*, which they Swore to *Defend*. Now ſee at what a rate they treated, not onely the *Friends* of the *Government*, but the *Government it ſelf*.

There were a *hundred and fifteen Miniſters* Ejected, within the *Bills of Mortality*, beſide *Pauls* and *Weſtminſter*; and in proportion, all the Nation over, for refuſing to comply with the *Schiſm*; and they were not ſo much as ſuffered to take the Employment of either a *Schoolmaſter*, or a *Chaplain*, but under heavy penalties. Several of our Divines were choaked up and poiſoned in *Peter-Houſe*, and other Goals, either for *Worſhipping according to their Conſciences, or Refuſing to act againſt them*. No Man admitted to Compound, or ſo much as Live in the Parliaments Quarters, without *Swearing*. Men were *Sequeſtered* for not joining in the *Rebellion*; for aſſiſting the *King* according to the *Law*, and for *not Covenanting*, though in expreſs Contradiction to the Oath of *Allegeance*. Upon the

the Abolition of the *Common Prayer*, ſevere Penalties impoſed upon any man that ſhould uſe it; and their own *Directory* impoſed upon a Forfeiture too; nay, they would not allow the King himſelf, in his Diſtreſſes, the Comfort of any of his own *Chaplains*, nor ſo much as the benefit of a *Common-Prayer-Book:* And at *Fife* in *Scotland*, there was an *Oath* given at the *Communion*, *not* to take the *Kings Oath*, nor any other then their *Own.*——Was all this an Invaſion of the *Liberty of Conſcience*, or not?

Touching a *Perſecution* now, upon the point of *Good Name:* Though the whole courſe of the Hiſtory is full of Virulent and Unchriſtian Reflections, I will only refer my ſelf to that *Diabolical Libel* of *Whites Centuries of Scandalous Miniſters:* wherein without any regard to *Truth* or *Modeſty*, they have expoſed ſo many *Reverend Names* to *Infamy* and *Diſhonour.* In one word; After they had repreſented the *King himſelf* for a *Tyrant*, and an *Idolater*, it was but Conſonant that they ſhould caſt Reproaches upon his Party.

Touching the *Freedom* of our *Perſons* and *Eſtates*, the whole courſe of the late War, was but one continued Uſurpation upon our Rights to both: Noble mens Houſes turned to Priſons, and People Committed, without knowing either their Accuſers, or their Offence: Some clapped on Shipboard to be Tranſported, no body knew whither; and others ſold into Plantations for Slaves. To ſay nothing of thoſe that fell by the Sword, in the Defence of their Countrey; or otherwiſe paſt the hand of the Executioner, in Juſtification of their Religion and Allegeance. There was *no taking of* Threeſcore pounds *for* Twelve, *in thoſe days*; *nor of* Two hundred *for* Sixty. But they took *All* for *nothing*; and there was no Living amongſt them for any Honeſt man, that would not proſtitute his Conſcience. And who are they now, but

either the very persons, or men however of these very principles, that acted these Outrages upon *Us*, and yet now complain of being persecuted *themselves?* When they startle the Common People with the Notions of Cruelty and Slavery, as a matter now in prospect; methinks they should Blush at the Memory, and upon the Guilt of those Real Calamities which we have both seen and felt, wherein our blessed Soveraign had yet a greater share then any of his Subjects.

They Abolished Kingly Government; *Sold the* Crown-Lands; Imprisoned *and* Murthered. *the* King; *made it* Treason *to deny the* Supremacy *of the* Commons; *turned our* Churches *into* Stables; *Burnt our* Communion Tables, *and profaned the very Ashes of the Dead.* Let but any man read *Scobels Acts*, and say, if the *English* were not in those Times, and under these *Protestant Dissenters*, the most Despicable *Slaves* in Nature. See their *Tax* upon the *Fifth* and *Twentieth* part, their *Excises* upon *Excise*; their *Assessments* for the Maintenance of the *Army*, and their *Monthly Taxes* for the same end. *Ninety thousand pounds*; *Sixscore thousand pounds*, *Sixty thousand pounds*, *Sequestrations*, Seizing of peoples *Rents* and *Debts*, Appropriating to themselves the profits of *Tonnage* and *Poundage*, and Compositions for *Wards*. Authorizing the *breaking* open of *Locks*, and *Examining* upon *Oath* for discovery of *Delinquents Money* and *Estates*. All this is as well known, as the very fact of the War it self; and if we have a mind to lie down under the same Bondage again, let us believe the Stories of *Arbitrary Government* and *Superstition*, that these people tell us of, and they shall just so help us out of them again, as they did before.

There should be something further said to their pretence of being *Persecuted* for *Religion*; but I find little to be added to what is already delivered. *The Law stands still*: They press upon the *Law*, and yet cry out, that the *Law* perse-

perſecutes *them.* We may lay down this, I think, for a Maxim; That *whoſoever tells us that he makes a Conſcience of Complying with the Diſcipline of the Church, and yet manifeſtly makes none at all, of undermining, nay and of blowing up the whole frame of the Government, that man is moſt undoubtedly an* Hypocrite.

To Conclude: What's the meaning of this *Remonſtrating* to the People? They are no *Judges* of the *Controverſie:* But they do well however, in a Cauſe, where *Force* does a great deal more then *Argument*, to make their Application to the Multitude, with whom *Clamour* and *Pretence* are of more Value then *Modeſty* and *Reaſon.* It is a moſt Ridiculous Contradiction to Common Senſe, to believe theſe men to be in earneſt; for if they were, they would never *Defame* the Government, at the ſame time that they beg a *Diſpenſation* from it.

Their *Demand* is *unreaſonable*, the *thing* it ſelf only *Notional* and *Impracticable.* By *Liberty of Conſcience*, they mean *a Freedom of doing what they pleaſe*, which neceſſarily implies *a total Diſſolution of the Laws.* They offer it only as a *Decoy* to the *People*; and when they have gained *Compaſſion* to *themſelves* (like Beggers that move pity by ſhewing Ulcers of their own making) their next buſineſs is to draw *Contempts* upon the *Government*, and after that, to enter without more ado, upon the Great Work of *Reformation.* *Let me do this Right however to the* Independents: *I do not find that Party to have given the Government any trouble ſince his Majeſties Return; but that they have kept themſelves clear of all theſe late Broils: And if* Authority *had the ſame ſenſe of them, with the Author of this Pamphlet, they would be found both in their* Principles *and in their* Manners, *to have the moſt reaſonable Claim of all ſorts of Diſſenters, to a favourable allowance from the Government.* God in his Mercy open our Eyes, that we may know our *Friends* from our *Enemies.*

THE END.

THE

FREE-BORN SUBJECT:

OR, THE

Englishmans BIRTHRIGHT:

Asserted against all

TYRANNICAL USURPATIONS

EITHER IN

CHURCH

OR

STATE.

By *Roger L' Estrange.*

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The Englishmans Birthright:

Asserted against all *Tyrannical Usurpations*, either in *RELIGION* or *STATE*.

NOW to take my Text to pieces; by a **free-born Subject**, is meant a person that is born under the Protection of the *Law*; and thereby entitled to certain known *Immunities* and *Priviledges*, as his *Birthright*. But then he is likewise tied up, by the same Law, to certain *Rules* and *Measures* of *Obedience* to *Government*. So that he seems to be *Free* in one respect; and *Subject* in another. Now how far he is *Enfranchised* by this *Liberty*, and how far *Limited* by that *Subjection*, will be the Question.

You shall seldom or never find this expression used, but as a kind of *Popular Challenge*; and still in favour of the **free-born**, without any regard at all to the **Subject**. Whereas we should as well consider the *Authority* of an *Imperial Prince* on the one hand; as the *Priviledges* of a *Free-born People* on the other. And not so far mistake, either the *Force* or the *Intent* of *Magna Charta*, and the *Petition of Right*; (by which we lay claim to these Liberties) as if by being discharged of our *Vassalage*, we were also discharged of our *Allegiance*.

The **Englishmans Birthright** sounds much to the same purpose too, with the **free-born Subject**; Only there lies a stronger *Emphasis* (in Common Speech) upon the word *Englishman*. As when we speak of a Brave Man, that stands up for

the Honour and Defence of his Country; ſuch a one, we cry, is a *Right Engliſhman*, a *True Engliſhman*.

Now to the end that we may not be miſled by the Sound and Jingle of Words, into a falſe [redacted] dangerous Notion of Things; let us repair to the *Law*, [redacted]ch is the *Known*, and *Common Standard* of our *Civil Actions*: that we may not either give up our Own juſt Rights on the One hand, or encroach upon his Majeſties, on the Other. For it is the Law that marks out the *Metes* and *Bounds* both of *King* and *People*: that ſhews how far we are to *Go*, and where to *Stop*; and teaches us to diſtinguiſh betwixt *Liberty* and *Sedition*; Betwixt a *True, Right Old Engliſhman*, and a *ſhuffling, double-hearted, modern Impoſtor*.

As we have our *Legal Rights*, ſo we lie under *Legal Reſtrictions* too: And the King likewiſe hath his *Legal Prerogatives*, which are alſo accompanyed with certain *Legal Limitations*. From whence it appears, that the Law ſerves as a *Common Rule* and lies as a *Common Obligation* both upon *Prince* and *Subject*.

And yet though there be a *Duty* Incumbent on *both ſides*, there is a great difference even in point of *Law it ſelf*, betwixt the *Kings violation* of the *Law*, and the *Peoples*. The *King* breaks his *Word*, the *People* forfeit their Bond. They are *Both* of them *Bound* alike in *Conſcience*; but the *People* are over and above engaged upon a *Penalty*. It makes a Huge noiſe in the World, that *Kings are bound by the Laws as well as the People*. And ſo they are in *Honour* and *Conſcience*, but no further: And this ariſes from the very Nature of Government it ſelf: For whereſoever the *Laſt appeal* lies, there reſts the *Government*. And there can be *no Government at all*, without the Eſtabliſhment of a *Final Reſult*, for otherwiſe the *King* ſhall *Judge* the *People* and the *People Rejudge* the *King*; and ſo the Controverſie ſhall run round world without end. Take notice now that *all Appeals* move from a *Lower Court*, or *Sentence*, to a *Superiour*; and conſider then how ridiculous it were to *Appeal Downward*; or from *Soveraign Princes*, to any other Power, than to the *King of Kings*, who alone is above them.

But let us put the Caſe now, that a Prince miſ-governs: *How*

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ſhall he be tryed? It muſt be either *By* the *Law* or *Without* it. If the *Former*, where is the *Law* that ſays, *The* People *may call their* Soveraign *to account, in caſe he does not Govern according to* Law? Or if they cannot produce ſuch a Law, the *Aſſertion* is *Treaſonous*. If the *Latter*, we are at our Old *Salus Populi* again: Which, in one word, is no other than a direct Diſſolution of the Law, and a Proſtitution of Authority to the Will of the Multitude.

Having already ſtated the Conditions, and advantages of a *Free-born Subject*, and of our *Engliſh Birthrights*: we ſhall now proceed to the aſſerting of theſe our Priviledges, againſt all **Tyrannical Uſurpations**, either in matter of *Religion* or *State*. And firſt a word of **Tyrannical Uſurpations.**

Under this Head may be compriſed all ſorts of *Violence* and *Oppreſſion*; (by what *means*, or *Inſtruments* ſoever exerciſed) contrary to *Law* and *Juſtice*. By *Tyranny*, we do underſtand *An Unjuſt Domination*; or *an Abuſe of a Lawful Power, to the injury of the People*: as if a Prince ſhould turn a *Legal Government* into an *Arbitrary*. Now we commonly reckon *That* for an *Uſurpation*, when *One man takes upon him the Right of another, without any Title to it at all*: As our late *Oliver* was called *Uſurper*. And there are alſo *Mixt Caſes*; (as was That before mentioned) where *Tyranny* and *Uſurpation* meet *Both* in *One*.

According to This Diviſion we may be *oppreſſed three ſeveral ways*; either *Immediately* by the *Prince* himſelf; or *Mediately* by his Miniſters, as by ſpecial Direction and Command; Or otherwiſe we may be ſimply *oppreſſed, one Subject* by *another*. But ſtill theſe *Oppreſſions* are *Illegal* every way; and the Queſtion is now, what *Legal Relief* in the Caſe? For as the *Law* entitles us to the *Priviledges* we claim, and to the enjoyment of them: ſo does the *Law* likewiſe appoint, and chalk us out the *Methods* of *Aſſerting* and *maintaining* our *Rights*, in caſe they be invaded. So that we muſt only Oppoſe *Legal Remedies* to *Illegal wrongs*; and not think to deliver our ſelves from one Violence by another. For *Popular Commotions* are the moſt Criminal and *Dangerous* of all ſorts of *Oppreſſions*. *Other Oppreſſions*

preſſions may lie Heavy upon *particular Perſons*; but *This* is an *Oppreſſion* of *Law* and *Government* it ſelf. And it is as *Fooliſh* as it is *Impious*; For while we Phanſie all things to be *Lawful* for us, becauſe we ſuffer many things *againſt Law*, we incur a *Legal Forfeiture* of all our *Priviledges*, by the *unlawful manner* of endeavouring to preſerve them.

It is a *Maxim* in *Law*, but not in *Morals*, that *the King can do no wrong*; for he may ſhed Innocent Bloud with his own hand, which is the *Greateſt* of *Wrongs*; but it is not looked upon however as a *Wrong* in *Law*, becauſe there is no *Law* to queſtion him for it. The Ordinary ſhift upon this Point is, *That the King may be ſued, and that conſequently he ſtands anſwerable to the Law.* To which I ſay, with a Diſtinction, that the *King* hath a *Twofold Right*, a *Right* of *Dominion*, and a *Right* of *Propriety*. In the *Former* (which is the point in Queſtion) there lies *no Action* of *Law*: In the other there may, for otherwiſe he might take away any mans *Free-hold* at pleaſure. And were it not a wild thing to imagine otherwiſe, when according to the very *Stile* of the *Law*, all *Writs*, *Tryals*, and *Forms of Juſtice* run in the *Kings Name*? So that admitting their Suppoſition, *the King ſits Judge upon himſelf.*

When the late Underminers of the Government found that they could not ſhake the Royal Authority *this way*, (for it was attempted) they had recourſe afterward to the Phanſie of a *Coordinate Government*; making the *King*, *Lords*, and *Commons*, to be *the Three Eſtates*; in ſtead of the *Lords Spiritual* and *Temporal*; and the *Commons* repreſented in Parliament. Which miſtake being ſwallowed by the Undiſcerning Multitude, proved the Foundation of our Common Ruin. This Whimſie being now ſet on foot again, I ſhall beſtow a Word or two upon the Unmasking of that pernicious and ſenſleſs Pretence, and make it appear, that the Poſition is Deſtructive, not only of the *Three Eſtates*, (as ſome account them) but of the very *Being* of *Parliaments*.

Suppoſing the Government to be *Coordinate*, (as theſe People will have it) any *two parts* of the *three* may *Out* the *third*. The *King* lies at the Mercy of the *Lords* and *Commons*; the

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Commons at the Mercy of the *King* and the *Lords*; and the *Lords* as much at the Mercy of the *King* and *Commons*. So that at this rate no body knows to day, what Government we shall have to morrow. This is the Just *Ratio* of a *Coordinate State*; and then to colour the Invention, they tell us that the King is *Singulis Major, Universis Minor*; *Greater* than the *Diffusive Body of the People*, but *Inferiour* to the *Collective*. Which strikes at the very Root of *Parliaments*; for if it be True, that a *Prince* by calling of a *Parliament dethrones himself*; what Prince would ever call a *Parliament?*

As it is clear that *Sovereign Power* is *Sacred*, and not to be Touched; it is no less Clear on the other side, that all the *Executors* of *Illegal Powers* and *Violences* may be questioned; for that the *Law* puts no difference betwixt *one Subject* and *another*, but provides for *Common Justice* betwixt man and man, without any difference of regard to *Dignities* or *Persons*. And as it appoints us such a *Relief* in such and such Cases; so does it likewise ordain and direct such and such *Punishments* in other Cases, according as the wisdome of the Law-makers hath found convenient. So that he is upon his *Good behaviour*, either for *Redress*, or *Punishment*.

But I hear many people say, that 'tis True, *the Law provides well enough for us; but what if Justice be over aw'd and obstructed?* My answer is, that we are to help our selves by *Law*, if we can; but if the *Law* will *not* relieve us, we must be *Patient*; especially in a Case, where 'tis impossible to find a *Remedy* that is not worse than the *Disease*. Let us but look a little into the Consequences of passing That Line, and taking upon us to be our Own Carvers; *First*, by Transgressing the *Bounds* of the Law, we cast our selves out of the *Protection* of it. *Secondly*, by declining the *Common Equity* of it, we run into *Partialities* and *Factions*, and every man makes himself both *Judge* and *Party*. *Thirdly*, from a *Certain* and *Infallible* Provision for the *Stating* and *Determining* of all *Controversies*, we transport our selves into an Absolute *Impossibility* of ever *Reconciling* them, I might have said, of *Understanding* them: For *Fourthly*; from matter of *Fact*, we betake our selves to Questions and *Pro-*

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positions of *Notion*; as *the Law of Nature, Self-preservation*, &c. which signifie nothing more, than to *puzzle* the *Multitude*, and *confound* the Order of *Civil Administration*. For there can be no *Proof* made of a *Thought*; but under Countenance of These *Blinds* the *Ambitious*, the *Revengeful*, the *Necessitous*, the *Factious*, the *Covetous*, the *Malicious*, and the like, *Stalk* to their *Unrighteous* and *Self Ends*. And what's the Issue of all This, but that, when by *Coveting more* than did belong to us, we have *lost* what we *had*: when by forsaking the *Known*, and the *Safe* ways of *Peace* and *Justice*, we have *wandered* out our Lives in *Pathless*, *Dangerous*, and *Uncomfortable Errors*; without either *Light* or *Guide* to set us right again: When we have been led by a *False Shew of Liberty*, as by an *Ignis Fatuus*, through *Boggs* and *Ditches*, and all in pursuit of a *Sluttish Vapour*: When by breaking the *Bond* of *Humane Society*, we have turned a *Community* into a *Desert*; and like *Wild Beasts*, torn one another to pieces: What is the *fruit* at last of all our *Wild Adventures*? but *Bondage*, *Beggery*, *Shame*, and *Late Repentance*? So that our *Best* and *Surest way* will be, for every man to look to his *Own Province*, without intermedling in the Jurisdiction of *Another*.

Having sufficiently discoursed upon the *Quality* of **Tyrannical Usurpations**, we come now to **Religion** and **State**, as the *Subject matter* they are to *work* upon: Wherein we shall Distinguish betwixt **Tyranny**, as an Act of the **Government**; and **Usurpation** as a claim of the **People**.

Touching the *Power* of *Kings*, and the *Possibility* of *Tyranny*, in the matter of *Religion*; the Question falls into a very narrow Compass: for *Conscience* lies out of the Reach of *Law*; And the *Powers* of *Government* are only exercised upon *Ouvert* and *Sensible Acts*. But the point in hand however is This: First, *What is intended by the* **Tyranny** *here spoken of*? Secondly, *How are we to behave our selves, in case of such* **Tyranny**?

There may be *Tyranny*, either in *forcing* a man, (upon a *Penalty*) to *Renounce* the *Right Religion*, or to *Embrace a False One*: Or in *Prohibiting* to any man, the *Freedom* of *Worship after his own way*. And all these Cases vary according to the

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Constitution of the *Government*, and the *Conscience* of the *Governour*. For *the same thing* may be *Lawful* in *One place*, and *not* in *Another*; and to *One Person* too, and not to *Another*: And it may be *more* or *less Excusable* also, according to *these Circumstances*. In short; It is a **Tyranny**, to press a man to a *False Worship*; A **Tyranny** to *punish* him for *adhering* to a *True one*; A **Tyranny** to *hinder* any man from *Worshipping* God as he *Ought*: And the *Tyranny it self*, is yet farther *aggravated*, if it be done in *Opposition* to the *Law* of the *Land*; And to the *Conscience* of the *Ruler*, as well as to *Common Equity*. But still when I have lost *Liberty*, *Estate*, nay and *Life it self*, by *reason* of *Religion*; my *Religion it self* is preserved *Inviolate*, even when my *Body* lies in *Ashes*. The Prince that *Acts* all these *Tyrannies*, hath undoubtedly a great deal to answer for to *Almighty God*: But what *Remedy* is there for the *Subject* that *Suffers* them? and let *That* be the *next Point*.

In Case of such *Persecutions* as aforesaid, I know no more than these *Four ways* of Application, for *Relief*; Either by *Prayer* to *Almighty God*; by Recourse to the *Law*, for *Protection*; by *Petition* to the *Government*, for *Indulgence*, and *Compassion*; Or else, to trie if we can deliver our selves by *Direct Force*.

The *First*, is a sure *Expedient* in all Cases: for where we are not *Delivered* from our *Afflictions*, our *Afflictions* are yet, by Gods Providence, turned into *Comforts*. In the *Second* place, we may make the best of the *Law*, provided that we do not make the *Law Felo de se*, and raise *Inferences* of *Equitable Supposition*, in *Contradiction* to the *Naked* and *Express Letter* of it. As for Example; by the *Law*, we have a *Lawful Right* to such and such *Liberties*; and herein we have the *Law* to *Friend*. But if we make any attempt to compass these *Lawful Ends* by *unlawful means*, the *Law* is point-blank *against* us.

Our *Next* Resort is, by *Petition* to the *Government*; which is a Course, *Laudable* and *fair*; provided we keep clear of *Rancour* and *Clamour*; and address to the *Magistrate* not to the *Multitude*: For it is not the *End* of those *Popular Papers* to *Sollicit relief*, but to *Provoke Tumults*; and under the Coun-

tenance of begging *Compassion* toward the *People*, to stir up *Sedition* against the *Government*. For *Lewd* Characters of Men breed *Ill thoughts* of them; and *Evil thoughts* break out into *Wicked Actions*; and the readiest way in the World to a *Rebellion* is, to startle the *Vulgar* with an Apprehension of *Tyranny*. If all this will not do, there remains nothing more, but either *Patience* or *Force*. The *Former* was of the *Primitive*, and the *Latter* hath been the practice of our *Modern Christians*; but whether they do *Well* or *Ill* in it, shall be now examined.

It hath done a great deal of Mischief in the World, the Misconstruction of that *Text* that bids us *Obey* **God** *rather than* **Man**. For the People are not well aware, that, *First*, in Obeying of *Magistrates* in all *Warrantable Cases*, they Obey *God* also, in *that Civil obedience*. *Secondly*, Supposing the *Command* of the *Supreme Magistrate* to be directly *Opposite* to the *Express Will* of *God*, I will not *Obey* him in *that Case*, but I am not yet discharged of my *Duty* to him in *Other Cases*: for he is nevertheless a *Lawful Magistrate*; (even for not being a *Christian*) and I will not *Resist* him in *Any*. *Thirdly*, the *Law* of *this Nation* makes all *Motions* and *Insurrections* whatsoever, without *Legal Authority*, to be *Riotous*, *Seditious*, or *Treasonous Assemblies*. *Fourthly*, Allowing this *Latitude* to the *people*, that they may *Confederate*, and *Rise*, for the *Defence* of *Religion*; they may as well rise for the *Subversion* of it: for we have but their *bare Words*, either for the *One*, or for the *Other*. *Fifthly*, It Authorizes every man to set up a *Church* by himself, in his own *phansie*; and instead of carrying his *Body* to the *Doctor* for a Fit of the *Spleen*, he brings his *Conscience*, forsooth, to the *Government*, to be cured of a *Revelation*. And this Licence, in one word, sets up the Crotchet of every *Sickly Brain*, in Competition with *Christianity* it self, and the *Politique peace*.

What if I should say now, that there was never any War in the World undertaken purely upon the account of *Religion*, that was not utterly *Unlawful*; unless in Cases of *Gods Extraordinary* and *peculiar Dispensations*. For, *First*, What are the *Certain* and *Necessary Effects* of *war*, but *Bloud*, *Rapine*, *Oppression*; the Multiplying of so many *Widows* and *Orphans*;

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Depopulating of *Countries*, and *Kingdoms*; and the *Violation* of all *Rights*, *Sacred* and *prophane*; Are these now the Works of the *Gospel*? And what is *Religion* the better for all this? *These* are *Sacrifices* for *Moloch*; and *this* is a *Religion*, and an *Oblation*, fitter for an *Insensible* and *Implacable Idol*, than for the God of *Love* and *peace*.

Let us but consider now, what a Deluge of **Impiety** flows in upon *Humane Nature* with *this Opinion*. The *Papist* falls foul upon the *Protestant*; the *Protestant* upon the *Papist*; the *Christian* upon the *Mahumetan*, the *Mahumetan* upon the *Christian*: It sets *all people*, and *all parties* together by the Ears, only for *diversity* of Thoughts. It makes *Authority Ridiculous*, it frustrates the very *Laws* of *Nations*, and lays the World again in *Common*. Now if This be so Pestilent a Doctrine, taken only at *Large*; How much more Diabolical is it, for *Subjects*, upon This *Ungodly pretext*, to go about to *Embroyl* a *well Regulated State*; and to charge their Souls with *perjury*, *Schism*, and *Rebellion*, over and above the *Common Crimes* that accompany *Hostile Invasions*.

As the *Law* hath been *hitherto*, so it must be *henceforward* the *Rule* and *Measure* of all our Proceedings. In the Section of *Tyranny*, the Question was; *How the* Subject *should demean himself toward the Prince, in the Case of such and such* Oppressions *in matter of Religion*. But now, in Case of an *Usurpation*, the Question is, *How far the* Government *should comply with a* Popular Importunity; *or how far the* People *should gratifie* one another. Of which we have spoken so much at large elsewhere, that the less will serve in this place.

The Word *Usurpation*, implies the *Affecting* or *Invading* of *Anothers Right*; which in the point of *Religion*, must needs be very *Dangerous*; because the People are so easily disposed to swallow *that Deadly Pill*. I do not reckon a *bare* and *simple Dissent* from the *Established Doctrine* and *Discipline* of the Church, to be an *Usurpation*: For possibly there may be a *Real Scruple*, or want of *due Information* in the Case. But when That *Dissent* comes to be *Practical*; when it comes to make *Parties* to Divide into *Sects*, to *Plead* and to *Challenge*

the *Law*; it is no longer a *Plea* of *Conſcience*, but a direct *Conſpiracy* againſt the *Government*. It is a *Nurſery* of *Hereſies*, over and above; and a *Liberty*, utterly Inconſiſtent with the Meaſures of *political Juſtice* and *prudence*. For *Firſt*; They Agree among themſelves in the ſingle point only of *Departing* from *Us*; And they are not, in *Conjunction*, more diſſatisfied with our *Eccleſiaſtical Laws* and *Decrees*, than they are *ſeverally*, among themſelves, *one Sect* with *another*. So that it is, in this reſpect, impoſſible to pleaſe them. And *ſecondly*, It is no leſs *dangerous* to offer at it, in *other Conſiderations*. For *Firſt*, upon the Current of *long* and *conſtant Experience*, they have been always found *Inſatiable*: Never eſteeming what they *had*, to be *Enough*, till they had gotten *All*. The late King gave them ſtill more and more; and the more he *Gave*, the more they *Craved*; and turned his *Bounty*, at laſt, to his *Deſtruction*. He did effectually, in favour of their Importunities, Strip himſelf, to his *Revenue*, his *Crown*, and his *Life*; and all *That*, They *took*. Another danger is; that *the very men that ask a Toleration, are Principled againſt it. And I ſee not the leaſt ſhadow of a reaſon, why they that will not Tolerate others, ſhould be Tolerated Themſelves*. And truly as little Ground for the *Asking* of it, as for the *Granting* of it. For *Firſt*, Why ſhould the *Unity* of the *Church* be *broken*, and the *peace* of it *diſturbed*, in favour of the *Enemies* of it; and to the *Diſcouragement* of the *Churches Friends? ſecondly*, As the Act of *Uniformity* hath the full and ſolemn Complement of a *Binding Law*; why may they not as well demand a *Diſpenſation* for *Rebellion*, as for *Schiſm*? And quarrel *any other Law*, nay, one after another, the *whole Body of the Law*, as well as *That*? The *Law* s the *Eſtabliſhed Rule* of our *Actions*; and they will have every *wandring phanſie* to be a *Rule* to the *Law*. They themſelves *fly* from the *Law*, and their Complaint is, that the *Law* doth not *follow* them. This Method fruſtrates the very *Order of Providence*, and makes all Proviſions of *Government* to be *Vain* and *Uſeleſs*. They cannot pretend to Charge this *Law* with any *Defect*, in regard either of the *Civil*, or the *Eccleſiaſtical Authority* of it. Here is, *Firſt, The Judgment of the Church duly Conven'd*,

Conven'd, Touching the meetneſs and convenience of the Rites and Forms therein Contained. Secondly, *There is the Royal Sanction, Approving, and Authorizing thoſe Rites and Forms; and requiring our Exact Obedience to them.* Thirdly, *The matter of the Law here in queſtion, is our own Act*; for that we *our ſelves* are Concluded in the Vote of our *Repreſentatives*. Againſt Theſe *Uſurpations* we have *Law* enough: And ſo we have likewiſe againſt thoſe that follow in Matter of *State*: which may be reduced to *Uſurpations* upon us, in matter of *Life*, *Liberty*, or *Eſtate*.

There is an *Uſurpation* upon the *Magiſtrate*; and there is an *Uſurpation* upon the *Subject*: Upon the *Former* in reſpect either of *Title*, or of *power*; both which Caſes are *Determinable*, and *Relievable* by the *Law*: And ſo alſo is any Oppreſſion upon the *Subject*: That is to ſay, where one Subject oppreſſes Another. When I ſay *Determinable* and *relievable* by *Law*, my meaning is, that the *Law* hath competently provided for the *Freedom* and *Security* both of *King* and *People*: And the *remedy* ſeldom fails, where it is *Seaſonably applyed*, and *Vigorouſly purſued*.

But when the Dignity of Government may be vilified *Gratis*, the *Kings Miniſters* and *Friends* beſpattered with *Billingſgate Libels*, and his *profeſſed Enemies ſupported* and *encouraged*: when his Majeſties *Title* as well as his *Prerogative* and *Reputation*, ſhall come to be the ſubject of every *Bawling Pamphlet*; and the *Bounds of Sovereign power to be debated by Porters and Carmen, over Pots of Ale*: when not only the *Reverend* and *Lawful Miniſters*, and the *Apoſtolical Order* of the *Church*, ſhall be *Derided* and *Deſpiſed*; but *Religion it ſelf* paſs only for a *Sham*, a piece of *Prieſt Craft*, and be publiſhed in Print, for no more in effect than a *political Art of getting a Hank upon the people*: When ſuch Outrages, I ſay, as Theſe come to be daily committed over and over, in the very face of the Sun, and the *Laws* ſuffered to *Sleep*, that ſhould *repreſs*, and *puniſh* them: what can be the Event of This *Inhumane Licenſe*, but *Confuſion*, and *Ruine*? And if it comes to That one, it was our Own fault, for not putting a *Timely* and a *Legal Stop* to Theſe *Audacious Uſurpations*.

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The *poſitions* and the *Methods* that brought on our late Troubles, are now Revived and Practiſed every day afreſh: We have our *Quæries*, our *Remonſtrances*, and all things, to the Old Tune of *Curſe ye Meroz*, and *to your Tents, O Iſrael:* moſt manifeſtly tending to the Unhinging of the *Government*; and as certainly deſigning the *Subverſion* of the *Church* and of the *State*. The *Boldneſs* and the *Impunity* of theſe Libels, would be an equal Wonder to me, if I were not ſatisfied, that the *One* is clearly the *Effect* of the *Other*: For their eſcaping puniſhment, looks as if the *Government* were *afraid* of the *Rabble*; and then their paſſing without *Anſwer*, gives a kind of Credit to their Doctrine.

It is not a work for a *Gentleman* to Rake a *Dunghil*, and to gather up the *Peoples Vomit*: But yet out of a Fooliſh *Zeal* and *Tenderneſs* for a *Duty* that hath only given me *Miſery* in *this World*, and the *hope of Comfort* in a *Better*; I cannot but endeavour to poſſeſs others with the ſame ſenſe of theſe Indignities which I have my ſelf; and to lay open this Spirit of *Calumny* and *Slander*: *Theſe uncoverers of their Fathers Nakedneſs, and Defilers of the Honour of our Common Mother.*

My only Encouragement to This Undertaking, is the Title I have to be believed in it, for I am ſo far from being *Bribed* into this Office, either by the *Tie of paſt Obligations*, or by the *proſpect of Benefits to come*, That (with Infinite Acknowledgments of his Majeſties Grace and Goodneſs to me) I defie any man to produce another Gentleman in the Kings Dominions, under my Circumſtances, that hath ſuffered ſo many *Illegal*, *Arbitrary*, and *Mean Injuſtices*, from any of *the Abuſers of the Kings Bounty*, as I have done. Inſomuch that after a Sentence of *Death*, for his Majeſty; betwixt *three* and *Four years* in *Newgate*; and a matter of *Seven and Thirty years faithful Service to the Crown*; the Bread hath been taken out of my Mouth, and in a large proportion, ſhared amongſt ſome of thoſe very People that purſued the late King to the Block: Nor do I look for any more Advantage for the Future. This *Reflection* (by the way) *doth not concern any man that is now in Office at Court*; and I hope there is enough ſaid already, to

acquit

acquit me of any likelihood to be Partial in This matter. I must not slip This Occasion of bringing in a Case of late date; a Case, wherein all men of *Letters* are concerned, and not impertinent in This place, and That being done I will proceed.

Being desirous to inform my self very particularly concerning this late Devilish Plot, *I got the best Intelligence I could, as well by* Short Notes *upon the* Trials in Court, *as by* Word of Mouth *from Credible persons that were there present. After this upon perusal of the* Printed Trials, *I found several* Gross Incoherences, (*especially in the Latter of them*) *and very* Material Mistakes. *As in that of* Mr. Langhorn, Fol. 39, *and* 40. Mr. Lydcats name *is used no less than* Nine times, *as one of the* St. Omers Witnesses, *instead of* Mr. Hall, *to his very great prejudice.*

Reflecting upon These Errors, *together with the almost* Inextricable Difficulty *of Retriving the* Truth, *out of such a* Confusion *of* Tautologies, *and* Forms; *the* Collection *being so* Bulky *too, and the* Particulars *lying so* scattered, *that it was next to the Work of a Resurrection to set every part in its right place: I betook my self to my Friends, my Thoughts, and my Papers, and digested the whole Transaction into an* Historical Narrative. *And not in* Dialogue *neither, nor in the words, either of the* Bench, *the* Witnesses, *or the* Prisoners; *but in* my Own Stile *and* Way, *and just in the same fashion as I would tell the Story. This Book I entitled,* The History of the Plot, &c. *made a* Legal Assignment *of my* Right *to a* Bookseller. I Authorised *him to* Print *it, and he* Imprinted *it by the* Authority *of the* Author: *Some of the* Pretenders *to the Formal* Trials, Arrest *my* Bookseller, *as an* Invader of their Propriety, *and Threaten him most wonderfully into the Bargain. He puts in* Bail *to the* Action, *and there the Squabble rests. They do not complain of any* Imitation *of* their Copy, *but take upon them, as if no man else were to write upon* That Subject. *At this rate, we shall have all* Sermons *forfeited to the* Kings Printers, *for Descanting upon* Their Bibles; *and* all Books whatsoever, *to the* Company of Stationers, *because they are made out of the* Four and Twenty Letters; *and the* ABC *is* Their Copy. *What a* Scandal *is this to the* Commonwealth of Letters? *What a* cramp *to* Learning *and Industry? That if I have a mind to Compile a* History, I must go to Forty little Fellows for leave, forsooth, to write the Narrative of the Proceedings upon our Blessed King and Martyr, the brave Earl of *Strafford*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*; with a hundred more Instances of the like nature, because some or other *of them has lurched perhaps, a* Copy *of* Their Trials.

What if a man should write the Battel of *Worcester*, and the Kings miraculous escape, after the Defeat; must he not mention the *Thousand pound*

that

that was ſet upon his Majeſties Head, without leave of the Printer that had the Property of the Proclamation that offered it? Or if a body would draw up a *Syſtem* of *Treaſon* and *Sedition*; muſt he go to the Publiſher of Bacons Government, for a *Licence*?

I am the larger, *becauſe it is a* Publick Caſe. *And take notice*, Firſt, *that the* whole Story *is drawn into leſs than a* Sixth *part of* Their Volume. Secondly, *That there is not ſo much as* One Material clauſe omitted *in it*. Thirdly, *that it is incomparably* Plainer, *and more* Intelligible *than the other*; *beſide the many* Corrections *in it*. Fourthly, *that it is* Eleven Shillings ſaved; *Theirs being rated at* Thirteen and Six pence, *at the loweſt penny*, *and This only at* Half a Crown. *And ſo much for this.*

I come now to an Examination of *Two Libels*; the moſt *Audacious* and *Virulent* that have yet paſſed the Preſs. The *One* of them entituled *Omnia Comeſta à Bello*; Or, *Bel hath devoured all*. The *Other* is called, *My Lord Lucas's Speech*. But take notice, that my Exception lies to the *Supplement* or *Appendix*; not concerning my ſelf at all with the *Speech*.

The *Former* of theſe Papers is an Alluſion to the Story of *Bel* and the *Dragon*; where the *Prieſts* and their *Wives* came in at a *back-door*, and conſume what was offered to the *Idol*. It is Printed *BELLO* inſtead of *BELO*; and the *miſtake* is a great deal righter than the *Meaning*: For it was, in Truth, the *WAR* that *devoured all*: and the *Good Old Cauſe* (which was the Foundation of *That War*) was, in effect, no better than a *CHRISTIAN IDOL*. It comes forth, as an Anſwer to the *Firſt* of *Five pretended Queſtions*; which he ſets down at length: and we will ſpeak of them in Order, as far as ſhall be needful.

Query 1. *Whether the great cauſe of Impoveriſhing the* Nation, *Ruin of Trade, and General Conſumption of Comfort, Settlement and Content, which hath brought the Land to a meer* Anatomy, *be not the Pomp, Pride, Luxury, Exaction and Oppreſſion of the Prelates*? *pag.* 3. He *concludes* in the *Affirmative*. And *pag.* 4. *The Trading Stock of the Nation* (he ſays) *is devoured in this Prelatical Gulph.*

But are we ſo *miſerable* then? And is the *Hierarchy* the Cauſe of all our *miſeries*? Let us compare the *Times* a little, when

when we *had Biſhops*, and when we *had None*: For there is no Trial of the *Truth* and *Reaſon* of things, like *Experience*. From 1558. (when Queen *Elizabeth* came to the *Crown*) to 1641. we had a *Continued Succeſſion* of a *Proteſtant* (or rather, a *Reformed*) *Prelacy*. And ſo from 1660. to this preſent 1679. which is upward of *a hundred Years*. And all this while the *Government* ſtood *firm* upon its *Ancient Baſis*. The *Goſpel flouriſhed*, and the *Subject* enjoyed their *Legal Liberties*, under a *Legal Adminiſtration*, both in *Church* and *State*. From 1641, to 1660. *Epiſcopacy* was *out of doors*. Do but obſerve, now, what havock was made in the *State*, both *Eccleſiaſtical* and *Civil*; in matter of our *Religion*, *Liberties*, and *Properties*, in that *Interval*, of only *Nineteen years*: When *an Ordinance* was of more force than *an Act of Parliament*: And our *Lives*, *Freedoms*, and *Eſtates*, lay at the Mercy of the *Tyrants of Athens*, in a *Derby-houſe Committee*. But let us yet come cloſer to the Buſineſs.

I would fain know what theſe men would be *at*, that are ſo deſperately unſatisfied with the Condition they are in. Would they be in the days of *Queen Elizabeth* again; or of *King James*; or of the *Late King*? If nothing of this will content them; there is no other choice left, but That of *Rebellion*. For whoſoever Traces the *Hiſtory* of theſe *Male-contents*, will find *Deadneſs of Trade* and *Perſecution* to have been their *Conſtant Complaint*, from the *Reformation it ſelf*, to *this Day*.

After the Paſſing of a *General Sentence* upon the *Biſhops*, as the *Authors* of all our *Calamities*, he takes the *whole* to *pieces*. Treating *Firſt*, of the *Revenues*, *Pomp*, and *State* of *Prelates*. And there he tells us of *two Provincial Archbiſhops*, with their *Princely Retinue*, *Domeſtique Chaplains*, *Officers of Temporal Tithes*, *Spiritual Officers*, *Vicar General*, *Guardian of the Spiritualities*, *Dean of the Arches*, *with all their under-Officers and Attendants*.

To be brief as poſſible: *Firſt*, Where is the *Crime*, or the *Iniquity* of all This *Pomp* and *State*? Or why ſhould not an *Eccleſiaſtical Body* have its *Dignities* and *Dependences*, as well as a *Civil Community*? There is no body envies my *Lord Mayor*

his *Sword-bearer*, his *Mace-bearer*, or any other *Servant*, or *Enſign* of his *Preeminence* and *Office*. For beſide that the very *Splendor* and *Magnificence*, *creates* and *preſerves* a *Reverence* for *Authority*, This *Multiplicity* and *Subordination of Officers*, is of *abſolute Neceſſity* alſo; as *ſubſervient* to *Order*, and to the very *Diſcharge* of his *Function*. The *Second Queſtion* is, *Are theſe Officers eſtabliſhed by* Law, *or not?* If by *Law*; *This clamour is an Arraignment of King, Lords, and Commons. Thirdly*, It is not only a *Legal Eſtabliſhment*, but an *Eſtabliſhment* of *many Ages*, and *continued* without *Interruption*, till both *Church* and *Kingdom* fell together. And then, in Lieu of *Biſhops*, we had a *Motly Synod* of *State-Penſioners*; *Hirelings*, to poiſon the *Pulpits* and the *People*; and to *decoy* the ſilly *multitude* out of their *Lives, Fortunes, Liberties, Duties*, and *Religions*: Men kept in *Pay*, to preach *Thanſgiving Sermons*, and to help out at a Dead lift, towards the bringing of their *Sovereign* to the *Scaffold*. When they had *preached* and *prayed* the Kingdom into *Bloud* and *Diſobedience*; and held the Rabble ſeveral Years *agog*, and gaping after the Bleſſed *Reformation* ſo graciouſly promiſed them: Out comes at laſt the *Falſe Conception* of their *Directory*. (A kind of *Spiritual Moon-calf*.) But by this time, the King was as good as loſt; and ſo they fell preſently to ſharing of the *Publick Revenues* of *Church* and *State*. They *Diſpatch* their *Prince*, *enſlave* the *People*, and there is an end of *That Reformation*: And it is the very Fellow of it, that they would have again. Was it not a *Bleſſed Exchange* now, to be freed from the *Prelatical Tyranny*, and their *Retinue*, and to have ſuch *Goſpel-miniſters? Generals, Majors, and Lieutenant Generals, Plunderers, Sequeſtrators, Decimators, Regicides*, and *ſacrilegious Uſurpers* ſet up in their ſtead? This *Cuckoo-Song* of *Forty One, Forty One, Forty One*, over and over; were *Ill-natured* and *Ridiculous*, if the other *Cuckoo-Song of Popery and Tyranny, Popery and Tyranny*, and accompanied with the *Former Principles*, over and over, had not made it *abſolutely Neceſſary*.

His next Grievance is, *The Eccleſiaſtical Courts: Court of Faculties, Court of Audience, Prerogative Court, Delegates, 24 Biſhops Dioceſan, with their Trains, Domeſtick Servants, Chaplains, Officers,*

Officers, and Courts; *Chancellors, Regiſters, Apparators, Proctors, Archdeacons, Commiſſaries, Officials, Surrogates*; Their Lordly *Palaces, Eccleſiaſtical Dignities, Baronies*, &c. viis & modis *amounting to at leaſt Four Hundred and Fifty Thouſand Pounds a Year: Enriching themſelves* (alſo) *by Ordinations, Inſtitution, and Induction*; *by making Rural Deans, Licences to Curates, School-maſters, Pariſh-Clerks, Phyſicians, Midwives, Marriages, by Abſolutions, by Commutation of Penance, Probats of Wills, Letters of Adminiſtration, Preſentments*, &c. *Pag.* 4, 5.

There is enough ſaid already to their *Dignities* and *Officers*; and ſo for their *Courts, Fees*, and *Privileges*; They are all of them of *Ancient Right* and *cuſtom*. If they envy the *Biſhops* their *Revenue*, the Common People may as well ſet up a *Levelling Trade* again; and fall upon *All Eſtates* and *conditions of men* that are better to live than themſelves. *Why ſhould ſuch a Lord, Gentleman, Merchant*, &c. *have ſo many Hundred Thouſand Pounds a Year amongſt them*; and the *Poor* ready to *ſtarve*? Is not *money* drawn into a *few hands here*, as well as *there*; and *their abundance*, conſequently, the Cauſe of our *Want*? Nay, the ſame Reaſon reaches the *King*, as well as the *Church*. So that *Gods Providence* to *Some* muſt be rendred an *Injuſtice* to *Others*. One would think by the *Out-cry*, that all this went immediately out of the *Peoples Pockets*: Whereas the *Patrimony* of the *Church* is *Setled and confirmed* by the *Great Charter* of the *Engliſh Liberties*; as *firmly* as any *Freehold* we have. There hath been always this *clamour* againſt their *Courts*: But how was it with us, when they were put down? We had our *Triers* (in good time) Our *Committees* for *Sequeſtration, Decimation*; *money* upon the *Propoſitions*, the *Sale* of *Iriſh Lands*; Our *Loans* for our *Brethren* the *Scots*; Our *Committees* for *Crown* and *Church Lands*: And a hundred other Inventions for the *Beggering* and *Enſlaving* of us, *contrary to Law*; by way of *Commuting* for the *Juriſdiction of theſe Courts, according to Law*. Inſtead of *Licences* to *Preach*, or *Teach School*, we had *Sequeſtrations* and *Impriſonments* for *Preaching* or *Teaching*; unleſs upon the Conditions of *Renouncing* both the *King*, and the *Church*. In ſtead of *Demanding Lawful Oaths*, we were up-

on pain of *Plunder*, *Confiſcation*, and *Impriſonment*, *preſſed* to *Unlawful ones*; as *Covenants*, *Negative Oaths*, *Oaths of Abjuration*; and not only ſo, but in direct *Contradiction* to the *Oaths of Allegiance* and *Canonical Obedience*; to Double-hatch the *Perjury*, in Defiance of both our *Implicit* and *Explicit Obligations*. Here is the ſhort of that Exchange.

Upon his Computation of the *Value* and *Dependences* of the *Eccleſiaſtical State*, he reckons ſome *ten Thouſand perſons*, one way or other, belonging to the *Church*: and at leaſt 450000 *l. per ann.* *Firſt*, In place of the *ten Thouſand perſons* he ſpeaks of; (who in another place (he ſays) bring nothing to the Stock) what do you think of an *Army* of 40000 *men*, wholly *exempt* from the *Civil Juriſdiction*; and only Triable by *Martial Law? Hiſt. Indep. pag.* 68. *Part.* 1. Or in ſtead of the *Churches ſpending four or five hundred Thouſand pounds a Year*, of their *Own*; what do you think of the *Uſurpers ſpending above forty Millions, in leſs than ſeven Years*, of the *Kingdoms Money*, *Hiſt. Indep. pag.* 8. But of this hereafter. We had then no longer the *Eye-ſore* before us, of the *Prelates Lordly Palaces*; the *Kings Palaces* were likewiſe *ſeized* by the *ſame hands*; Our *Churches* turned into *Stables*; Our very *Altars Robbed* and *Profaned*. And, to go *through ſtitch*, He whips up the *Clergy* for their *Viſitations*, their *Paſchal Rents* and *Procurations*; Nay, their *Canons*, *Vicars*, *Petty-Canons*, *Singing-men*, and *Boys*, *Choriſters*, *Organiſts*, *Goſpellers*, *Epiſtlers*, and *Vergers* too: And all this, as idly, as if he talked in his ſleep.

Here he takes Breath, and at the Bottom of *Pag.* 5. promiſes a *Catalogue of more Families Ruined*, *more Perſons Impriſoned*, and an account of *more money ſpent*, by the *cruelty* of the *Prelates*, than by *all the Law-ſuits of England*, all *Payments* and *Taxes* beſide: *Except upon the late* **Extraordinary Occaſion**. This Libel was Printed, as I remember, before the *Great Plague*, and now of *late Reprinted* over and over, and dated 1679. So that *His late* **Extraordinary Occaſion**, is only a Civiller way of Expreſſing *Our late* **Extraordinary Rebellion**. Something ſhall be ſaid to This By and By.

His

His 6. *page*, and a good part of the 7. are a *Rhapſody of Grievances.* Upon the *Kings Reſtauration*, the *Purchaſers of Church Lands* were forced to *Reſtore* them, without any *Compenſation.* He makes it to be a *hard Caſe*, the *Reſtoring* of them to the *Right Owner*, but ſays nothing of the *Tyranny of Taking them from him.* He tells us, that *the Ruſty Eccleſiaſtiques, that neither ſerve our* Lord Jeſus Chriſt, *nor their* Country, *but their* own Bellies, (this is the Complement he beſtows upon them) *hoard up the Money that they have extorted from the Subjects by* Fines, *and have brought the Nation to a Conſumption.* I wonder how *Church Leaſes*, that are commonly the *beſt Penniworths*, ſhould be a *Greater Grievance* to the Nation, than *Others* that are ſet at *higher rates*, which we hear no complaint of at all. And I do not ſee how it conſiſts with his charge of *Luxury* upon the *Prelates*, that upon ſo great Expence, there ſhould be no *Circulation* of the *Treaſure.* I could tell him of the *Turkiſh Slaves Redeemed*; Their Bounties to *Miniſters Widows*; their *Publick Works*, as the *Oxford Theatre*, the Reparation of *Litchfield Cathedral*, and the Re-edifying of ſuch of their Palaces, as the Iniquity of the late Times had demoliſhed, *&c.* To ſay nothing of the *Common Right* they have to diſpoſe of their *Own:* Or to the *Secret Charities* of many of our *Eminent Churchmen*, who have too much *Honour* and *Piety*, to make Proclamation of it in the *Market Place.* But now comes a Lamentable Story.

We have all our Able, Godly, Orthodox Miniſters turned out, Ruined, and Beggered, and no manner of ſupply provided for the Maintenance of them and their Families: And in their Rooms (in many places) a Company of debauched, Illiterate, Superſtitious, Profane Prieſts; which Blind Guides muſt needs lead them that follow them to Hell, pag. 6.

Let the Reader obſerve the *Phariſaical* and *Unmannerly Oppoſition* betwixt *his Ejected Miniſters*, and thoſe that were *Introduced*; and then let him conſider the *Right*, and the *Condition* both of the *One* and the *Other. This* was the very *Character* the *Schiſmaticks* gave our *Learned, Pious*, and *Canonical Divines* when they turned them out of their Livings by *Hundreds*,

dreds, contrary to *Law*, *Honesty*, and *Humanity it ſelf*; and the ſame *character* with the *other*, did *They* take upon *Themſelves*, that *turned them out*: The *Incumbent Legally Inveſted* in the *Benefice*; and the *other*, an *Oppreſſing* and *Injurious Uſurper*. And what came of it? The *Shepherds* were *deſtroyed*, and *Wolves* ſet to look to the *flock*: The *Unity* and *ſimplicity* of *Evangelical Truth* was *loſt* and *confounded* in a *compound of carnal Policy* and *ſchiſm*. We had as many *Religions* as *Pulpits*; and the *Doctrine of Rebellion* delivered in them, inſtead of the *Doctrine of ſalvation*.

He goes on, *Damning all the Churchwardens for Perſecutors of the Goſpel, if they Preſent according to their* Oaths; *and for* Perjury, *if they do not. If a Miniſter Preach without his* Canonical Garment: *If any one goes from his own Pariſh Church to hear a Sermon*, &c. *or work upon a* Romiſh Holiday; *if he does not* ſtand up *at the Creed*; *nor* Bow *at the Name of* Jeſus; *or does not keep off his Hat all the while, he is* Preſentable.

Well, and what of all this? There is neither *Life* nor *Limb*, in the Caſe, if a man be *Preſented*. Here is for *Decency* ſake, an *Order*; and *that Order* is ſupported by *Authority*; and *Obedience* in *Lawful matters*, deriving from a *Lawful Authority*, is an *Eſſential Duty* both of a *Subject* and a *Chriſtian*. He ſeems only to have Talked Idle all this while; but now he grows directly Outragious.

We have gotten (ſaith he) *moſt of the ſober Trading part of the Nation diſcouraged by Citations, Excommunications, Writs to take them Excommunicated; Impriſonments upon Eccleſiaſtical Accompts; By this means Thouſands of Families are already ruined, and many Hundreds are ready to leave the Land, and remove into ſome other Country, where they may have Liberty of conſcience, and Freedom from theſe devouring Harpies.* And then he tells us *of our Surplices, Copes, Tippets, Cringings, out of the* Romiſh Rituals, *and a* Service *collected out of the* Romiſh Books, *the Maſs Breviary*, &c.

Was not This the very Stile of the *Petitions* and *Admonitions* to *Queen Elizabeth*? And ſo down to this Inſtant. *Pray what did we get by it; when to be eaſed of this inſupportable Tyranny,*

Tyranny, the Nation was at the charge of 114000 *l. a month to an Army*? *Hist. Indep.* 66. *Above one half of the Revenue of the Kingdom under Sequestration*: 300000 *l. a Year openly divided by the Faction among themselves*; beside *Private Jobs*, and *above* 20 *Millions* that they never *accompted* for, 110000 *l. a Year* in *Wages* to *themselves*; 100000 *l. a Year* more in *Gratuities*. Beside *Free Quarter* at pleasure: *Taxes Innumerable*; and all *Under-hand Corruptions*. Above *a million and a half* levied by *Compositions*; and then so *cheap* and *despicable Slaves*, in our *Persons*, that *Welsh Prisoners* were sold into *Plantations* at 2 *pence a head*. For the Truth of all This, I refer my self to Mr. *Walker* in his *History of Independency*; a *Knowing* and a *Well-read Person* in the whole *Transaction*, and a man of *Credit*.

As to the Pamphletters *Liberty of Conscience*: He would have the World believe this *Uniformity* and *rule of Discipline* to be *New*, and *Singular*, and the Work only of the *Present Age*, and *Bishops*. Whereas, whosoever will consult the History of our Government, will find *This Law* to be a *Moderation*, which they call a *Persecution*: Especially at a time when the *strictness* is not *executed*. Under *Edward* the VI. the very *Depraving* of the *Common Prayer*, or *Procuring the Use of any other* in *Open Prayer*, was 10 *l.* to *his Majesty* for the *First Offence*; 20 *l.* for the *Second*: And a *Forfeiture* of all *Goods* and *Chattels*, with *Imprisonment during Life* for the *Third*. And in the *Fifth* of the *same King*, there was Authorized an *Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction* in these Cases. *Q. Mary repealed this Act*: and in the *First* of *Q. Elizabeth*, *Q. Maries Act* was *repealed*, and the *Former Act Confirmed*; which was afterwards in the *five and Thirtieth of that Queens Reign, enforced with more Rigour*; to which she was necessitated, by the Turbulence of that Spirit of **Schism** which still to this day is a working. King *James* handed it down to the *late King*, and he continued it, till by a Torrent of *Popular violence*, the *King* himself, and the *Government* were both *Over-born*.

We have gotten (saith he) *a Swarm of Ecclesiastical Officers which the Scriptures never knew, nor Reformed Churches ever owned; A sort of proud Prelates--And all manner of Misery to*

Soul

Soul and Body. Plague, Fire, Sword, Univerſal Beggery; and without Seaſonable Mercy, the Total Ruine of the whole Kingdom. I am ſorry to hear that we have any *Officers* which the *Reformed Churches* never *owned*: For theſe which we have in this Government at *preſent*, we have had for *ſeveral Ages*: and when we had theſe Officers no longer, we had no longer any Government: And *Then* it was that all his Plagues befel us. We have made but *One Tryal of another way of Government*, and it coſt us *Dear*.

Upon a ſuppoſed Queſtion over again, concerning the *Riſe* of our *Miſeries*; the *Libellers Anſwer* is, that *the manifold Provoking Sins of the Land; as Adultery, Blaſphemy, Swearing, Idolatry, perjury, and contempt of God and Godlineſs do pull hard with Heaven to bring down deſolating Judgments: But the neareſt Cauſe of our Impoveriſhments, ariſeth from the particulars aforementioned.*] He ſhould have done well to have put in *Rebellion* too; which hath all other ſins in the Belly of it. But That is a Thing theſe People do not love to touch upon. To the reſt I have ſpoken more than enough already, and that which follows, is only an Impertinent Citation of Reflections upon *Ill Biſhops*, whence he would draw an *Inference* that we are to have *None at all*.

The *Second* of the *Five Queries* before mentioned is This, [*Whether ſince all other Reformed Churches in* Europe *did upon the Firſt Reformation and Departure from Popery caſt out all Dioceſan Biſhops, Name and Thing, Root and Branch, as an Office altogether Popiſh; together with all their Hierarchical Appurtenances; And to this day eſteem them no otherwiſe; why did not, or doth not* England *alſo do the like.*] So that by Hook or by Crook, it ſeems, the *Biſhops* muſt *down*, either for *Oppreſſion*, or for *Popery*; *after the Example of all other Reformed Churches.* We may ſee by This, what kind of Reformation we are to expect from Thoſe People that account the Church of *England* to be *Popiſh*. We ſhould be preſently a tearing down *Altars* again, demoliſhing of *Churches*, Rifling of *Colleges*, and Murthering of *Jeſus Chriſt* over again in *Effigie*; which is no way to be effected but by *another Rebellion. The Model of the*

beſt

best Reformed Churches, was the Juggle of the *Covenant*; and the very *Condition* of the *Scots coming in the Second time,* was our *Owning of their Kirk* for the *best Reformed*; and declaring for a *Reformation* of the *English Church,* according to the *Scottish Model.* The *Reformation* doubtless was a *Glorious Work*; but there have been very *Ill Things* done under that *Pretext,* and in the *way* to it: And it is no New Thing for *God* to be in the *End,* and the *Devil* in the *Means.* Beside that, the *Doctrine* and *Discipline* of the Church of *England* is so *pure,* and *Apostolical* already, that there is no need of *Double Refining* it.

His *Third Quæry* is a Frank Proposal, without any more ado, of taking all the *Church Lands* into the *Crown*; and very Courteously he offers the *Poor Cavaliers* a *Snip* in the *Booty.* Does he consider, that after *This Violence,* an *Englishman* hath nothing left him that is *sure* and *sacred*? And that as much as in him lies, he destroys us in our *Liberties, Consciences,* and *Estates,* all at a Blow. The *Patrimony* of the *Church* is *First,* a *Gift* to *God,* and *appropriated* to his *Service*; and therefore not to be *touched: (They have Robbed me,* saith *God,* in the Prophet *Malachy.)* Or if it *may,* no man is sure of the Estate he possesses, by the same Reason: For there is no better Title in Nature, than *a Deed of Gift. Secondly,* it is setled and Confirmed by *Magna Charta*; which says, *that the Church of England shall be free; and shall have all her whole Rights and Liberties inviolable (for ever.) Thirdly,* the King binds himself by his *Coronation Oath, to preserve unto the Bishops, and to the Churches committed to their charge,* all *Canonical Priviledges, and due Law and Justice; and to protect and defend them, as every good King ought to be a Protector and Defender of the Bishops and Churches under his Government.* So that here is *Sacriledge, Common Right,* and *Perjury* in the Case.

His *Fourth Quæry* is, [*Whether in those Kingdoms and States where Prelacy is extirpated, and a Presbytery only retained, there be not as Godly, Able, Orthodox Preachers, &c. and as good Subjects, as where Bishops are retained.*--- His *Last Quæry* is only a Political Prospect upon the Power of *France,* and nothing to the point in Question.] To which I answer *First,* That I

know no ſuch *Kingdoms* as he ſpeaks of. *Secondly*, What if under a *Presbyterial Government*, any *Subject* of *That State* ſhould move *vice versâ*, for an *Epiſcopal there* as he does *here* for a *Presbyterial*? How would it be taken? If there may be as *good Preachers* and *Subjects* on the *One* ſide, as on the *Other*; why ſhould we change the Government, to be only where we were? *Fourthly*, If *Two Arch-biſhops*, and 24 *Biſhops Dioceſan* be ſo great an *Oppreſſion*; what would become of us in a *Presbytery*, when we ſhould have 9852 *Popes*, in ſtead of them? (*One* in *Every Pariſh.*) *Fifthly*, The *Presbyterial principles* are purely *Jeſuitical*; and that would be but the ſetling of *Popery* under *another Name*. *Sixthly*, we have it upon Experiment, that the People will never indure them, nor *They* the *Government*.

To come now to that Libel, which bears the Title of my *Lord Lucas's Speech*: The *Name* of that Noble Lord is only made uſe of for a Cover to thoſe Scandals upon the King, which to have ſaved the laſt drop of blood in his Veins, he would not have been guilty of. It is true, that Offence was taken to the Liberty of the Speech it ſelf, and a Cenſure paſſed upon it; but it is not preſently for every Mutinous Incendiary to Arraign a Proceeding of Parliament, and to call it *Barbarous Uſage*, with other rude, and very unmannerly Expreſſions, in the Preface to the Reader. He ſays that *God hath taken him from an* **Ungrateful Generation.** And he ſays right in that; for undoubtedly there never was the fellow of it upon the face of the Earth. The *Kings Friends* (who are the only people *Oppreſſed*) they ſit ſtill, in *Hope* and *Patience*; while his *Enemies* enjoy both the *Advantage* of the others *Loſſes*, and the *Reward* of their *Services*; *Thoſe* are the People that *Complain*. *This Faction* to whom the King hath forgiven his *Fathers Bloud* and *his Own*. (*His Own*, (I ſay) for they that *ſhot* at him and *miſt*, are as *Guilty*, as if they had ſtruck him to the *Heart*; and they that *adviſed* it, as thoſe that did the *Execution*:) Theſe are the People, that in requital for their *forfeited Lives*, *Liberties*, and *Fortunes*, which his Majeſty frankly

frankly *gave* then, are now laying the ſame Train for *This King*, by which They ruined the *Laſt*. The Bold Indignities of this *pamphlet* are ſuch, as a Loyal Subject cannot Honeſtly ſo much as recite: It is neither better nor worſe than a *Formal Charge* upon the King in *Five and Twenty Articles*, diſperſed with all the Malice, and Induſtry imaginable. The Scope of it is to poſſeſs the People with an Opinion, that the King deſigns the bringing in of *Popery*, and an *Arbitrary power*; with an Application of ſeveral particulars, to thoſe Ends. Now if theſe *Affronts* paſs, without either *puniſhment*, or *reply*, who can blame the ſimple Multitude that know nothing more than what they read in a Pamphlet, for giving credit to them? And when they are once tainted with that deadly *Jealouſie*, who can blame them again, for doing *ill things*, that know no *better?* The Time is almoſt come, when honeſt men ſhall be put to death, and the very *Murtherers think that they do God good Service*. This was the miſtaken zeal of the late Times; and we are even ready for it once again. The *Two Calumnies* whereupon theſe People lay the greateſt *ſtreſs*, are *Firſt*, a *pretended Apprehenſion* of an *Arbitrary power*; and *Secondly*, of an *Inclination* to favour *Popery*.

The Imputation of any Diſpoſition, or Deſign in his Majeſty that now is, in favour of either *Tyranny* or *Popery*, is ſo groundleſs and incredible to any man that hath but his Eyes in his head, that it would not be worth a Page of Paper, to ſhew the Error of it, were it not that we are delivered up to the *Deluſion* of *believing things impoſſible*, and *diſcerning things Inviſible*; and yet as *Blind* as *Moles*, to matters of clear and evident *Demonſtration*.

With what Face can any man pretend an *Apprehenſion* of *Tyranny* from *this Prince*, whoſe very *Mercy* and *Bounty*, by the Extreme abuſe of it, hath created his *misfortune*? Nay, the moſt ſpiteful of his Enemies cannot but acknowledge that there doth not live any man that hath leſs of Gall and Rancour in his Nature: Beſides the *Experiment* his greateſt *Adverſaries* have had of his *Goodneſs* in Common with the reſt of his Subjects upon the *Criſis* of his *Reſtauration*. For when

he might have made himſelf as *abſolute* as he would; when he had his *Foes* under his *Feet*; and ſome reaſons of *State*, perhaps, to lay a *firmer Foundation* of his *Future Security*; his *Tenderneſs of nature* did yet ſo far prevail upon him, above all other Conſiderations, that he quitted all thoſe *Advantages*; he *Gave* and *Forgave* all that was poſſible; to ſhew how much he prized a *Dominion* over the *Hearts* of his People, above That of their *Bodies* and *Eſtates*.

Touching his *affection* to the *Religion* of the Church of *England*; ſince it hath pleaſed God in his Infinite Wiſdom to permit that his Majeſty ſhould be Calumniated upon that point; it is a ſingular Providence, that this ſhould happen in a *Juncture*, when the plain matter of *Fact*, and the *Naked Hiſtory* of his *Royal Proceedings*, may ſuffice to the moſt prejudicate, and the moſt obſtinate of his Enemies, as an Unanſwerable *Confutation*. It is every day more and more artificially *Inſinuated* and *Improved*; eſpecially ſince the Diſcovery of the *late horrid Deſign*, and particularly in the *Libel laſt mentioned*, as if his Majeſty were not ſo *careful* and zealous for the *Suppreſſing* and *Preventing of Popery*, and for the *Puniſhing of Delinquents*, as is needful for the ſecurity of his Government. Nay, there are ſome ſo daring, as to take them in *Hint*, and *Myſtery*, to intimate the very *Countenancing* of the *Plot it ſelf*. If the Proceeding be not altogether ſo *quick* and *ſanguinary* as ſome would have it, we ſhall only ſay this; that Thoſe of all men, have the leaſt Colour to complain of his Majeſties *want of Rigour*, that ſtand indebted already for their *Heads*, and for their *Fortunes*, unto his *Grace* and *Mercy*.

As to his Opinion of the Church of *Rome*, his Majeſty hath given the World ſo many and ſo ample Evidences of his diſlike of that Communion; that every mans *Conſcience* as well as *Reaſon*, cannot but diſcharge him upon that point. It cannot be imagined, that in his *late Troubles* and *Exile*, he wanted either *Arguments*, or *Solicitations*, either in point of *State* or of *Religion*; and the moſt plauſible too, that could be found out, to work upon either his *Conſcience*, or his *Neceſſities*: And yet no *Temptations*, either on the *One hand*, or on the *Other*, had

any

any farther Operation upon his Majeſties *Judgment*, than by cauſing a ſtricter Enquiry into the Subject in debate, to confirm him ſtill more and more in the *Truth* of his *Profeſſion*. In ſo much, that in the loweſt and moſt hopeleſs State of his *Diſtreſſes*, he choſe rather to abide all *Extremities*, than to depart, in any Tittle, from the Faith of the *Reformed Communion*.

Now his Majeſty having given this *Earneſt* of his *ſtedfaſtneſs* to the *Religion* of the *Church of England* during his *Baniſhment*; and ſhewing that neither *Fear* nor *Deſpair* could ſhake him in his *Reſolutions*; it were a ſtrange thing for him now to *relinquiſh That Cauſe* in *Oppoſition* to his *Intereſt*; which when it might have turned to his *Temporal Advantage*, no *Perſecution* or *Flattery* could ever prevail upon him to do. I might add to all This, that he hath ſteered the ſame Courſe in all his Devotions both *Publick* and *Private*, and that the Maintenance of This Church hath been Undeniably the Scope of all his *Deliberations*, and *Councils*, in all our *Religious* Concernments, *ſince his Bleſſed Return*.

But it is not enough, in all Caſes, for a Prince to be *Tender* and *Innocent*, in the matter of *Religion*; Witneſs the late *Pious*, and yet *Unfortunate Prince*. For whereſoever this Incantation takes place, the *Sinews* of *Government* are *Looſened*, the *Sacredneſs* of *Order Diſſolved*, and *all Obligations Cancelled*, as well *Moral* as *Divine*. And not only ſo; but the very *Shadow* and *Imagination* of it, frights people into *Lakes* and *Precipices*, and tranſports them with *Panick Terrors*, into the *Execution* of the very *Miſchiefs* they *fear*. So that his Majeſty hath *two main Difficulties* to encounter at once: The *One*, to Maſter the *Plot it ſelf*; the *Other*, to *Temper* and *Sweeten* the *Paſſions* of men, *zealous* in the *contrary Extreme*: That no Inconvenience may ariſe from their *Miſapprehenſion* of Things *another way*.

According to theſe Meaſures, his Majeſty hath governed his Courſe throughout the whole Tract of This Affair; leaving no means unattempted, that might probably give light to the Bottom of *This Tragical Deſign*: He hath given all ſorts of *Encouragement* to *Informations*, by *Countenance*, *Protection*, and *Reward*:

Reward: The *Depoſitions* have been formally taken before his *Majeſty*, and his *Privy Council*; and the *Evidences ſtrictly weighed* and *examined*; and from thence afterwards heartily *recommended*, and faithfully *tranſmitted* to the *Two Houſes* of *Parliament*; as the moſt *Rational Method*, for the *Common Satisfaction* both of *King* and *People*.

Neither hath his Majeſty been wanting on his *Own part* in a *Vigorous Concurrence* with the *Two Houſes*, to do all that in him lay, toward the *Suppreſſing of Popery*, the *ſeizing* and *ſecuring of Popiſh Recuſants*; and providing more effectually, by the beſt means that could be deviſed, for the *Maintenance* and *Eſtabliſhment of our Religion*: Having iſſued out divers *Proclamations*, and done ſeveral other *Publick Acts*, upon the Motion and Advice of his *Two Houſes of Parliament*, to the Ends aforeſaid; even to the taking away from the *Popiſh Lords* their *Ancient Right* of *Seſſion* in the *Houſe of Peers*; and diſabling all *Papiſts* whatſoever, to all purpoſes whatſoever, from any Advantages in the Government.

And if it be not yet enough, that in this Dangerous Juncture, his Majeſty hath walked *hand in hand*, and kept pace with his *Two Houſes of Parliament*; it may be juſtly affirmed, that he hath in ſome degree even *ſupererogated* in This matter; and added an *Exceſs* of *Affection* to the *Conſcientious Diſcharge* of his *Princely Care* and *Function*. Of this, we might give ſeveral Inſtances; but one ſhall ſerve for all. In his *Majeſties Speech to both Houſes of Parliament*, on *Saturday, Nov.* 8. 1678. where he quickens the *Two Houſes* themſelves, in theſe words; *I do deſire you* (ſaith his Majeſty) *to think on ſome ready means for Conviction of Popiſh Recuſants, and to expedite your Counſels, that the World may ſee our Unanimity; and that I may have the Opportunity to let you ſee how ready I am to do any thing that may give ſatisfaction.*

After this Demonſtrative Clearneſs on his *Majeſties ſide*, let us caſt an Impartial eye the *Other way*, and ſo *conclude*. Was not *This* the very *Charge* upon the *late King*? And was there ever any Prince that lived more *faultleſs*? Was not the Care of the

Pro-

Proteſtant Religion, pretended; and was not all *Religion*, in a manner, *ſubverted*? Was not the *Kings Honour* and *Safety*, the *Pretext* of a *Solemn Covenant*? And was he not delivered up by the *ſame Covenant*, to his very *Executioners*? What a *Clamour* there was about *Magna Charta*, the *Engliſh Liberties*; and a *Reformation*, only of ſome *Excreſcences* (as they called them) in the *Church* and *State*? And did not this ſpecious Flouriſh conclude in a *Total Extinction* of *Law*, *Freedom*, and *Government*? Were not the ſame *Arguments* uſed *Then* as *Now*? Are not the *ſame Artifices* of *Libelling Authority* practiſed *Now*, which were *Then*? And are not the *people poiſoned* the *ſame way this Year* that they were the *Laſt*? In ſhort; Is not *Highgate* the way to St. *Albans* ſtill? So certainly are we now running the *ſame Stage* over again. Was there not a Time when St. *Pauls* was turned into a *Garriſon*? When *Apprentices Cancelled their own Indentures*, and had them renewed again by an *Ordinance*? When for fear of *Redcoats* in the *Clouds*, the Credulous Multitude brought them, like *Ægyptian Plagues*, into their very *Pots* and *Diſhes*. *Oh! but do you think* (they cry) *that Theſe Godly people will ever touch the King*? How many well-meaning People thought the *ſame thing before*, and yet contributed to the deſtroying of their *Sovereign*; not knowing what they did. **Be not deluded.**

Immediately after the ſending of what is above-written, to the Preſs, comes out a *Pamphlet*, entituled, *Englands Safety*, *Or the Two Unanimous Votes of the laſt Good Parliament, concerning the D. of* York *being a Papiſt, &c.*

I have ſo great a Reverence, as well for the *Honour* of the *Conſtitution of Parliaments*, as for the *Perſonal Loyalty* of the *Members* of our *late Great Repreſentative*, that I cannot but take notice of the *Abuſe*, which is *Firſt*, put upon That *Illuſtrious Convention it ſelf*; and *afterward*, upon the *People*, in *This Libel*. It makes the *Houſe of Commons* to be the *Parliament*: But neither did thoſe worthy Gentlemen claim to themſelves *a Full Parliamentary power*, to the *Excluſion* of any other *Legal* and *Eſſential Concurrence*: Nor will they take it well

well to be so much *Mis-represented*. And then, it is as great an *Abuse*, on the *Other* hand, to the whole *Nation*: For if this Opinion be swallowed once, the People will be apt to take *Ordinances* again, for *Laws*. So that the Title is in a great *Mistake* upon *That Point*: And now that the *Reader* may not incur almost as *Great* a one, on the *other* hand, in *another*; Let it be observed, that the *Woman* in whose Name this Pamphlet is published, is so far from being a *Well-Willer* to the *Kings Person* or *Government*, that from the time of his Majesties Restauration, it hath been her Constant Business to promote all *Spiteful* and *Scandalous Books*, and *Papers*, against both *Church* and *State*.

To these *Pretended Votes*, I can say nothing, whether *True*, or *False*; but This I am sure of, that *Debates* of that *Solemnity*, and *Importance*, ought not to be made *Publick*; that nothing can be more *Derogatory* to the *Dignity* of that *Great Body*; than (as the Fashion hath been of late) for every *Pedant*, and *Mechanick*, to set up the Trade of *Teaching Parliament-men* their *Lessons*.

The Subject of his Royal Highnesses's *Succession* to the *Crown*, is made the *Common Theme* of the *Press*: And I do not presume to *Reason* the matter, either *Pro* or *Con*, as it is a Case out of my Province: But still I am at Liberty to assert the Duty of a *Free-born*, and of a *Faithful Subject*; and to *affirm*, that I have not found any one *Argument* in any of these Libels, which in a *Natural Consequence* does not likewise reach the *King*: Whom *God preserve*, and in *Mercy* keep all *his Subjects* in *Due Obedience*.

THE END.

The Late Put,

Concerning the

SUCCESSION

OF HIS

ROYAL HIGHNESS

THE

DUKE of *YORK*.

WITH

Some Obſervations upon the *Political Catechiſm*, The *Appeal*, *&c.* And Three or Four other Seditious Libels.

By *Roger L'Eſtrange.*

The Third Edition Enlarged.

LONDON,

Printed for *H. Brome* at the Signe of the *Gun* in S. *Pauls* Church-yard. 1680.

The Case Put,

Concerning the SUCCESSION OF HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS The DUKE of YORK.

THE Case of His *Royal Highnesses Succession* (in regard of the present circumstances of Plots and Popery) has been of late, sufficiently agitated, *Pro*, and *Con*; while the *Advocates* of *Both sides* pretend equally to support themselves npon Arguments drawn from *Nature*, *Scripture*, *Law*, *History*, *Custom*, aud *Political Expedience*. [*Et Pila minanti a Pilis*] Now as it is utterly impossible for a *Contradiction*, to be *Both ways* in the *Right*; so the Difficulty will not be much less, for a Common man, in a Proposition of this Nicety, to distinguish betwixt the *Truth*, and the *Paradox*; and to determine, upon which side the *Reason* lies. Or what if the Contendents themselves should yet in some degree, have left the very Pinch of

The Dukes Succession the Common Subject of the Press.

Law, and Scripture pretended on Both sides.

the Point betwixt them? For it is not the bare Citing of a piece of *Scripture*, or a *Record*, that does the buſineſs; but the fair *Expounding*, and *Applying* of it, with a due Regard, to the Context of *Times*, *Perſons*, *Intereſts*, *Occaſions*, and other Circumſtances. There is a great difference betwixt the *Counſels* of *Factious Times*, and of *Peaceable*; of *Uſurpers*, and of *Lawful Princes*; the *Conceſſions* of *Kings* in a Moral State of *Liberty*, and of *Kings* under a kind of *Dureſſe*. We ſhould, in fine, diſtinguiſh betwixt the *Sacred*, and *Inviolable Reſolutions*, that are founded upon *Equity*, and the *Common Good*, and thoſe *Temporary ſhifts*, which are only Invented to ſerve a *preſent Turn* of *State*. Was there ever any *Sedition* that did not recommend, and ſupport it ſelf upon ſome pretext of *Law* and *Preſident*? Was there ever any *Hereſie*, or *Schiſm*, that did not advance it ſelf under the Countenance of ſome *Text*? And yet Heaven forbid, that we ſhould think ever the worſe, either of *the word of God*, or of *the Law of the Land*, for being made uſe of as a Cloak to ſo much wickedneſs. He that has a mind to deſtroy the *Diſcipline*, the *Order*, or the very *Doctrine* of the *Church of England*, ſhall Qnote ye *twenty Texts* for't; and as many *Preſidents*, (if there ſhall be occaſion) for *Diverting*, or *Cutting off* the *Succeſſion*; nay for *Depoſing* the *King Himſelf*, and *Changing* the very *Form* of the *Government*. This is no more then what has been actually done in the Memory of Man. 'Tis a hard matter to imagine a *New Caſe*: So that let the Inſtance be what it will, it is but looking baek into Former Ages, to match it with *Preſidents*, *ready made* to your hand (like *Cloaths* in a *wholeſale Shop*) of *all Sizes*, and *Colours*.

Texts, and Preſidents may be miſapplyed.

Hereſie, and Sedition, pretend Texts, and Preſidents.

Texts and Preſidents to all Purpoſes.

Wherefore we ſhould have a care, methinks, of dealing in *perverted Texts*, and *Preſidents*. The Devil himſelf fiſhes with theſe Baits; and (as ſome body ſays) the Rabble ſwallow them whole, without either examining, or dreaming of the Dauger, till they feel the Hook in their Guts. Or, if I may change my *Metaphor*; the

Have a Care of perverted Authorities.

Common

Common people are caught juſt as we catch *Larks*; 'Tis but ſetting up a *fine Thing* for a *Wonderment*, they'le flock to't as far as they can ſee it, and never leave *Flickering* about it, till the Fowler has them in the *Net*. A Pomp of *words*, and *Colours*, to the *Multitude*; is but the Caſting of the *Sun* in their Eyes from a *Looking-Glaſs*; the more they *look* at it, the leſs able they are to *diſcern* what the matter is: & the great miſchief is this; they never take themſelves to be ſo *Clear ſighted*, as in thoſe caſes wherein they are *Stark-blind*. They are akin to what d'ye call him's *Monſters*; their *Eyes* are in their *Breaſts*, and their *Brains* in their *Bellies*: And therefore whoſoever would make an Intereſt with the *Vulgar*, applies himſelf not to their *Underſtandings*, but to their Paſſions, and *Appetites*. He comes with *Abſolons Exclamation* in his mouth, *Oh! that I were made a Judg in the Land!* which ſeldom fails of being the Prolouge to ſome approaching Tragedy. But let me try now, If I can find my way back again.

The Diſpute, Pro, and Con.

There is an *Aſſertion* laid down, *That all the Humane Acts, and Powers in the world, cannot hinder the Deſcent of the Crown upon the Next Heir of the Blood. This Poſition*, the *Aſſertor* undertakes to make *Good* by *Scripture*, *Law*, *Hiſtory*, and *Reaſon*. And his *Opponents*, on the other ſide, undertake, upon the very ſame *Authorities*, to *Overthrow it*; and I find a very Extraordinary Pen engaged in the Controverſie: We ſhall enquire, firſt, *How this Queſtion came at this time, to be ſet a Foot*; and then, *into the Quallity of the Queſtion it ſelf.*

How the Queſtion came to be ſet a Foot.

There was a *Bill* brought into the Houſe of *Commons*, in *May laſt*; (which was *Twice read*) *for diſabling His Royal Highneſs to Inherit this Imperial Crown*, becauſe of his *Departure* from *Us* to the *Romiſh Communion*. The matter going no further, and That Parliament being ſo ſoon after *Diſſolv'd*; there came forth, in Print, *a Pretended Copy* of that *Bill*; which was publiſh'd by a Perſon (if a mans Affections may be judg's by his Practices) that has

has as little kindness for his Majesty, as for his *Royal Brother*; and not one jot more for the Church of *England*, then for That of *Rome*: Of both which Aversions, there are Instances more than enough: Beside that in the very *same Pamphlet*, he carries an *Inference*, from the Case of *Foreclosing* the Duke, to the *same Right* of *Removing the King himself*; *in case of disability* (as he says) *to do the Kingdom any Good*. So that instead of pursuing the *seeming ends* of the said Bill; that is to say, the *Preservation* of His Majesty, and the *Protestant Religion*, by *This Act of Exclusion*; he very fairly, and for brevity sake *Sweeps all together*. By the *Character* of the *First Publisher*, we may Imagine the *Intent* of *That Publication*: And it is further to be noted, that the *Anti-Ducal Party* were the *Aggressors*; and it would have lookt like a yielding of the Cause, to have let the Subject fall without a Reply. So that the Blame (if any shall arise from this Matter) must be laid at his door that mov'd the Question, which Question is briefly This.

The King Removed by Consequence.

Who were the Aggressours.

The Case Put.

Whether the Parliament of England, *may by the Laws of* England, *Exclude the next Heir of the Blood from Succession to the Crown.* Some are of opinion *for* it, others *against* it; But the *Legality*, or *Illegality* of such an *Act*, is a Point that I am not willing to meddle with, either one way, or other. For whether the thing may *Lawfully* be done, or *not*, there may be *Danger yet*, and *Inconvenience*, in the putting of the *Question*, So that, in the Order of Reasoning, it should be first agreed, that this is a *fit Question* to be *put*, before we joyn Issue upon the *Merits* of the *Main Cause*. For my own part, I think it had been much better let alone; and that out of divers respects, in their due places to be consider'd.

A preposterous Question!

Reasons why the Question ought not to have been Put.

First, as to the *Question it self*; it is a Tickliſh Point, to say, what *a King of Great Britain*, with his *Two Houses of Parliament*, either *Can*, or *Cannot Lawfully do*: when perhaps it would puzzle the *Three Inns of Court*, to *State*, and *Determine* the very *Priviledges* of the *single*

House

House of Commons. Secondly, I do not know how far *Private men* may be allow'd to pronounce upon the *Power of that Government*, to which they are Born *Subjects. Thirdly, This Particular Case* renders the Undertaking more *Invidious*, and *Dangerous*: The King, 'tis true, calls the House of Commons to Consult, and Advise *de Arduis Regni*; (Of which *Ardua* That now in hand is undoubtedly the *Chief*) but I cannot yet learn that the *Soluta Multitudo* were ever joyn'd with their *Representatives* in the *Commission. Fourthly*, what can be more *Hazardous*, then the Probable *Effects* of *this Dispute*? It Splits the People directly into *Two Parties*; one of which is certainly in the *wrong*: and the *Publick Peace* endanger'd upon the *Division.* Beside that the People being made *Judges* of a Case, that they do not one jot *Understand*; it looks as if they were not call'd upon so much for their *Opinion*, as for their *Help.* The Publishing *Manifesto's* of this kind is not so much the *Stating* of a Case, as the *Preingaging* of an *Interest*; for it is not a Rash matter, to the Multitude, whether the thing be *Lawfull*, or *Not*, according to the *Law* of the *Land*: Let but Them be once possess'd, that it is *Reasonable*, and for the *Common-Good*, (tho' in *Truth*, never so *Inconvenient*, and *Unreasonable*) the Old Story of *Self-preservation*, and *Kings* being Constituted for the *Good* of the *People*, (in their mistaken sense) will make it *Lawful.* And when it comes to That once, the Government is Lost. A Popular Error, upon the Matter here in Debate, must necessarily draw after it a train of dismal Consequences: as *distraction of Thought*, in the bus'ness of *Conscience*, and *Duty*; an *Aversion* to their *Superiors*; *Irreverence* to the *Laws*, and a Spirit of *Opposition* to all *Publick Acts* of *Civil Administration*; if not an *Usurpation* of the *Power it self.* And all this is no more, then for them to pass a *Sentence* in a Case where we our selves have given 'em the *Chair.* The very *Exposing* of the Question, is a kind of *Reference*; as who should say,

The People Incompetent Judges of the Case.

An Error of dangerous Consequence.

Great mischief, and

Gentlemen,

Gentlemen, can the Parliament diſinherit the Duke *or not?* And This They take for an *Authority*, to proceed upon, to an *Arbitration*. Now, on the *Other ſide*, I cannot find ſo much as one Colourable Pretence of *Advantage*, by the broaching of This Diſpute, to *Countervail* all theſe *Miſchiefs*.

No benefit by the Queſtion.

It is a great matter, you'l ſay, *the Clearing of a* Truth? *eſpecially of a* Truth *ſo* neceſſary *to be* known? *that the* ſafety *and* well-being *of* every Particular man; *the Preſervation of our* King, Ringdome, *and* Religion, *depends upon the People's underſtanding this matter aright.*

The Diſpute Juſtified.

The Queſtion a *Moot-Point.*

Firſt, as to the clearing of the *Truth*;——*Magno Judice ſe quiſque tuetur.* The very *Queſtion* is a *Moot-point*. *One Probable* is ſet up againſt *Another*; and the *Learned Themſelves* are *Divided* upon't. There are *Preſidents* produced on *Both ſides*; and *Objections* alſo on *Both ſides* to Thoſe *Preſidents*. And in ſhort; it muſt be the work of a *Caſuiſt*, as well as of a *Common Lawyer*, to decide this *Controverſie*. How ſhall the *Common People* come to *diſtinguiſh* betwen the *Right*, and the *Wrong*; where the *Doctors themſelves Differ*? Or how is it poſſible, to make any thing *Clear*, to Thoſe that want *Capacities* to *Underſtand* it? How ſhall They come to *ſeparate* matter of *Fact*, from *Right*? To know *what Preſidents* are *Warrantable*, or *what Caſes Parallel*, and *what not*; without any ſort of acquaintance, either with *Law*, or *Hiſtory*; with the *Intrigues* of *Parties* and *Factions*; or the *ſecret Reſorts* of *State*? If it be ſaid that *Theſe Books are written only for ſuch as are* Competent Judges *of the Subject they Treat of*; my Anſwer is, that it were well if they could be kept from falling into Other hands. But lying open, indifferently, to All, it is to be fear'd that the *Argument* does more *hurt* where it is *not throughly underſtood*; then *Good*, where it *is*. And there is This further to be ſaid; that in all Caſes of *Appeal* to the *People*, whether they *Underſtand* them, *or not*, they never fail of ſiding with thoſe Propoſitions, that Promiſe *Liberty*, to the *Subject*,

Subject, and *Fetter* the *Government*. So that their *Partiality*, in *One Case*, is as bad as their *Ignorance*, in *Another*.

If it be agreed, that a man cannot be the *better* for any thing that he does *not Understand*; (or at least, so far as he does not Understand it) and that not *one man* of a *thousand understands* the *Stress* of the Point here in *Issue*; the pretence of *clearing* the *Truth* falls to the ground: Or however, there is not *one man of a Thousand the Better for't*. Not one of a Thousand understands the Point.

But now on the *Other side*; let us suppose the people so wise, that every man that reads the Case sees through it. This might serve to set *some* people *Right*, and to *Confirm Others*. But *Right*? In *What*? *In the Critical Explication of a Riddle of State*: which would serve us just to as much purpose, as the Knack of *Solving* other *Common Riddles*. It would make us (as many other Curiosities do) only a little *more Learnedly*, and *Unprofitably Troublesom*. It is not the *Common peoples Province*, to dive into the *Arcana Imperii*; and it is as little, either their *Duty* or their *Interest*, to intermeddle in the Mysteries of *Government*. As the *Universe* it self is compacted into *one Body*, by the Orderly *Disposition*, and *Contiguity* of *Parts*: So is every *Political Society* also bound up in *One Community*, by a Regular *Distribution*, and *Subordination of Degrees*, *Offices*, and *Functions*. And is not all This, the *Work* and *Dictate* of the same Almighty *Providence*? He that *made* the *World*, appointed the *Order* of it; and assigned to every *Part*, its proper *Place*, and *Station*. Or what if the People did understand it.

But to proceed now, upon the admittance of a Supposition, that the Subject matter of this Dispute is competently *Understood*. *Tis as Broad as 'tis Long*, take it which way ye please; And the very *same thing*, to the *People*, whether it goes *For* the Duke, or *Against* him. If they find that a Parliament *Cannot* Disinherit him, An Unprofitable Question

they are but where they were before; unleſs they ſhould Impoſe it upon the Government by *Force*. And what, on the *Other ſide*, if the Parliament may *Legally Do* it; May they not as *Legally* yet *Refuſe* it; So that the *People* are ty'd up *This* way, as well as the *Other*; without any manner of Benefit, beyond the *bare knowledge* whether the thing *may* be done, or *not*. If the Parliament *will*, they *May*; and if they will *not*, they may let it *alone*. But it many times falls out, that Overtures of this Nature ſerve rather as a *Temptation* to the doing of ſome thing at a *Venture*, then a ſimple, and candid *Deliberation*, whether a thing may *Lawfully* be done, or *no*. Or what if This thing may *Lawfully* be done? we are never the nearer yet: if His Majeſty has not as well the *Will* to do it, as the *Power*: and it ſeems more reaſonable to believe that he has *not*, then *Otherwiſe*; having ſo expreſly declared his mind to the *Two Houſes of Parliament* againſt it, in His moſt Gracious ſpeech of *May* laſt, in the words following.

His Majeſties. Speech.

I am as ready to join with you in all the ways, and means, that may Eſtabliſh as Firm a ſecurity of the Proteſtant Religion, as your own hearts can wiſh; and This not only during My time, (of which I am ſure you have no fear) but in all future Ages even to the end of the world: And therefore am come to aſſure you, that what Reaſonable Bills you ſhall preſent, to be paſs'd into Laws, to make you ſafe in the Reign of any Succeſſor (ſo as they tend not to Impeach the Right *of* Succeſſion, *nor the* Deſcent of the Crown in the True Line; *and ſo as they Reſtrain not the Juſt Right of any* Proteſtant Succeſſour: *) ſhall find from Me a ready Concurrence. And I deſire you to think of ſome more effectual means for the Conviction of Popiſh Recuſants, and to expedit your Counſels as faſt as you can, that the world may ſee Our Unanimity; and that I may have the Opportunity of ſhewing you how ready I am to do any thing, that may give Coutent and Satisfaction to ſuch Loyal, and Dutyfull Subjects.*

Now

Now if ſo it be that the very Queſtion it ſelf, (tho handled with all the *Simplicity* of Thought Imaginable) carries along with it ſo many *Difficulties*, and *Inconveniences*; and without any *Benefit* at all to the *Publick*; as is already ſet forth: what ſhall we ſay, if upon a Fair, & Temperate Examination of the Arguments employ'd for the ſupport of this Diſinheriting Propoſition, it ſhall appear, upon Evident *Reaſon*, and a Natural Deduction of *Conſequences*, that, whether the Duke *Stands*, or *Falls*, the meer Ventilation of the *Queſtion* opens a Gap to let in all thoſe Calamities upon us, by unavoidable *Inferences*, which we propound to avert by a *Preventional Excluſion*? To ſay nothing either of the *Boldneſſe* of the *Argument*, from a *Private Pen*, or of the *Oppoſition* of a *Subject* to the *Solemn*, and *Declared Will* of his *Sovereign*: And that Declaration too, recommended to Us by a Previous Grant of the Thing in the whole World which we would be thought to ſet the higheſt value upon, the Security of the *Proteſtant Religion* by all ways Imaginable, to This, and to Future Ages. Certainly the Trumping up of this Queſtion, has an Ill Viſage any way; but the doing of it directly againſt His Majeſties Will, made known with his own Lips to the Contrary; This makes it look a great deal more Suſpicious. For to what End is it to put our ſelves in a Sweat, upon a Queſtion, whether or no the King may *Lawfully* do ſuch a Particular thing; when he had told us before-hand, that he *Will not do it*; and the thing *cannot* be done, *Without* him? And the *Other* way, it looks Worſe; and carries ſuch an *Innuendo* along with it, as who ſhould ſay: *Look ye, my Maſters; Here's a thing the Government* May *do if they pleaſe; and it is abſolutely neceſſary to be* done: *But if They Will not*;——and ſo forth.

It is a Queſtion of dangerous Conſequences.

There's no managiug of this Diſcourſe, without making frequent mention of his *Royal Highneſſes Quality*, and

Title; and yet (saving my Duty to him in all his Capacities) I shall keep my self in these Papers, upon a Punctual *Neutrality*, as to *His Pretensions*: My business being only to Acquit my self, in what I ow to my Religion, my Prince, and my Country, where I find any of these Sacred Interests Concern'd. As for Instance; where any *Contemptuous Reflections* are past upon the *Person* of the Duke, His Majesty himself becomes a sufferer, through the Indignities that are cast upon his Brother. Or where the *Same Argument*, that is levell'd at the *Duke*, strikes the *King too* and the *Government*. In These Cases I reckon my self to be at Liberty.

The King wounded through the Duke.

The Motives to the Bill of *Exclusion*.

The *Motives*, or *Inducements* to This Project of *Exclusion*, together with the very *Form it self*; are set forth in the Pamphlet abovementioned, under the Title of *A Copy of the Bill Concerning the Duke of York*. viz.

The Excluding Clause of the pretended Bill.

That James *Duke of* York, Albany, *and* Ulster, *having departed Openly from the Church of* England, *and having publickly profest, and own'd the* Popish Religion, *which hath notoriously given* Birth, *and* Life *to the most Damnable, and Hellish* Plot, *(by the most Gracious Providence of God lately brought to Light) shall be excluded, and disabled, and is hereby excluded, and disabled, for ever, from Possessing, Having, Holding, Inheriting, or Enjoying the Imperial Crowns and Governments of this Realm, and These Kingdoms; and of all Territories, Countries, and Dominions, now, or which shall hereafter be, under His Majestys Subjection: and of, and from all Titles, Rights, Prerogatives, and Revenues with the said Crowns, now, or hereafter, to be injoy'd: And that upon the Demise, or Death of His Majesty, without Heirs of his Body (whom God long preserve) the Crowns, and Governments of these Kingdoms, and all Teritories, Countries, and Dominions Now, or which shall Hereafter be, under His Majesties Subjection, with all the Rights, Prerogatives, and Revenues, therewith*

of

of Right enjoy'd, and to be enjoy'd, ſhall devolve, and come upon ſuch perſon who ſhall be next Lawfull Heir of the ſame; and who ſhall have always been truely, and profeſſedly, of the Proteſtant Religion *now Eſtabliſhed by Law within this Kingdome; as if the ſaid Duke of* York *were actually dead*, &c.

Here is *Firſt*, to be conſider'd, the *Ground* of This *Excluſion*; and *Then*, the *Extent* of it. The *Ground* of it is ſaid to be *the Dukes Departure from the Church of* England, *to the* Romiſh *Religion*; *as that which notoriouſly gave* BIRTH, *and* LIFE *to the* PLOT. The Ground and Extent of This *Excluſion.*

Now Dr. *Tong*, that knows better, tells us, that *this is No* New *Plot*; *but an* Old one, Continu'd: and Dr. *Oates*, moſt Expreſly, in the *Twenty third Paragraph* of his *Narrative*, informs us, That the Engliſh *Fathers of St.* Omers, *writing to* Thomas Whitebread, *and Other Fathers Here*, *pray'd them to proſecute their Deſign of taking away the King*; *and* if his Royal Highneſs ſhould not comply with them, to diſpatch Him too: *For they did fear, that not any of the* Stuarts *were men for Effecting Their Purpoſes. And in this Letter Inſtructions were given to the Fathers, to feel how his* Royal Highneſs *ſtood* Affected. The Duke gave neither *Birth* nor *Life* to the *Plot.* Proved by Dr. *Oates.*

In the *Paragraph* following, the ſaid Fathers render This Account to the aforeſaid Letter, *That they had found that altho the* Duke *was a* Good Catholick, *yet he had a tender* Affection *to the* King; *and would ſcarcely be engaged in That Concern*; *and if they ſhould once intimate their Deſigns, and Purpoſes unto Him, they might not only be fruſtrated of their Deſign, but alſo might loſe his Favour. Which Letter the* Deponent Saw, *and* Read *in the Month of* February. And Dr. *Oates* moreover, give This Evidence againſt the Conſpirators, upon the Tryals of *Ireland*, *Pickering*, and *Grove*; Fol. 22. of the ſaid Tryal: that *They did intend to diſpoſe of the* Duke *too, in Caſe he did not appear Vigorous in promoting of the* Catholick *Religion.* And this is not All neither: For the Doctor They durſt not Truſt the Duke with the knowledg of any deſign. The Duke to be diſpatched too.

Doctor aforesaid, in the *Appendix* to this *Narrative*, under the Head of *The Generall design of the* POPE, *Society of* JESUS, *and their Confederates in This* Plot, Subjoyns this further Testimony, *Fol.* 64.

Dr. *Oates* his Narrative Fol. 64.

That in case the Duke of York *will not accept these Crowns, as forfieted by his Brother unto the Pope; as of His Gift; and settle such Prelates, and Dignitaries in the Church, and such Officers in Commands, and Places, Civil, Naval, Military, as He hath Commissioned; (as Above) Extirpate the* Protestant *Religion, and in order thereunto,* ex post facto, *consent to the Assassination of the King his Brother, Massacre of his Protestant Subjects; Firing of his Towns,* &c. *by Pardoning the Assassins, Murtherers, and Incendiaries; That then, He be also* Poy-

The Duke to be poyson'd, or Destroy'd.

son'd, *or* Destroy'd, *after they have for some time abused his Name and Title to Strengthen the* Plot, *&c.* Proceeding in the same Page *more Particularly, that the Royal Family of the* Stuarts, *are condemn'd to be cut off, Root and Branch; and namely the* King, Duke of York, *and* Prince of Aurange; *because that Family hath not answer'd their Expectations; nor have they any hopes* that any of them will comply with this their bloudy Design, *when fully discover'd to them. And* Fol. 65. *As to* the Duke of York; *notwithstanding they acknowledg his Sincerity, and Affection to Their Religion, and to the Society; and his Demonstration thereof, by his taking* Redingfield *(a Jesuit) for his Confessour; they Design to dispose of Him as is aboveSaid.*

No hopes of the Dukes Complyance.

The Duke clear'd by Dr. *Oates.*

How could the *Dukes Change of Religion* now give *Birth* to a *Plot* that was in *Agitation before That Charge?* And so for his giving *Life* to't; we have Proofs here of the Clear Contrary, uuder the *Hand* and *Oath* of the *Prime,* and *Eminent Discoverer* of the *Plot it self.* Here are *First, Instructions* from St. *Omers Hither,* for *the feeling of the Dukes Pulse*; and *Secondly,* it appears by the

Return

Return to Those *Instructions*, that they durst not give his Royal Highness the least hint of the Design. Beside, that in despair of the Dukes Complyance, they had mark'd out his *R. H.* for *Slaughter*, as well as his *Majesty*. A new and unheard of way, certainly, of *giving Life* to a *Plot*, for a Prince to run the risque of being *Assassinate* himself, for fear he should *disappoint* it. This Calumny of *State* being removed, That of *Religion*, I suppose, will not bear so much weight, as bordering too near upon a *Doctrine*, which all *true Protestants* do, with One voice *Condemn*.

Save only to his *Religion*.

As to the *Extent* of this *Imaginary Exclusion*, we may take a Computation of it, partly from the *Frame* of This *pretended Bill*, and partly from a view of the *Consequences* that Attend it: For upon the Naked sight of the *Bill*, one would think that the *Dukes Case* were the *single point in Question*. But whosoever looks a little further, will find *a Snake in the Grass*; and that more *Inconveniences* may be grafted upon *This President*; then the very *Contrivers* of the Project themselves were *aware of*, of which, by and by.

The Extent of This Exclusion.

For admitting the *disinherison* contended for, to be *Lawful*; it must be either *simply* so, upon a kind of *Omnipotent*, and *Unaccountable Prerogative* in *Government*; or *Conditionally* so; which needs no further Explanation; Then to refer, to its *known*, *Legal*, *Visible*, and *Intelligible Limitations*. But if it be *Lawfull* the *former way*; it is *Lawful*, without any respect to *Crimes* of *State*; *Opinions* in *Religion*; *Personal Defects*, or *Inabilities*; *Minorities*; *Families*, or the Like. And then the *Power* may be as well transfer'd from *One*, to *More*, as from *One Another*; for I do not know of any *Law*, that *permits* the *One*, and *prohibits* the *Other*. So that at this rate; this *Heredetary Government* may be turn'd into an *Elective*, into an *Aristocrasie*, a *Democrasie*, or into a *Medly of all these*, at pleasure. And it is not to say, *what? Do*

Suppose the *Disinherison* Law ull.

The danger of Absolute, and Unknown Power

ye

ye think that Kings, or Parliaments will be mad? We have heard of *Parliamentum Inſanum*, and read of Princes that have been next door to it: and though we are ſafe enough at Preſent, it is not Impoſſible, but Poſterity may come to have More of them. Wherefore it ſhould be in *State*, as it is in *Play*; there ſhould be ſome *Common Rules* Agreed upon, to keep *ſhufflers*, in *Order*, as well as *fair Gameſters*. No *Government* can *ſtand*, without a *Foundation*; and *That Foundation* muſt be *known* too, and *Stable*; without Running to the *Cabaliſtical Notions* of *Salus Populi*, and *Inſtinct*. This is it, that preſerves a Nation in a due Temperament of *Dominion*, and *Subjection*; where every man knows his Poſt in the Government, and ſtands Firm upon his Own bottom. The Foundations of *Government* ſhould be like Thoſe of the *Earth*; *not to be moved*: For Otherwiſe, our *Lives*, *Liberties*, and *Eſtates*, are but *Precarious*, and at *Mercy*. In a *Popular Parliament*, the *Crown* goes to wrack, in a *Prerogative Parliament*, the *People*. We have *ſeen*, and *felt* the *One*; and there are thoſe yet in Being, that have *Heard* of the *Other*. And from the Periods of theſe Diſtempers we furniſh our ſelves with *Preſidents*, (as we have Occaſion) either for *Tyranny*, or *Sedition*: as if the doing of an Ill thing *Once*, were an Authority for the *Repeating* of it. And from what Root is it that all theſe Diſorders Spring; but the Spinning of the Thrid too Fine; and Reſolving the *Plain* and *Practical* Duties of *Government*, and *Obedience*, into *Myſtery*, and *Notion*; without ſhewing any State, or degree of men, what they are to Truſt to? I do not ſpeak in this place to the *Legality* of things, but to the *Utility* of them; and to Evince, that it is poſſible for a Thing to be *Lawful*, and yet Extreamly *Inconvenient*. Suppoſe *an Act of Parliament, to Prohibit the Making or Importing of any ſort of Arms, or Ammunition*; the *Authority* would not at all Excuſe the *Conſequence*. And the *Conſequence*, in This matter, is the Main Import of the *Queſtion*, what *Good* or

A Neceſſity of Some known Fundamentals.

A thing may be Lawful and yet Inconvenient.

or what *Ill*, will probably enſue upon it, either the *One* way, or the *Other*.

But in our way to That Diſquiſition, We ſhould take Notice that there are *Four Points* to be all clear'd, before we can reaſonably expect His Majeſty ſhould come to a Reſolution: That is to ſay; 1. The *Lawfulneſs* of the Thing. 2. *Natural Affection*. 3. Matter of *Conſcience*. And 4. *Reaſon of State*. In the *Firſt Caſe* of the *Four* the Learned in the *Law* may be Conſulted; but in the *Other Three* the *King himſelf* is the only Competent *Judg*.

Four Obſtacles to be removed, before the King paſs the Bill.

What if we ſhould, for Quiet-ſake now, let the *Firſt point* paſs for *Granted*, and ſuppoſe his Majeſty convinc'd of the *Legality* of the Act? There is yet a *Brother*; a *Prince*: and a *Friend* in the Caſe: A Perſon that has as frankly ventur'd his *Bloud*, for his *King*, and his *Country*, as the meaneſt Subject in his Majeſties Dominions. And there may be certain Stimulations of *Honour*, as well as Impulſes of *Natural Affection*. Let but any *Generous Subject* make it his Own Caſe, and ask his Own heart, *what he himſelf would do under theſe Circumſtances*; And who knows further, but a Scruple of *Conſcience* may fall in too with this Tenderneſs of *Nature*, upon the thought of depriving a *Legal Heir*, by ſo extraordinary a way of his *Undoubted Birth-Right*? If This ſhould be the Rub, ther's no getting Over it. Or if the way were Clear thus far; yet if His Majeſty ſhould ſee any thing in the *Tendency* of the Propoſition, either Inconſiſtent with the *Dignity* of His *Office*, or with the *Peace*, and *Security* of His *Government*, and *People*; ſuch *Reaſon of State* would undoubtedly put a Stop to any ſuch *Bill*. How far Theſe Reaſons, or any of them, may prevail toward the Preventing, or Obſtructing of This Project, we ſhall not preſume to enquire. But as to the *Manner* of Promoting it, on the Other ſide; the *Quality*, the *Force*, and the *Conſequences* of their Arguments; there are many things to be noted in them that ſeem worthy of Conſideration.

No Notice taken of Libels againſt His Majeſty, and His Government.

It is a ſtrange thing, in the Menage of This Cauſe, where the *Honour* and *Safety* of the *King* appears to be the *Main Point* in *Queſtion*: *Firſt*, that men ſhould be ſo *Quick-ſighted*, as to ſee things in their *Conſequences* So *Remote*; and yet, at the ſame time, So Blind, as not to diſcern the *Affronts*, and *Indignities* that are dayly offer'd to His Majeſties *Authority*, *nearer hand*; and the *hazzards* that more directly ſtrike at His Sacred *Perſon*. My Charity perſwades me, that if ſome of them had taken notice of theſe *dangerous Practices*, their Loyalty would have render'd them as Zealous, and Officious the other way: For if a Prince be deſtroy'd; 'tis the ſame Caſe to every good Subject, whether it be done by a *Phanatick* or a *Jeſuit*. And then the *Honour* they have for the King, in His *Family*, as well as in *Himſelf*, would have Interpos'd, in the Vindication of our *Sovereigns Brother* from the Malice, and Contempt that has been paſt by Several Pamphletteers upon the very *Perſon* of his *Royal Highneſſe*. 'Tis like they would have had the *Prudence* too, not to have markt out unto the Rabble, all the Diſſenters to this Bill, as *Conſpirators*, and the *Betrayers* of their *Country* till they ſhould have ſeen the Reſult of the next Parliament; for fear they ſhould find *King*, *Lords*, and *Commons* under *That Character*. This is not *Reaſoning* of the Caſe, but down right *Setting the Dogs at a man*.

A well meaning Miſtake as dangerous as a Malicious one.

There is no doubt in the world but many an Honeſt man, and a wel wiſher to his Prince and Country ſtands well enough Affected to this Bill; (as many did in 1641. to the Pretenſions then a Foot) But when they found that Other people made Ill Uſe of Their Good meaning, and improv'd the Countenance of *Reforming* the Government to a *Violent Diſſolution* of it; How many thouſand Inſtances might a body produce of an unprofitable, and late Repentance, among thoſe Credulous and well-minded Gentlemen? And it is to be conſider'd alſo that Their *Miſtakes* contributed no leſs to the Ruin of the *Church*, and *State*, then the *Malice* of the moſt potent

Con-

Conſpirators: Nay, More perhaps; for the *Error* of an Honeſt man miſleads other Honeſt men by Example, and gives a kind of Authority to the wickedneſs. Now tho this Parallel does not run upon all four; yet the Caſes jump exactly in This; *the ſame Anti-Mornarchical Principles* which were the Ground-work of *That Sedition*, are now ſet a foot again in Concurrence with the *preſent Propoſition*; and ſupported alſo by ſome of the Active Promoters of it. So that let the Deſign be never ſo Innocent, or Lawful in it ſelf; if it be yet made uſe of to Introduce the Old Diſloyal, and Republican *Leaven*; it is much the Caſe as if a man ſhould ſet Fire to his Houſe, for fear of Thieves. Now whether the Liberties of the Preſs be ſo *great*, ſo *foul*, and ſo *dangerous*, or not, as I have repreſented them, it ſhall be ſeen in a few words, and left to the Reader to judg of the Intention of ſuch deſperate Poſitions, and what may be the end of ſuch Bold Beginnings, if not ſeaſonably Prevented. Upon the Publication of theſe Papers I ſhould be glad to find ſome of the Fierce Sticklers for the *Kings ſafety* by the *Excluſion of the Duke*, as Nimble, on the Other ſide, for the *Honour*, and *Safety* of His Majeſty, in Puniſhing the *Authors*, and *Promoters* of theſe *Libels*.

The Old Cauſe Reviv'd.

There are ſome Irreverences toward the perſon of His Royal Highneſs which are not with Decency to be recited, and which for other Reaſons I am willing to paſs over; contenting my ſelf only with the modeſteſt of a great many in the Author of *the Plea to the Dukes Anſwers*: *Conſider His Humours*, (ſays he) *So Fierce, Revengeful, and Reſolute: But I'le ſay no more: who knows not how Improper it is to make a Woolf a* Shepherd? Nay he goes further yet: *If the Duke be a Papiſt.* (as none deny him Now.) *he's an Heretick, as To, or From Us: And what ſhall we do? Not do by the Papiſts, as They would by Us*? But what's That He tells us Three or four lines before; That it is a Maxim *among Papiſts, not only that the Pope may at his Pleaſure Depoſe Kings, and diſpoſe of*

Scandalous Reflections upon His Royal Highneſs.

Seditious Poſitions.

Crowns: but further, *That the People may ever chuſe a King, when he ſhould elſe be an Heretick*, So that after the *Popes Example* of *Depoſing Proteſtant Kings*, *We* may *Depoſe Popiſh*. This is a Nail Home driven; and yet for fear it ſhould not hold, he has beſtow'd a *Rivet* upon it. I hope he will allow a *Popiſh* King to be an *Ill* one; and for *That* he tells ye that *when Kings themſelves be* Ill *ones, God not only approves of their Removal, but even Himſelf does it.* Which is a moſt Emphatical way of Expounding his Meaning: For not only ILL DUKES but KINGS (I perceive THEMSELVES are as well to be remov'd, if they be ILL ons. There's Another Libel that takes the very ſame Byaſs too; he begins with the *Duke*, and *Ends* with the *King*: Laying it down for a *Maxim*, that *the King May be remov'd for Inhability to Govern*: And then for an *Uſe of Application*, he gives us the Late Inſtance of *Portugal* for a *Preſident*. Nay I have not found any man yet, ſo Cautious upon This Subject, but he has let fall ſomething *Tantamont*; And in truth the Queſtion does Naturally lean That way. Some tell us that the *People* are the Source of *Government*; and that the *Laſt Reſort* in All Caſes of Principal Import muſt be to *Them*. Whereas, *Firſt*, there was a *Providential Power*, before any Subject *Actually* in *Being*, for That Power to exerciſe it ſelf Upon: *Secondly*; there is nothing more Common, then for a People to convey away what Right they have, beyond a Power of *Revocation*. And if a man deſires to ſee the *Covenants*; the Anſwer is, that the *Conditions* are either *Expreſt*, or *Imply'd*: Which word IMPLY'D ſerves to all Turns and Purpoſes Imaginable. By a Power IMPLY'D, a *Proteſtant*, as well as a *Popiſh Succeſſour* may be *Diſinherited*: A *King* in *Poſſeſſion*, *Depoſed*, whether *Good*, or *Bad*. For who can ſet forth the Terms and Condition of an Unknown, and an Unbounded Power. A Government, we are told, cannot be ſuppos'd Deſtitute of a Power to preſerve it ſelf, in Caſes of Manifeſt, and Publick Dangers. If we enquire where That Power of preſerving

ſerving the Government is plac'd; the Reply is This: That *Governours are ſet ſet up for the Good of the People; and when They fail of doing their Duty, the People may provide for themſelves:* That is to ſay, the *People*, by their *Repreſentatives* in Parliament. But what if *That Repreſentative*, ſhould prove *Falſe* too? The *King* was not pleas'd with the *Parliament* of 1641. nor the *People* with the *Late Long Parliament*: what's to be done Next; but only to go together by the Ears about it, and when they have their Bellies full. only *ſhuffle the Cards and deal again?* From theſe dark Reſerves of Government, the point Riſes by Degrees into Caſes of Inſtance, and Illuſtration. As in the Caſe of *Lunacy*, or *Unfitneſſe to Govern*; or *if a Prince be really bent to* Alienate *his Kingdome.* In Theſe Caſes it is taken up for-granted, that the people may *Depoſe* and Subſtitute Another Sovereign. But who ſhall judg now when ſuch a Caſe arrives? If the *People*; they judg for *Themſelves*; and only take the Government out of *Other* hands, to put into their *Own*: what if they ſhould ſay that This *is* the Caſe where it is *not*; Or that it is *not*, where it *is*? If the King do but keep a *Guard* to preſerve his *Perſon* from an *Aſſaſſin*; or make a *Foreign Alliance*, upon the Common Terms of Priviledge that all other Crowned Heads proceed upon; he lies at the Mercy of the People, if they ſhall think fit to Interpret. This to be a Deſign upon an *Arbitrary Power*, or the *Alienation* of His *Dominions*; and that he is conſequently *Depoſable.*

The Kings Caſe, and the Dukes are unluckily Coupled.

It carries a very Ill face with it, that the *Two Caſes* of *Diſinheriting* the *Duke*, and *Depoſing* the *King* ſhould be ſo Unluckily *Coupled*, that you ſhall very rarely find the *One* without the *Other*: And little more then This Difference betwixt *them*: that the *One* IS to be done *Forthwith*, and the *Other* MAY be done (when the people pleaſe) at *Leiſure.* If ever this Queſtion ſhould come to be taken up again, I do verily believe that the Houſe of Commons will not thank the Refiners upon the *Former*

Bill,

Bill, for charging the Propoſition with ſo many *Suſpicious Aggravations*; as for ought any body knows, may endanger the whole Bus'neſs. For Theſe Venerable Patriots did only, out of an Exceſs of *Zeal*, Intend the bare *Excluſion* of the *Duke*, without Clogging the Bill with any ſubſequent *Incumbrances* upon the *Crown*. There are ſome Qualifications, I know, that look as if they would be thought to ſtick to the ſingle Matter of the *Bill*; and diſtinguiſh betwixt an *Heir Preſumtive*, and *Apparent*, a *King* in *Poſſe*, and in *Eſſe*; and ſo they fortifie themſelves with *Authorities* to warrant the *Proceeding*. The *Duke* is a *Subject*, they ſay: and not properly an *Heir* of the *Crown*; but only in *Poſſibility* ſo to *be*. The Unwary Reader will Imagine now, that the *Duke* being a SUBJECT, may be *put By*; but that if the KING were of the *Romiſh Communion*, they could not *meddle* with *Him*. And yet according to the Propoſitions above mentioned, His *Majeſties* Caſe would be found no better than His *Brothers*. And not only ſo neither, but the very ſaying that *he is ſo*, in Conſtruction, *makes* him ſo, even tho he ſhould give up His Life, as His Father did, for the Reformed Profeſſion.

The King no ſafer, then the Duke.

It is not to ſay that This is either *Impoſſible* or *Unlikely*: For, *Firſt*, the Thing has been done already. That is to ſay, This *Popular Power* has been already laid down as a *Fundamental Right* in the *People*. *Secondly*, That pretended Power has been exerted in a Formal *Charge*, of *Popiſh*, and *Tyrannical Deſigns*, upon a Prince, the moſt Innocent peradventure, in thoſe Two Particulars, that ever Liv'd. And *Thirdly*, A ſentence of *Death*, *paſt*, and *Executed*, upon That Innocent Perſon, in the *Name*, and by the Aſſumed *Authority* of the *Commons of England*. So that This Imagination is not a *Chimæra*, but a *True*, and *Tragical Hiſtory* of a *Prince murther'd*, even in Our days, upon This Foundation. And then for the *Probability* of the ſame Thing over again, now in Agitation; we have the Writings of the very Perſons Concern'd, in Evi-

The Dangerous Conſequences of placing the Power in the People.

Evidence againſt them, for notwithſtanding their Formalizing upon the *Lawfulneſs* of the Thing, in regard That his *Royal Highneſs* is but a *Subject*; they are Now come up roundly to the Point of *Oppoſing*, and *Rejecting* him, even ſuppoſing that he were their *Sovereign*: and without the Ceremony of *an Act of Parliament* in the Caſe.

The Houſe of Commons paſſed a *Vote* upon *May* 11. laſt paſt, *that if His Majeſty ſhould come by any Violent Death (which God forbid) they would Revenge it to the Utmoſt, on the Papiſts*: Which Vote they Explain'd in their *Addreſs* of the 14. by ſaying that *they would be ready to Revenge upon the Papiſts, any Violence offer'd by* THEM *to His Sacred Majeſty*: By THEM 'tis ſaid, becauſe it might be Underſtood Otherwiſe, that an *Anabaptiſt* might commit the *Crime*, and a *Papiſt ſuffer* for't. This *Vote*, and *Addreſs*, are Printed Both together in the ſame Pamphlet; and with a moſt Dangerous proſpect upon His Majeſties Perſon: if Malice on either hand ſhould take place. For the Edge of the Reaſoning is turned againſt it ſelf; while the One faction is Provoked, and the Other Encouraged to the moſt Execrable Villanies Imaginable. The Commons Vote.

The Libel Here Reflected upon, is called *Englands Safety*: and ſaid in the Title Page to be *Publiſhed for Information of all True Proteſtants, that they may not be afraid, nor aſhamed openly in Parliament to Act, and oppoſe any Popiſh* SUCCESSOUR *and his Adherents from Inheriting the Crown of* England, *in Caſe* His Majeſties Life *(which God forbid) be taken from him.*

This Preface was worded by ſomebody that knew well enongh what he ſaid; and without Diſpute intended to be as good as his word. We ſhall not need to look any further for his Meaning than *Grammar*, and *Common Conſtruction*. The Queſtion was put, in Caſe of the *Preſumtive HEIR*, And He has ſtreyn'd the Point already, and remov'd it to the *SUCCESSOR* and his *Adherents*; From the *Expectant* to the *Occupant*, from the *Duke*, to the King; and ſo premeditates, and Encourages a Rebelli- The Queſtion Changed, from *Heir* to *Succeſſour*.

on,

on, in the very Body of his Propoſition : For His Majeſty that now is, muſt be Dead, before the Libellers Device againſt the Succeſſour can take Effect ; and *King*, and *Succeſſour*, in This Caſe are *all one*. Now upon This Principle, there needs no more than to ſay, that *any King is a Papiſt*, to *Depoſe* him. Nay, admitting This Power to be in the People ; *Acts of Parliament* are but Matter of *Courſe* ; and they may do the thing even as well without giving any Reaſon for't ; Upon the Ground of their *Unaccountable Prerogative*. It would be known too, what his meaning is by the *Parliament* he ſpeaks of, that is *Openly to oppoſe the Succeſſour*. It cannot be underſtood of *King*, *Lords*, and *Commons* ; for the *King* is the *Party Oppoſed*, and *Excluded*. And then I would as willingly learn what kind of *Oppoſition* it is, that he intends. It muſt be an *Oppoſition*, either of *Force*, and *Violence*, or an *Oppoſition* in the way of *Argument*, *Counſel*, and *Debate*. It cannot be the *Latter* ſure ; for what could be more ridiculous then to expect that a *Prince* ſhould paſs a *Bill* for the *Devoſal* of *Himſelf*. And if it be the *Other*, we are e'en *Half-Seas-Over* already, into a New Rebellion. There is not ſuch a Monſter in Nature as a *Headleſs Parliament:* We have had the Experience of it ; and without Rubbing the Old Sore, or Repeating the Calamities it brought upon This Nation ; I ſhall only ſay This ; I cannot bethink my ſelf of any ſort of Oppreſſion, either in *Religion*, *Property*, or *Freedom* ; or of any One *Crying ſin*, in that Impious, and Seditious Interval, that ſcap'd us. And yet I muſt not wholly Quit This Subject without giving further Evidence of a *Confederacy* againſt the *King* and *Government* ; like thoſe that Rob the Houſe, under colour of Helping to Quench the Fire ; and in the very Inſtant of Pretending to ſave the Kingdom, they are laying their Heads together how to Deſtroy it : Witneſs the moſt Audacious Libel (perhaps) that ever flew in the Face of any Government.

A deſperate Conſequence.

It bears the Title of a *POLITICAL CATECHISM,* concerning the *Power* & *Priviledges* of *Parliament, taken* (as pretended) *out of His Majesties Answer* to the *Nineteen Propositions of June* 2. 1642. with a Construction and Application much at the rate of the Devils Gloss upon the Text to our Saviour upon the Pinacle of the Temple. The Compiler of This Libel makes His Majesties *Answer* to be, Effectually, an *Admittance* of the *Right* and *Reason* of the *Propositions:* And the Publisher of it recommends the *Doctrine* of *Forty Two,* to the *Practice of Seventy Nine.* Wee'l *First* present you with the *Propositions Themselves*; *Secondly,* the *Kings Sense* upon them. And *after That,* you shall see our *Catechists New Model of Government.* The Political Catechism.

The Propositions.

1. That the Lords and others of Your Majesties Privy Council, and such great Officers, and Ministers of State, either at home, or beyond the Seas, may be put from Your Privy Council, and from those Offices and employments, excepting such as shall be approved of by both Houses of Parliament. And that the Persons put into the places and employment of those that are removed, may be approved of by both Houses of Parliament. And that Privy Councellors shall take an Oath for the due execution of their places, in such form as shall be agreed upon by both Houses of Parliament.

2. That the great Affairs of the Kingdom, may not be concluded or transacted by the advice of private men, or by any unknown, or unsworn Councellors, but that such matters as concern the publick, and are proper for the High Court of Parliament, which is Your Majesties great and Supreme Council, may be debated, resolved and transacted only in Parliament, and not elsewhere; and such as shall presume to do any thing to the contrary, shall be reserved to the censure and judgment of Parliament, and such other matters of State, as are proper for Your Majesties Privy Council, shall be debated and concluded by such of the Nobility, and others, as shall from time to time be chosen for that place, by approbation of both Houses of Parliament. And that no publick Act concerning the Affairs of the Kingdom, which are proper for Your

Privy Council, may be eſteemed of any Validity, as proceeding from the Royal Authority, unleſs it be done by the Advice and Conſent of the Major part of Your Council, atteſted under their hands. And that Your Council may be limited to a certain number, not exceeding twenty five, nor under fifteen; And if any Counſellors place happen to be void in the interval of Parliament, it ſhall not be ſupplyed without the Aſſent of the Major part of the Council, which choice ſhall be confirmed at the next ſitting of Parliament, or elſe to be void.

3. That the Lord High Steward of *England*, Lord High Conſtable, Lord Chancellor, or Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, Lord Treaſurer, Lord Privy Seal, Earl Marſhal, Lord Admiral, Warden of the Cinque-ports, Chief Governour of *Ireland*, Chancellour of the Exchequer, Maſter of the Wards, Secretaries of State, two Chief Juſtices, and Chief Baron, may always be choſen with the Approbation of both Houſes of Parliament; and in the Intervals of Parliaments by Aſſent of the major part of the Council, in ſuch manner as is before expreſt in the choice of Councellors.

4. That he, or they, unto whom the Government, and Education of the Kings Children, ſhall be committed, ſhall be approved of by both Houſes of Parliament, and in the Intervals of Parliaments, by the Aſſent of the Major part of the Council in ſuch manner, as is before expreſt in the choice of Councellors; And that all ſuch Servants, as are now about them, againſt whom both Houſes ſhall have any juſt exceptions, ſhall be removed.

5. That no Marriage ſhall be concluded or treated for any of the Kings Children, with any Foreign Prince, or other perſon whatſoever, abroad or at home, without the conſent of Parliament, under the penalty of a *Præmunire* unto ſuch as ſhall be concluded, or treat any Marriage, as aforeſaid; And that the ſaid penalty ſhall not be pardoned, or diſpenced with, but by the conſent of both Houſes of Parliament.

6. That the Laws in force againſt Jeſuits, Prieſts, and Popiſh Recuſants be ſtrictly put in execution, without any Toleration, or Diſpenſation to the contrary; And that ſome more effectual courſe may be enacted by Authority of Parliament, to diſable them from making any diſturbance in the State, or eluding the Law by truſts or otherwiſe.

7. That the Votes of Popiſh Lords in the Houſe of Peers may be taken away, ſo long as they continue Papiſts; And that Your Majeſty will conſent to ſuch a Bill as ſhall be drawn, for the Education

cation of the children of Papiſts by Proteſtants in the Proteſtant Religion.

8. That Your Majeſty will be pleaſed to conſent that ſuch a Reformation be made of the Church Government and Liturgy as both Houſes of Parliament ſhall adviſe; wherein they intend to have Conſultations with Divines, as is expreſſed in their Declaration to that purpoſe: And that Your Majeſty will contribute Your beſt aſſiſtance to them, for the raiſing of a ſufficient maintenance for Preaching Miniſters through the Kingdom; and that Your Majeſty will be pleaſed to give Your Conſent to Laws for the taking away of Innovations and Superſtition, and of Pluralities, and againſt ſcandalous Miniſters.

9. That Your Majeſty will be pleaſed to reſt ſatisfied with that Courſe that the Lords and Commons have appointed for ordering of the *Militia* until the ſame ſhall be further ſetled by a Bill: And that Your Majeſty will recal Your Declarations and Proclamations againſt the Ordinance made by the Lords and Commons concerning it.

10. That ſuch Members of either Houſe of Parliament as have during this preſent Parliament been put out of any Place and Office, may either be reſtored to that Place and Office, or otherwiſe have ſatisfaction for the ſame, upon the Petition of that Houſe whereof he or they are Members.

11. That all Privy Councellors and Judges may take an Oath, the Form whereof to be agreed on, and ſetled by Act of Parliament, for the maintaining of the Petition of Right, and of certain Statutes made by this Parliament which ſhall be mentioned by both Houſes of Parliament; and that an inquiry of all the breaches and violations of thoſe Laws may be given in charge by the Juſtices of the Kings Bench every Term, and by the Judges of Aſſize in their Circuits, and Juſtices of the Peace at the Seſſions, to be preſented and puniſhed according to Law.

12. That all the Judges, and all the Officers placed by approbation of both Houſes of Parliament may hold their places, *quam diu bene ſe geſſerint.*

13. That the Juſtice of Parliament may paſs upon all Delinquents, whether they be within the Kingdom, or fled out of it; And that all perſons cited by either Houſe of Parliament, may appear, and abide the cenſure of Parliament.

14. That the general Pardon offered by your Majeſty may be granted with ſuch exceptions as ſhall be adviſed by both Houſes of Parliament.

 15. That

15. That the Forts and Caſtles of this Kingdom may be put under the command and cuſtody of ſuch perſons as Your Mejeſty ſhall appoint, with the approbation of Your Parliament, and in the Intervals of Parliament, with approbation of the major part of the Council, in ſuch manner as is before expreſſed in the choice of Councellors.

16. That the extraordinary Guards and Military Forces, now attending Your Majeſty, may be removed and diſcharged, and that for the future You will raiſe no ſuch Guards, or extraordinary Forces, but according to the Law, in caſe of actual Rebellion or Invaſion.

17. That Your Majeſty will be pleaſed to enter into a more ſtrict Alliance with the States of the United Provinces, and other Neighbour Princes and States of the Proteſtant Religion, for the defence and maintenance thereof againſt all Deſigns and attempts of the Pope and his adherents to ſubvert and ſuppreſs it, whereby Your Majeſty will obtain a great acceſs of ſtrength and reputation, and Your Subjects be much encouraged and enabled in a Parliamentary way for Your ayd and aſſiſtance in reſtoring Your Royal Siſter and her Princely Iſſue to thoſe Dignities and Dominions which belong unto them, and relieving the other diſtreſſed Proteſtant Princes who have ſuffered in the ſame Cauſe.

18. That Your Majeſty will be pleaſed by Act of Parliament to clear the Lord *Kimbolton*, and the five Members of the Houſe of Commons in ſuch manner, that future Parliaments may be ſecured from the conſequence of that evil preſident.

19. That Your Majeſty will be graciouſly pleaſed to paſs a Bill for reſtraining Peers made hereafter from ſitting or voting in Parliament, unleſs they be admitted thereunto with the conſent of both Houſes of Parliament.

We have delivered theſe *Propoſitions* at *length*, to ſhew the world what a *Skeleton* of a Prince theſe People would have made the King of *Great Brittain*, if he had Conſented to them: Uſurping to *Themſelves* the *Royal Authority*, and leaving the King only the bare *Name* of an *Imperial Crown*. Out of theſe *Propoſitions*, our Chymical *Catechiſt* hath extracted his *Principles*; which are now Impoſed upon the People, as the Conceſſions of his Late Majeſty, and Fundamentals of State: And theſe *Poſitions* are become the Common Arguments of our Clubs, and Cabals. But

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the Propoſitions are ſo Groſs, that there will need no other Deſcant, than only to Cite ſome Paſſages out of his Late Majeſties Anſwer, in Reflection upon them.

Theſe demands (ſays the Late King) *are of that Nature, that to Grant them were in Effect, at Once, to Depoſe both Our ſelf and Our Poſterity. Theſe things being paſt; we may be waited upon bare-headed; We may have Our hand kiſt; the Stile of Majeſty Continu'd to Us; and the Kings Authority declared by Both Houſes of Parliament, may be ſtill the Stile of your Commands; We may have Swords and Maces carry'd before Us; and pleaſe Our ſelf with the ſight of a Crown, and Scepter. (And yet even theſe Twigs would not Long flouriſh when the Stock upon which they grew are Dead) But as to* True, *and* Real Power; *We ſhould remain but the* Outſide; *but the* Picture; *but the* Signe *of a* King, *&c.* *Hus' ands* Collecti-ons, pag. 316.

And again, *Thô we ſhall always weigh the Advices both of Our Great, and Privy-Council, with the Proportionable Conſideration due to them: yet we ſhall alſo look upon their* Advices, *as* Advices, *not as* Commands, *or* Impoſitions; *Upon* Them, *as Our* Councellors, *not as Our* Tutors, *and* Guardians; *and upon* Our Self *as their* King, *not as their* Pupil, *or* Ward. Pag. 318. And Further Pag. 320. *We call God to Witneſſe, that as for Our Subjects ſake theſe Rights are veſted in Us; So for Their ſakes as well as for Our Own we are reſolved not to quit them; nor to ſubvert* (tho in a Parliamentary way) *the Antient, Equal, Happy, Well-poiſed, and never enough Commended Conſtitution of This Kingdome; Nor to make Our ſelf of a King of* England, *a* Duke *of* Venice, *and This of a Kingdom a* Republick. Moreover Pag. 322. *The Common people, when they find that all was done* By *them, but not* For *them, will at laſt grow weary of* Journey-work, *and ſet up for themſelves; call* Parity, *and* Independence, Liberty; *devouring the Eſtate which had devoured the Reſt; Deſtroy all Rights, and Proprieties, all Diſtinctions of Famities, and Merit; And by This means the ſplendid, and Excellently-diſtinguiſh'd Form of Government, End in a Dark, Equal* Chaos *of Confuſion, and the Long Line of Our many Noble Anceſtors, in a* Jack Cade, *or a* Wat Tiler.

After the Mockery of the Above-mention'd Propoſitions, and the Kings Juſt and Prophetical Judgment made upon them; we ſhall only Add that the *Ruine* of *the Late King*, was as Certainly the *Intent* of Thoſe *Undutyful Demands*, as it was the *Effect* of them. The Kings Ruine was, and is deſign'd.

them in the *Execution* of the *Powers* claim'd *Thereby*: and we may as reaſonably conclude, that the ſame Pretenſions, now over again, are publiſh't with the ſame Ends; and that the Sufferance of This Licence will Naturally run into the ſame Conſequences. For the whole work of moving a Rebellion is but, *Firſt*, to poſſeſs the People with Ill Thoughts of the preſent Adminiſtration; (which is done Abundantly already in Swarms of Defamatory Libels, which we meet with every day in the ſtreet.) *Secondly*, to poſſeſs the People with Falſe Opinions, in the Matter of Government and Duty; which is the buſineſs of our *Political Catechiſm*: *Thirdly*, to Put thoſe Principles and Thoughts in Execution; which is Expreſs'd by the Drift of Another Pamphlet newly come out of the Preſs; Entitled, *An Appeal from the Countrey, to the City*, of which we ſhall ſay ſomthing in another place, and proceed to our *Catechiſtical Poſitions*.

If the King be Regulated *by the* Law (ſay they) *then is the King* Accountable *to the Law, and not to* God Only. Pag. 1. *The Immediate* Original *of the Kings* Power *was from the* People: *and if ſo; then in queſtioned Caſes, the* King *is to produce his* Grant, (*for he hath no more then what was* Granted) *and not the* People *to ſhew a* Reſervation; *For* All is preſumed to be Reſerv'd, which cannot be prov'd to be Granted away.

Upon the Late Kings ſaying in his Anſwer to the Nineteen Propoſitions, Pag. 321. *That the Power Legally placed in Both Houſes is more then ſufficient to prevent, and reſtrain the Power of* Tyranny; our Politick Catechizer Infers, *the Two Houſes to be the Legal Judges, when there is danger of* Tyranny: *And to have Legal Power to Command their Judgment to be Obey'd, for Prevention, as well as Reſtraint of Tyranny. And not only when Arms are Actually rais'd againſt them; but when they diſcern, and accordingly declare a Preparation made Towards it. And that they have Legal Power in ſuch times of Danger, to put into ſafe hands, ſuch Forts, Ports, Magazines, Ships, and Power of the* Militia, *as are intended, to Introduce a Tyranny. And a Legal Power alſo to Levy Money, Arms, Horſe, and Ammunitions upon the Subjects, in ſuch Caſes of Danger even without, or againſt the Kings Conſent.*

Theſe are his *Poſitions* in the very Terms; and the paſſing over of ſuch Indignities upon *His Majeſties Royal Office*, and the Honour of the *Monarchy it ſelf*, without either *Puniſhment*, or *Reproof*;

Reproof; looks like a *Tacite Legitimation* of the Utmoſt *Violences* upon his Sacred *Perſon*. And now Conſider the matchleſs Malice, and Abſurdity of his Inference. The King having thus expounded himſelf in the *ſame Page*; *The Houſe of Commons* (*an Excellent Conſerver of Liberty, but* never intended for any ſhare in Government, or for the Chuſing of them that ſhould Govern) *is ſolely intruſted with the Firſt Propoſitions of raiſing Monies*, &c. And again *the Lords being truſted with a Judicatory Power, are an Excellent Skreen, and Bank between the Prince and People.* A malicious Inference.

After This open and Audacious way of *Authorizing* a Commotion, under a Countenance of the *Peoples Right*; the leaſt breath of Air to the Coal, ſets all in a Flame: The Pulpit ſtill ſeconding, with a *Text*, the Intereſt, or Deſign of a Perverted *Preſident*, or *Statute*. And there is no Reſiſting of thoſe Outrages that are carried on by the Impulſe of *miſtaken Law*, and *Goſpel*. *Calumny* and *Impoſture* have ever been the two main Pillars of their Cauſe; and if they can but wheedle the Vulgar, on the one hand, and defame the Friends of the Government, on the other, their buſineſſe is done. There ſcarce paſſes a day without a Libel againſt both *Church* and *State*; without either *Provocation*, or *Puniſhment*: which both ſhews their *Malice*, and confirms them in their *Inſolence*. There is nothing ſo Odious, and ſo Ridiculous together, as betwixt *Droll* and *Sophiſm*, theſe People repreſent the Publick Management of Affair. And who can blame the *Multitude* now, under theſe Circumſtances of *Licenſe* and *Deluſion*, if they either Forget, or Depart from their Duties? is there not *Law*, & *Power* ſufficient for the *Preventing*, or *Suppreſſing* theſe Indignities? Or is it a thing not worth the taking Notice of? For his Majeſty to be told every day, in a Pamphlet at his Palace Gate, that *His Miniſters are Traytors & Conſpirators*; *His Courtiers a Pack of Knaves*; *& He himſelf but upon his Good Behaviour to his own Subjects*? WILL it end Here? DID it end Here? But whence is it that all this *Venom* and *Confidence* proceeds? The *Former* is only a Fermentation of the *Old Leaven* (for we have our *Jeſuits* too.) The *Papal Jeſuite* is an Enemy to *Heretical Kings*, and the *Proteſtant Jeſuite* will have *no Kings at all*, and then for their *Confidence*, they have both *Impunity*, and *Encouragement*: the former proves it ſelf; and I ſhall now conclude with a word or two concerning the other.

The bringing of this Devilliſh *Plot* upon the Stage, has ſtruck all men of Piety, Loyalty, and Love to their Country, with *Amazement* and *Horrour*. The *Murther* of a *Prince*, the *Subverſion* of

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our *Government*, and *Religion*; What can be more Execrable? The thought of so Diabolical a Practice has justly transported the People to the highest degree of Rage against it, imaginable: And it is a *Meritorious*, and a *Laudable Zeal* too, so long as it contains it self within the Bounds of *Law*, and *Duty*: While the King, Council, and Parliament are, in the mean time, sifting, and Examining the Design, and doing Justice upon the Offenders.

Now there are a sort of men, that under the Countenance of *This Plot* advance *another* of their *own*, and it is but the Rubbing of a Libel with a little Anti-Popery, to give it the Popular smack; and any thing else against the Government goes down Current. If a man Writes, or Speaks, or Reasons against them, he is presently *a favourer of the Papists*, *a Lessener of the Plot*, and run down with *Nonsence*, and *Clamour*. A Person of Untainted Honour and Integrity, puts in for a *Parliament-man*; it is but any Little Fellows taking advantage of the Humour of the People, and *Billing* of him for having some *Papist* to his *Kinsman*, perhaps, or Visiting some *Lord* in the *Tower*; or under the common Scandal of a *Courtier*, or a *Pentioner*, and he is gone to all Intents and Purposes. This is the Character they give to every man that loves the *King*, the *Church*, or the *Law*. They serve them as *Nero* did the *Christians*; they pnt them into *Bears-skins*; that is to say, they call them *Papists*, *Pentioners*, *Conspirators*, and then deliver them up to be *worried* by the *Rabble*. Shall we never distinguish between *Indubitable Truths*, and *Transparent Falshoods*? Betwixt *Words* and *Deeds*, that stand in a direct *Opposition*, the *One* to the *Other*? What Priviledge has a *Phanatick* to blow up a Government, more than a *Jesuite*? It must be confest, however, that he is the *Braver Enemy of the two*, for he scorns to sneak to the Execution of his Exploit with a *Dark Lanthorn*; and to take advantage of *Authority* by *Surprize*; but *Arraigns Princes, and puts them to death in the face of the Sun*, and at *this Instant*, charges the *Church openly* with *Idolatry*, *Superstition*, and *Oppression*; the *State* with *Tyranny*; and the *Law* it self, with *Error* and *Insufficiency*. His first work is to Accuse his *Superiours* of *Misgovernment*: And then he tells the *People*, next, that in Case of *Mis-government* they may resume their *Power*. And *what's all this to the* PLOT?

THE END.

AN ANSWER TO THE APPEAL FROM THE COUNTRY TO THE CITY.

By *ROGER L'ESTRANGE.*

LONDON

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AN

ANSWER

TO THE

APPEAL

FROM THE

COUNTRY, to the CITY, &c.

THIS *Appeal* has made a mighty Noiſe about the Town; and yet, Heaven knows, there is neither *Good Faith* in it, nor *Argument*; but all things miſ-apply'd, or miſ-reported, to bring an *Odium* upon the Government, and to inflame the Multitude. The pretended Reaſonings of it are no more than *fallacies* and *non-ſequiturs*, from the beginning to the end; and yet it ſerves in a *Coffee-Houſe* for a *Teſt* of *Honeſt Men* and *Mutiniers*. Taking it barely in it ſelf, it is ſcarce worth an

Anſwer: But in the circumſtances of the *Boldneſs* and the *Malice*, it is but reaſonable to beſtow ſuch a Reply upon it, as may give it a Recommendation to publique Juſtice; Eſpecially having already taken notice of it by the By, in another place.

It is a wonderful thing, the Confidence of this Audacious Pamphlet, in Addreſſing it ſelf to the *City*, after ſo Freſh, ſo Loyal, and ſo Generous an Inſtance of their Scorn and Deteſtation of any thing that looks like a Seditious Practice. Why ſhould a *Wat Tyler* expect better Quarter from a *Lord Mayor* under *Clarles the Second*, than he had from a *Lord Mayor* under *Richard the Second*? Nay, that very Rebellion of *Forty-one* is moſt injuriouſly charg'd upon the *City* of *London*; for *Gournay*, *Ricaut*, *Garraway*, and the moſt conſiderable of the Citizens, were not only againſt it in their *Opinions*, but oppos'd it to the utmoſt with their *Eſtates* and *Perſons*. And that Honourable Society has not yet forgotten either the *Calamities* of the *War*, or the *Methods* and *Inſtruments* which brought ſo great a Reproach upon the *City*. Beſide, that it is as much their *Intereſt* as their *Duty*, and as much their *Inclination* as *either*, to ſupport the *Government*. For by a *War* they muſt of neceſſity ſuffer doubly: And not only in the loſs or abatement of their Trade, but in the deep proportion of their Taxes toward the publique Charge. So that theſe are not a ſort of people to be *Wheedled* out of their *Honour* and *Allegiance*. But we ſhall now take a view of the *Pamphlet it ſelf*.

The City of London *has been always* Loyal.

An Appeal *from the* Country *to the* City.

IT begins: *Moſt brave and noble Citizens*: And a little lower; *With you we ſtand, and with you we fall; your example directs our Conduct*, &c. Now if the greeting had been *to the Club of Subſcribers*, that which follows would have been much more Conſequent; for it is a great Truth, that the *Conſpirators* of *both ſides* muſt expect to *ſtand* and *fall together*; and that the *Factions* in the *Country* can never make any thing on't, without a *Tumult* in the *City*, to lead the Dance; which (God be prais'd) there is no fear of, and then for the Credit which this *buſie Mutineer* can pretend to under this preſent Government, with the *Noble Citizens* (as he claws them) I am perſwaded, if the *Author* of the *Appeal* were but known to the Court of *Aldermen* and *Common Councel*, it might coſt him Dear, the very *Complement*. Not but that in ſo great a Body, there may be ſome few little Fellows *a float* too, that cry out with the *Horſe-turds* among the *Apples*, in the *Emblem*, *How We Apples ſwim*.

Hodge *upon the* Monument.

In the next Clauſe, the Scribler gives to underſtand that he has read *Hodge upon the Monument*; and writing after that Copy, he follows the phanſie of the Citizens looking about them from the top of the *Pyramid*. Now to match this diſmal proſpect of *Imaginary Calamities* to *come*, we ſhall give you a *Parallel* in a *brief Summary* of what this Nation has *really* ſuffer'd in *Fact*: and in *Truth* brought upon it ſelf, by believing ſuch ſtories as theſe, without either *Foundation* or *Effect*.

Firſt

Appeal. *First* (says he) *Imagine you see the whole Town in a flame, occasioned this second time by the same* Popish *malice which set it on Fire before.*

Parallel. First (*say I*) Imagine you see the whole Nation in a Flame, and brought to the extremities of Fire and Sword, occasioned this second time by the same *Schismatical* and *Republican Malice* which embroil'd it before.

Appeal. *At the same instant phansie that amongst the distracted Crowd, you behold Troops of* Papists *ravishing your Wives and Daughters, dashing your little Childrens Brains out against the Walls, Plundering your Houses, and cutting your own Throats, by the name of* Heretique Dogs.

Parallel. At the same instant, Phansie *Decemb.* 1659, *once over again*; whole Droves of *Coblers, Dray-men, Ostlers*, upon Free-quarter with you, till some of your Wives and Daughters are forc'd to Prostitute themselves for Bread; your Councels affronted by Armed Troops, and your *fellow Citizens* knockt on the Head, like *Dogs*, at their own Doors, for not so much as *barking*; your Apprentices discharg'd of their Indentures by an Arbitrary Power; your Houses Rifled; your Accompt-books examin'd; your Servants corrupted to Betray their Masters; your Persons clapt under Hatches, transplanted or thrown into nasty Dungeons; or (in mercy perhaps) your Throats cut, by the name of *Popish Dogs* and *Cavaliers*: And all this only for *refusing* to *Renounce God* and your *Soveraign*.

Appeal. *Then represent to your selves the* Tower *playing off its Canon, and battering down the Houses about your Ears.*

Parallel. Then represent to your selves the *Thimble-maker* once again *Lieutenant* of the *Tower*; your Citizens clapt

clapt up; St. *Pauls* and *Greſham-Colledge* turned into *Garriſons*; orders for the demoliſhing of your *Gates* and *Chains*; and nothing leſs than *Military Execution* threatn'd you, unleſs you will redeem your ſelves *with* 100000 *l. a month Contribution*, towards the perpetuating of your Slavery.

Alſo caſting your Eye toward Smithfield, *Imagine you ſee your Father, or your Mother, or ſome of your neareſt and deareſt Relations ty'd to a Stake in the midſt of flames; when with hands and eyes lifted up to Heaven, they ſcream and cry out to that God, for whoſe Cauſe they die; which was a frequent ſpectacle the laſt time* Popery *Reigned amongſt us.* Appeal.

Alſo caſting your Eye toward *Cheap ſide*, *Cornhil*, *Charing-croſs*, *Palace-yard*, *Tower-hill*, nay *Whitehal* it ſelf: Imagine you ſee your Father, or ſome of your neareſt Relations, your Citizens, the Nobility, Gentry; nay, the King himſelf, and his beſt Friends, under the hand of the Common Executioner, appealing to God, in whoſe Cauſe they dy'd, which was a frequent ſpectacle, when *Rebels* and *Uſurpers*, under the Title of *Reformers*, Reign'd laſt amongſt us. Parallel.

Phanſie ye behold thoſe Beautiful Churches, *erected for the true Worſhip of God, abuſed and turn'd into* Idolatrous Temples, *to the diſhonour of Chriſt, and ſcandal of Religion: The* Miniſters of God's Holy Word, *torn in pieces before your eyes, and their beſt Friends not daring even to ſpeak in their behalf.* Appeal.

Phanſie you behold thoſe Beautiful *Churches* erected for the true worſhip of God, abuſed and turned into *Stables*; the *Pulpits* into *Fuggling boxes*, to *Hocus* your *Wives* and *Daughters* out of their *Bodkins* and *Thimbles*; and nothing to be heard there but *Hereſie* and *Sedition*, to the diſhonour of Chriſt, and Parallel.

ſcandal

ſcandal of Religion. *The Miniſters of Gods Holy Word* caſt out of their Livings by *hundreds*, and their Children expos'd to the wide World to beg their Bread; and not a Friend that dares open his mouth for them.

Appeal. *Women running with their Hair about their Ears; Men cover'd with Blood, and Children ſprawling under Horſes feet, and only the Walls of Houſes left ſtanding.*

Parallel. Your Women running with their Hair about their ears, one half to the *Works* like *Pioniers*, the other dancing attendance at ſome Mercileſs Committee, to put in Bail perhaps for ſome Malignant Friend or Husband; Men cover'd with Blood, loſt Limbs, and mangled Bodies, from *Edg-hill*, *Branford*, &c. And with horror of Conſcience over and above: *Altars Robb'd*, *Churches Demoliſh'd*, and only the Walls left ſtanding.

Appeal. *In Fine, What the Devil himſelf would do, were he here upon Earth, will in his abſence infallibly be acted by his Agents the* Papiſts: *Thoſe who had ſo much Ingratitude and Baſeneſs to attempt the Life of a Prince, ſo Indulgent to them, will hardly be leſs cruel to any of his Proteſtant Subjects.*

Parallel. In Fine, What the Devil himſelf would do, were he here upon Earth, will in his abſence infallibly be acted (if they may have their will) by his *Agents*, the *Perjurious* and *Hypocritical Regicides*; that betray'd their *Prince* and their *Country* by the Solemnity of a *Covenant*, and *Poyſon'd* the *unwary People* in that very *Sacrament*. Thoſe who had ſo much Ingratitude and Baſeneſs, not only to *attempt*, but *take away* the Life of a Prince ſo Indulgent to them as the late King was, who denied them nothing but his *Crown*, and his *Blood*, which afterward they took: Theſe,

I say again, that are ſo ungrateful to our preſent Soveraign; as after ſo much Mercy and Bounty to the Murtherers of his Father, and of his Friends, have now enter'd into freſh attempts upon his *Life*, his *Crown* and *Dignity*, will hardly be leſs Cruel to any of his Majeſties obedient Subjects.

Now to ſhew you that this way of *Incentive*, to the *Multitude* is only the *Old ſtory new furbiſh'd*, and not our *Appellants Mother-wit* and *Contrivance*, as he would have the World imagine. See his *Majeſties Declaration* of *Aug.* 12. 1642. *Husbands Collections*, pag. 540.

The Old Story.

One day the Tower of London *is in danger to be taken; and Information given that Great Multitudes, at leaſt a Hundred, had that day reſorted to viſit a Prieſt, then a Priſoner there by Order of the Lords: and that about the time of the Information, about fifty or ſixty were then there, and a* Warder *diſpatcht of purpoſe to give that notice: Upon Inquiry, but* four perſons *were then found to be There, and but eight all that day, who had viſited the Prieſt. Another day a* Taylor *in a Ditch over-hears two Paſſengers to Plot the Death of Mr.* Pym, *and of many* other Members *of* Both Houſes. *Then Libellous Letters found in the Streets, without Names, (probably contrived by themſelves; and by Their Power, Publiſhed, Printed, and Enter'd in their Journals) and Intimations given of the* Papiſts Training under ground, *and of notable Proviſion of Ammunition in Houſes; where, upon Examination, a Single Sword, and a Bow and Arrows are found, A Deſign of the Inhabitants of* Govent-Garden *to Murther the City of* London. *News from*

France, Italy, Spain, Denmark, *of* Armies *ready to come for* England. And again, *Pag.* 536. *they cauſe Diſcourſes to be Publiſhed, and Infuſions to be made of Incredible Dangers to the City and Kingdom, by that our coming to the Houſe:* (in the caſe of the five Members) *An Alarum was given to the City in the Dead time of the Night, that we were coming with Horſe and Foot thither, and thereupon the whole City put in Arms: And howſoever the Envy ſeem'd to be caſt upon the Deſigns of the* Papiſts, *mention was only made of Actions of our* ow[illegible]

Upon a fair underſtanding of the whole, this ſuppoſition of his is no more than the Counterpart of the old Story: And the Declamatory dangers, that he foreſees in Viſion, were outdone by thoſe ſenſible Cruelties and oppreſſions that this poor Kingdom ſuffered in very Deed.

We ſhould do well to look about us.

If it be true, that theſe and forty times more Cruelties were committed: and that the People were frighted into theſe Precipices only by Shadows: If it be true again, that thoſe Glorious Pretenders, when they had the King and his *Papiſts* (as they call'd his moſt *Orthodox Friends*) under foot; that theſe People, I ſay, never lookt further after Religion; but fell preſently to the ſharing of the Church and Crown Revenues among themſelves, It will concern every ſober man to look well about him, and to make uſe of his Reaſon, as well as of his Faith, for theſe *Fore-boders* ſeldom *Croak* but before a *Storm*.

Four Affronts upon the Government in two Periods.

We in the Country (ſays he) *have done our parts, in chuſing for the generality, Good Members to ſerve in Par-*

Parliament. But if (as our two last Parliaments were) they muſt be Diſſolv'd or Prorogued, when ever they come to redreſs the Grievances of the Subject, we may be Pitied but not Blam'd. If the Plot takes effect, as in all probability it will, our Parliaments are not then to be Condemn'd for that their not being ſuffer'd to ſit, occaſion'd it, Fol. 1.

There are juſt as many Affronts put upon the Government in theſe two Periods, as (in the Printed Folio) there are Lines in't. *Firſt*, Upon the Houſe of *Commons*; for a *Repreſentative* conſtituted, for the generality, of ſuch men as our *Appealer* calls *Good Members*, would lay the Kingdom in Blood, (which is manifeſtly the drift of the Libel from the one end of it to the other.) *Secondly*, The *Appellant* Uſurps upon the *Kings Authority*; as if his Majeſty were bound to give an Account ot every Libeller, why he *Prorogues* or *Diſſolves* his *Parliaments* (which is a Priviledge inſeparable from the Supreme Power) in all forms of Government. *Thirdly*, It is a Tacit Charge of *Tyranny* upon the King; for it is done (he ſays) *whenever they come to redreſs the Grievances of the Subject.* And laſtly, He makes the King a Promoter of the Plot; but whether with more Indignity or Folly, it is hard to determine, either in the Intimation, or in the Suppoſal of his Majeſty to be *Felo de ſe*, and a Party to the Conſpiracy againſt his own Life. *The Plot* (he ſays) *will in all Probability take effect, and he is the occaſion of it, that would not ſuffer theſe Parliaments to ſit.*

The Plot is now got ſo far out of our Enemies reach, that no ſubtle Evaſion or Trick can ever hope to extinguiſh it. Wherefore they muſt either ſuffer all to come out, or begin by force to juſtifie it, which we ſee they are

going to do, by their endeavouring to get those Worthy and Brave Commanders Banished, who (as they think) are the most likely Persons to conduct and lead us up against any Popish Army. Fol: 1.

The Kings Proceeding censur'd.

Two Plots proved.

The *Appellants* meaning is, that the *Popish Plot* is so notoriously *Publique*, there's no *Concealing* of it, and so far we are agreed: For we have had *Legal Tryals*, *Proofs*, *Verdicts*, *Sentences*, and *Legal Executions* in the Case. But yet to my thinking, we have had also as Competent Evidences of *another Plot* under *that*, as a body would wish. But whoever *crosses* the *second Plot*, is presently Libell'd, as a *Friend* to the *former*. What do we *hear*, what do we *read*, what do we *see*, but *Seditious Discourses*, *Scandalous Invectives*, and *Mutinous Practices* against the *Government*? Is not the *Kings Administration*, and his *Authority* publiquely Arraigned? And is not his Sacred *Life* struck at in this way of Proceeding? *First*, They expresly tell the World that his Majesty *Misgoverns*. *Secondly*, They lay it down for a *Maxim*, that *the People may call him to Account, in case he does Misgovern*. And this being admitted, the *next point* is, directly (by an undeniable Consequence) to Arraign him as a *Traytor* to the *Soveraign People*, But the Faction it self expounds its own meaning. What have they to say for that Inhuman and Execrable Murther acted upon the late *Arch-Bishop* of St. *Andrews* in *Scotland*, and to their *Declaration* against the *King himself*; which was follow'd with an *Open*, *Actual*, and *Form'd Rebellion*? This is a *Plot* that, me-thinks, a man may see without his Spectacles; and according to our *Appellants* conceipt, *they began by* force *to* justifie *it*, *for fear all should come out*.

To

To follow him in his *Politiques*, he tells us further in the paſſage above recited, that to facilitate the *Papiſts* work, *his Majeſty Baniſhes the Perſons moſt capable of Oppoſing it.* So that he makes his *Majeſty* evidently a *Party* to the *Plot*; or at beſt, no more than a *King* upon a *Cheſs-board*, to be turn'd and carry'd which way the Gameſter pleaſes: Beſide, the putting of the Illuſtrious Duke of *Monmouth* in the head of *Popiſh Troops*, in contradiction to himſelf.

He gives the *Alarum.*

But (for all this yet) *Gentlemen* (*ſays he*) *be not diſmaid; the Lord of Hoſts will be of your ſides; for ſo long as you fight his Cauſe, he will fight your Battels: And if God be for you, who dares be againſt you? Fear nothing, but as your Intereſts are United, ſo let your Reſolutions be the ſame; and the firſt hour wherein you heaa of the Kings Untimely End, let no other noiſe be heard among you, but that of* Arm, Arm, *to Revenge your Sovereigns Death, both upon his* Murtherers, *and their* whole *Party, for that there is no ſuch thing as an* Engliſh Papiſt, *who is not in the* Plot, *at leaſt in his good Wiſhes.* Fol. 2.

And why [*be not diſmaid*] Where's the danger, I beſeech you? The *Popiſh Plot* is *Maſter'd*; and there's hardly a *Roman Catholique* dares ſhew his head: Nay, and for want of *Popiſh* matter to work upon, *the Church of England* it ſelf is made *Papal* and *Antichriſtian.* And whoever looks narrowly into this buſineſs, will find theſe *Bugbears* to be of the *Appellants* own making. What is all this, but *Curſe ye Meroz* over again: He claps the Rabble on the back, and ſpits in their mouths, and without more adoe, turns them looſe upon the Government? *The firſt hour* (ſays he) *&c.* Here's no *Suppoſition* of the

Kings

Kings Murther to qualifie the matter; but the thing ſo *Poſitively pronounc'd*, as if he himſelf were of the Conſpiracy. So that without any *Ifs* or *Ands*, the Murther is given for *Granted*; and upon this Inſtigation, the leaſt Rumour in the world that way, puts the people upon a *General Maſſacre*, which the bare report lately of the *French* appearing before the Iſle of *Purbeck*, had like to have done in ſeveral places. Now if they ſhould *Arm* upon ſuch a *miſtake*, or but an hour too ſoon, it were enough to put the whole Nation in Blood again: And then his *Orders* to the *City*, to be ready with their *Arms at an hours warning*, are as *Peremptory*, as if he had the Command of the *Militia*. Beſide that, if a *Fanatique* ſhould *Murther* the King, the *Papiſts* are to be *Puniſh'd* for't. Becauſe (ſays he) *every* Engliſh Papiſt *is in the* Plot, *at leaſt in his* good wiſhes. And it is no leſs probable on the other ſide, that *every Unrepenting Covenanter is in the Counterplot*; for upon *that Covenant* it was, that they founded the Deſtruction, and the Diſſolution of the Government: And it behoves us to beware of *King-killers* on the one hand, as well as on the other. Now ſee how he goes on.

His Orders Iſſu'd out to the City.

Think not to fare better than the reſt, by meddling leſs; for the Conquerors Promiſes are never kept, eſpecially coming from that ſort of People, whoſe *Maxim* it is, *never to keep their word with* Heretiques, *Fol.* 2.

What a wonderful ſtrain of Logick is this? *Draw your Swords* (ſays he) *and go to the Devil for Company, for the* Papiſts *keep no Faith with* Heretiques. This was the Song of 41. and he that would ſee what Faith the *Covenanters* kept, either with *God*, *King*, *Church*, or *People*, has no more to do than to compare their *Leagues* and *Proteſtations* with their *Actions*.

Now

Now Gentlemen (says he) *leſt any amongſt you ſhould be ignorant, either of your Enemies, or their Deſigns, both againſt the King and Kingdom,——they are* young Beggarly Officers, Courtiers, over-hot Church-men, *and* Papiſts. *The* Young Officer, *or* Souldiers Intereſt *makes him wiſh for a* Standing Army; *The* Courtier *endeavours to advance* Taxes, Oppreſſive *and* Illegal Impoſitions. *The* over-hot Church-men *wiſh well to* Popery, *in hope of a* Cardinals Cap, *or at leaſt the Command of ſome* Abby, Priory, *or other Eccleſiaſtical Preferment, whereof the* Roman Church *hath ſo great plenty. Theſe are the men who exclaim againſt our* Parliaments Proceedings, *in relation to the* Plot, *as too Violent; calling theſe times by no other name, but that of* Forty *or* Forty-one, *when to amuſe his Sacred Majeſty, and his good People, they again threaten us with another* Forty-eight: *And all this is done under-hand, to Vindicate the* Catholique Party, *by throwing a* Suſpicion *on the* Fanatiques. *Theſe are the* Epiſcopal Tantivies, *who make even the very* Scriptures *Pimp for the* Court; *who out of* Urim *and* Thummim *can extort a Sermon to prove the not paying of* Tythes *and* Taxes *to be the Sin againſt the* Holy Ghoſt: *And had rather ſee the Kingdom run down with* Blood, *than part with the leaſt* Hem *of a* Conſecrated Frock, *which they themſelves made Holy.*

His Character of the Church *and* Court.

Here's a very fair and round diſtribution of the *Cities Enemies*, into *Younger Brothers*, *Dependents* upon the *King*; *Friends* to the *Church*, and into *Profeſt Papiſts*: And the *whole Kingdom* it ſelf is again ſplit into *Two Parties*, the *one* conſiſting of *Mutiniers* and *Schiſmatiques*; the other of the *Loyal Servants* and *Subjects* of the *Government*, which under

All the Friends of the Government made the Cities Enemies.

under the *three first Heads*, he brands as the *Cities Enemies*. These Men he Charges with *lessening* the *Plot*, with resembling the *present times to* Forty-one, *and talking of another* Forty eight. Now how is it possible but the Positions of Forty-one should put us in mind of *the Rebellion* of Forty-one, and the *Regicidal Principles* of *Seventy-nine*, mind us of the *Regicide it self* of *Forty-eight*. For these *Principles* and *Practices* are nothing in the World but the *Venom* of *the Old Cause swallow'd* and *Spew'd up again*; and all the *Treasons* of the *Consistory* are cast upon the *Conclave*: As if the *Murther* of *Charles the First*, by the Treachery of *Mock-Protestants*, were ever the less Detestable, because the *Two Harries of France* were *Assassinated* by *Profest Papists*. These are the *Puritan Fesuits*, that turn the *Bible* into a *Nose of Wax*; that make *God* the Author of *Sin*; that *Depose* and *Murther Kings* by a *Text*; and Intitle their *Sacrilege* and *Treason* to the *Inspirations* of the *Holy Ghost*.

Puritan Fesuits.

These are the *Straight-lac'd Christians*, that make less scruple of Robbing the *Altar*, than of *Kneeling* at the *Communion*: They can swallow the Blood of *Widdows* and *Orphans*, and yet *Puke* at a *Surplice*. Let me ask the worthy Gentlemen of the City now, which of the two carried them the *easier*, the *Schismatical* and *Sacrilegious*, or the *Episcopal* Tantivy? Or which they take for the more *Dangerous Enemies*, our *Appellants young Beggarly Officers*, or their Old Acquaintances, *Pen*, *Fulks*, and their Fellows, who violently thrust out *the greatest and most Substantial of their Citizens* (as the late King has it) *and took in Persons of desperate Fortunes and Opinions, in their places*. Let them compare the *Appellants Courtiers* too, with

Husbands Coll. 537.

the

the Old *Sequestring, Plundring, and Decimating Committees*; with their *Court Marshals*, and *Major-Generals*: when *London* was made little better than a *Shambles*, and their *Merchants* only *Cash-Keepers* to the *Tyrants* at *Westminster*; and then againſt his *Over-hot-Church-men*, we'l ſet the *Mechanique Pulpiteers* and *Tub-preachers*: that not only divided the *People* from their *Sovereign*, but *Wives* from their *Husbands*, *Children* from their *Parents*; and preach away *Apprentices*, by *Droves* into *Rebellion*: Carrying the *Schiſm* through *Church* and *State*, into *private Families*. This is the bleſſed change that is now propounded, and laid before us.

Laſtly, (ſays he) *the chief and moſt dangerous of your Enemies are* Papiſts, *who to make ſure of their own Game, allure all the three forementioned Parties to their ſide, by the arguments aforeſaid. Their deſign is to bring in Popery, which they can no ways effect, but either by a* Popiſh Succeſſor, *or by the* French Arms. Papiſts the grand Enemies.

There is no doubt of the danger of the *Papiſts*; but ſtill while the Government has one *Enemy* in *Front*, it is good to ſecure the *Flank* and *Rear* from another; ſo that the *Cities* only Safety lies in the *Mean*, betwixt the two extreames of *Popery* on the *One* hand, and *Libertiniſm* on the *Other*. The *Former* (he ſays) *can never be effected*, but by a *Popiſh* Succeſſour, or the French Arms. See now how this hangs together: the ſame Faction clamour'd againſt the late King juſt at this rate: and yet there was no proſpect at that time of a *Popiſh Succeſſour*, but yet *Popery* was charg'd (moſt injuriouſly as all the world can witneſs) upon the *King himſelf*. And then for the *French Arms*, ſo far was his Majeſty from calling *them* into his Aſſiſtance, that upon the *Scottiſh Rebellion* they were *ſolicited* and *implor'd* into a *Confedera-* Inconſiſtences

cy againſt him. And yet we remember to our griefs, that thoſe very *Rumours* and *Apprehenſions* of *Popery*, even when there was not any *Danger* of it, cait us all into Confuſion. And now our *Appellant*, to ſhew how good an *Engliſh man* he is, as well as a *Subject*, enters his *Proteſtation* a little lower in the ſame *Paragraph*, that *he would rather of the Two, Live under* a French Conquerour, *than the* Duke as *Succeſſour*.

I muſt acknowledge (ſays he in the next clauſe) *that there is ſome Coherence between the* Beginning *of the Late Civil Wars, and this our preſent Age. For as well* then *as* now, *the* Ambitious Papiſts, *and* French Faction *were the* chief, *nay the* only Incendiaries, *which ſet us all in flame.*

That the *French Cardinal* did Artificially improve the Turbulent Humour of the *Engliſh* and *Scottiſh Schiſmaticks*, to the advancing of the Intereſt of *France*, & to the *Embroyling* of *theſe Kingdoms*, I make no queſtion: But to call them the *Only incendiaries* is to give the Lye to the conſtant current of *Hiſtory*, and the known *Certainty* of *Fact*, even within our own remembrance. How were the *Papiſts* and *French Factions* concern'd in the *Scottiſh Uproar* of 1637, and a hundred Sacrilegious Tumults, after that, in the courſe of the Rebellion? and to ſet him right now in his *Calculation* of his Majeſties *French-friends*, we ſhall enform him, that the Kings Principal ſupplies of *Men*, *Arms*, *Money*, and *Ammunition*, were furniſhed from *Holland*.

The Late Rebellion Fanatical.

He tells us further, *that the* Catholique Cauſe, *like the* Cheſnut *in the* Fable, *hath ever ſince Q.* Marys *days been in the* Fire: *and that both* then, *and* now, *the* Papiſts *make uſe of the* Epiſcopal, *and* Court-parties claw, *to take it out*; *the* Firſt *of theſe*, *they allure to their aſſiſtance*, *by the Fright of* Presbytery; *the* Latter

by the apprehenſion of a Republique, *tho'* nothing is leſs Deſigned, *or* more Improbable.

'Tis a hard caſe to have to do with an *Adverſary* that has neither *Candor* in his *Reports*, nor any force of *Argument* in his *Reaſonings*; and yet it is the more tolerable here, becauſe it is all that either the Story or the Cauſe will bear. He makes the *Epiſcopal* and *Court Party* to be the *Paſſive Inſtruments* of the Church of *Rome*, for the advance of *Popery*, ever ſince the Reign of Queen *Mary*: which is ſo notorious a miſtake, that Queen *Elizabeth*, and the *Hierarchy* in *Her Reign* oppos'd the Errours, and the Power of that *Church*, with all poſſible conſtancy, and Reſolution. King *James* made himſelf famous by his *Pen*, as well as by his *Practices*, upon the ſame Subject. The Late King loſt his Life in the defence of the *Reformed Religion*, and his Majeſty that now is, hath manifeſted his affection to the Church of *England*, (as by Law eſtabliſht,) in deſpight of all *Calumnyes*, and through extream difficulties, with the higheſt Acts of Solemnity Imaginable. And now on the *other ſide*, let but any man trace the *Hiſtory* of the *Schiſmatiques*, from Queen *Mary* to this Inſtant; and the reſtleſneſs of that *Faction* will appear, through every ſtep of his way; and that whenſoever the *Papiſts* preſt upon the *Government*, on the *One* hand, the *Separatiſts* never fail'd of pinching it on the *Other*. And yet again whereas he talks of the fright of *Presbytery*, and the apprehenſion of a *Republique*, as neither *deſigned*, nor *probable*, there's no man of *Thirty years of Age*, but knows the contrary; and that this Nation was actually enſlav'd to that *Double Tyranny*, under pretence of delivering us from the danger of *Arbitrary Power*, and *Popery*. Nay, and but two lines further, he charges

Neither *Good Faith* nor *Argument*.

The Church and Court vindicated.

The Fanaticks troubleſome, ever ſince the Reformation.

A palpable Errour.

He aſperſes the late King.

the *Late King* for countenancing *Papiſts*, no leſs than *This*, which to every honeſt man is conſtructively a *Vindication* of them *both*. Nay, he goes ſo far toward the owning of a diſlike for the *Form* of our *Government* it ſelf, that he ſays, no *Government but* Monarchy *can in* England *ever ſupport or favour* Popery, as who ſhould ſay; *A Common Wealth* would put us out of fear on't.

He ſays again, Pag. 3. that the *Parliament Party never entertain'd any Papiſts, unleſs under a diſguiſe*; and yet we never heard of any more of them, than the Kings *Heads-man* in a *Maſque*. We could ſhew him ſeveral inſtances of the contrary; but no man is ſo ſenſeleſs, as to imagine that the King was *depos'd, purſu'd, rob'd, taken, condemn'd, and put to death*, by a hundred thouſand Prieſts in Vizors: we have nothing to ſay to the *Loyalty* of the *Papiſts*; but yet the incongruity of our *Appellants* charge upon them, we cannot, but in honeſty and common reaſon, take ſome notice of, eſpecially when the *Duſt* of his *Objection* flyes in his own Eyes.

Ridiculous.

Their Loyalty and good ſervice pay'd to the King (ſays he) *was meerly in their own defence; well knowing that the Foundation of theſe Commotions was only in Oppoſition to their Party.*

The papiſts Loyalty was Intereſt.

Putting the Caſe now, that they ſerv'd the King only for their own ends: we have an acknowledgment yet, that there was *Loyalty* and *good ſervice* in it, however qualified: and we know that there were many brave and eminent men among them, that loſt their *Eſtates* and *Lives* in that ſervice. If it lyes as a reproach upon them, that they did not ſerve the King out of *Loyalty*, that which they *did*, was yet better than *not ſerving* him *at all*; and better, in a higher degree ſtill, than fighting againſt him.

him. But ſuppoſing now that they had no known *Papiſts* in their *Army*, the Caſe is not one jot mended; for they were all *Schiſmatiques* then; and it is worth the obſervation, that not a man drew his Sword in that *Cauſe*, who was not a *Known Separatiſt*; and that, on the other ſide, not one *Schiſmatique* ever ſtruck ſtroke in the *Kings Quarrel*: The *One* ſide contending according to their *Duty*, in *favour of the* Law, and the *Other againſt* it.

The Separatiſts loyal upon no account.

Our *Appellant* lies open to another Objection in the Clauſe above-recited. He ſays, *the Commotion was only founded upon an oppoſition to that Party.* How came it then, that they ſeiz'd the *Crown*, and *Church-Lands*; put the King to death, plunder'd, ſequeſter'd, and beheaded his *Proteſtant Friends, if the Oppoſition* was only to *Popery*? But we have ſeen their pretences, and we have felt the meaning of them.

The Appellants voluntary miſtake.

He inſiſts upon *the Papiſts deſiring* Oliver *to accept of the Crown.* There's a little Book that will inform us better concerning that Tranſaction. It's call'd *Monarchy aſſerted*, conſiſting of a Collection of Speeches upon that debate.

Who put *Oliver* upon accepting the Crown.

We are at this time (he ſays) *acting the ſame Play ſtill, though an* old one *newly Reviv'd; and as that which the* Papiſts *then acted, was laid upon the* Fanatiques, *ſo was the like to have been done in this preſent Plot.*

It will be eaſily granted, that this is in a high degree *the Old Play Reviv'd*; but we are too well acquainted with the circumſtances of the preſent Plot, to carry the reſemblance through. That which the *Fanatiques* then acted, was laid on the *Papiſts*; and when they had *maſter'd* the *King*, under the Calumny of a *Papiſt*, they *Murther'd* him as a *Proteſtant*. The Queſtion at preſent is not the *Certainty* of *One Plot*, but the *Superfœtation* of *another*: For it is compoſſible

poſſible enough, that a *Papiſt* may be *before* his Majeſty with a *Dagger*, and ſome *rank Enthuſiaſt behind* him with a *Piſtol*.

He proceeds with a Story of Mr. *Claypool*, not at all to our purpoſe; and then gives us further, an account of the *Papiſts deſign* in *Scotland*; *who firſt by their Councels procured the poor Inhabitants to be Oppreſs'd, and then ſending their diſguiſed* Prieſts, *and* Emiſſaryes *amongſt them, incourag'd the poor ſilly Natives to Mutiny againſt thoſe Oppreſſions, hoping to caſt the Plot upon the* Presbyterians.

If the *Power*, *Number*, and *Induſtry* of theſe *Emiſſaries* be ſuch as our *Appellant* would have us believe, a man would think there ſhould hardly be a *Rat trap* in the three *Kingdoms*, without a *Prieſt* in't. Let us but lay together ſeveral *Circumſtances* in this *Appeal* concerning the Miraculous Influences of theſe Men upon all ſorts of People, and it will be a hard matter to repreſent any thing more *Comical*. *Firſt*, he ſays, that the *Papiſts* have already made ſure of all the *Young beggerly Officers*, or *Souldiers*, *Courtiers*, and *Over-hot Church-men*; Fol. 2. *Secondly*, he makes them to have an *Abſolute Dominion* over the *King* and his *Council*: for they have made him *Baniſh thoſe Officers* (he ſays) *that ſhould lead the people up againſt the Popiſh Army*. *Thirdly*, they govern all the *Conventicles* in the Kingdom, as our *Appellant* will have it. And *Fourthly*, they procur'd the *Scots* to be *Oppreſt*, and after that ſhifted hands, and made them *rebel*; and all this is every man bound to *believe*, as the *Thirteenth Article* of his *Faith*. Now can any thing be more wonderful, than that theſe people that can turn the *King* and his *Council* with a *Twine thread*; that have ſo abſolute a Command of the *Multitude*; and can ſet *Governors* and *Subjects* handy-dandy, to

A Legendary Fable.

Box

Box one another like *Punchinello's* Puppets, when *they* pleaſe: Is it not a wonderful thing, (I ſay) that theſe men with all this *Intereſt*, are not yet able to ſave a *Prieſt* from the *Gallows*; or any *ſingle perſon* of the *Party* from the Exact *Rigour* of the *Law*. Have they only a *Power* to do the *Government Miſchief*, and themſelves no *Good*? We inſiſt the more earneſtly upon this *Point*, becauſe the comfort of *Humane Society* is totally deſtroy'd, if we come once to be tranſported, by theſe *ſtories*, into a *Common Diffidence*, every man of his *Neighbour*; and to put into ſuch a condition by the Entertainment of theſe Jealouſies, that there will be no longer any *Faith*, or *Confidence* in *Mankind*; for fear of theſe Inviſible and undiſtinguiſhable *Enemies* in our dayly *Converſation*.

Humane Society diſſolved.

Now to ſupport, and fortifie himſelf in his Opinion; he ſays farther, *that not only Dr.* Oates *mentions this in his* Evidence, *but that the* Papiſts themſelves *were ſo well aſſured of the* Scotch Riſing, *before it happen'd, that at the* Disbanding *of this late* Popiſh Army, *many of the Officers and Souldiers had ſecret Orders not to ſell their Horſes, but to be in a readin ſs, for that they ſhould have occaſion to uſe them again within a* Fortnight, and ſo it happen'd; *for within a* fortnight *after the* Disbanding, *the* Rebellion *brake out in* Scotland: *So well acquainted were the Authors of this Miſchief, with the time when it would happen.*

The *Scotch* Rebellion charg'd upon the Papiſts.

With the *Appellants* leave, Dr. *Oates* only Reports what theſe Agents *Deſign'd* to do, and the *Hopes* of their *ſucceeding* in it; but ſays nothing *poſitively*, that I can find, of what they had *done*: and in his *Thirty fifth Depoſition*, expreſly makes their Project to be *the weakening of both the Presbyterian, and Epiſcopal Faction*: As to the calling of the *Plot* upon the *Presbyterians*, it was not ſo well contriv'd (me thinks)

Dr. *Oates's* true Account of the *Scotch* Riſing.

as

as it might have been: For it is no *Clearing* of the *Papiſts* from *One Plot* upon the *Kings Life*, the charging of the *Presbyterians* with *another*.

Then there's *another* ſlip; he will have the *Papiſts* privy to the *Scotch Riſing*, becauſe at the *Disbanding* of the *Popiſh Army*, *ſome Officers were order'd not to ſell their Horſes*, &c. Firſt it is not prov'd that they had any ſuch *Orders*; *Secondly*, he calls it a *Popiſh Army*; and implys, that theſe *Orders* were given to *Popiſh Officers*, which *Officers* either *went* upon the ſervice or *not*: if they *went*, they overthrew their own deſign; for he makes it the *Papiſts Intereſt* to entertain thoſe *Tumults*, and theſe Gentlemen made it their buſineſs to *ſuppreſs* them. If they did *not* go, their Orders were to no purpoſe. But why does the *Appellant* call it a *Popiſh Army*? He ſhould do well to waſh his Mouth, after ſo foul and ſcandalous an expreſſion:

The *Scotch* Fanaticks confederate with the *Engliſh*.

But now let us change hands; and ſee if it be not more probable that the *Fanaticks* knew *before-hand* of *that Riſing*, than the *Papiſts*. For though we had at that time greater apprehenſions of the *French* than ever, yet the importunities of ſome people were ſo violent for the immediate disbanding of the Army, that it lookt like a deſign to *remove that Block* out of the *Scots way*. The next paſſage is a little miſterious.

He ſays, *that it was likely the* Scots *would be beaten by the Kings Forces, that* (ſays he) *it might make both* Them *and* Us *leſs apt to* Riſe *upon any account whatſoever*. So that there is a tacit Confeſſion, that the *Appellant* found ſome inconvenience in this *diſcouragement* to a *joynt Rebellion*: And ſo he goes on, ſaying, that *if this had been a Fanatical Plot*, the *ſame Party would certainly have riſen in* England *at the* ſame time. But this, under favour, will not hold; for the

Scots

Scots tumulted in 37, and appeared in *actual Rebellion* in 38. Whereas their Brethren in *England* did not take up arms till 41, though *privy* to, and *confederate* in the *Tumults* of 37. He lays it down for granted in the next Line, that the *Papists* Murthered the Late King, and ſo proceeds in theſe words.

After the Catholiques had thus brought the Fathers head to the Block, and ſent the young Princes into Exile; let us reflect upon their Uſage of them in France, *&c.*

Now to give the Devil his due, I cannot find ſo much as *One Papiſt* in the whole Liſt of the *Regicides*; and I have turn'd over all the *Acts* and *Ordinances*; *Walkers Independency*; and in one word, the whole *Hiſtory of thoſe times*; and can hear no news of them. Take notice, that it is not the queſtion here whether or no the *Papiſts* would have *ſcrupled* it upon a fair Occaſion; but whether or no, in the Truth of the *Fact*, it was the *Papiſts* that did it: and I do not think it Fair, to *hang one Man*, or *Condemn one party for anothers fault*. Put the caſe one man ſteals a *Horſe*, and another robs a *Church*, 'tis no vindication of the *Horſe ſtealer*, to diſcharge him of the *Sacrilege*; no vindication of him that robb'd the *Church*, to acquit him of the *Horſe ſtealing*; but it were a high injuſtice to charge *one* offender with the crime of *another*. His following Reflections upon the Illuſage, the Royal Family received in *France*, when his Majeſty was *abroad*, and the good Offices which *France* has received from *hence* in requital, are only meant for a ſly and invidious Reproach upon the Government, and there is more of flouriſh in them than matter of weight; only he has one ſpeculation not to be paſt over.

Who brought the Late King to the Block.

I cannot but aſcribe great part of our preſent Calami-

ties (ſays he) *to his Highneſſes Education in that* Arbitrary *and* Popiſh *Government.*

Here he pretends to tell us of our Miſeries, and from whence in a great meaſure they proceed; but it would puzzle a man to find out what theſe *preſent Calamities* are, more than the froward and fantaſtical apprehenſions of *remote* and *imaginary Evils*: Nay, the very *fear* it ſelf is counterfeited as well as the *danger*, and the men that dreſs up theſe goblins to fright the ſilly multitude, they do but laugh at them themſelves. Our *State-Empericks* do with our *Politique*, as our *Phyſicians* do with our *Natural Bodies* (for there are *Intoxicating Opinions* as well as *Paſſions*) they make their Patients many times ſtark raving mad with that which they are not one jot affected withal themſelves. Do we not live (or if we *will*, at leaſt, we *may*) in Peace and Plenty; under the protection of a Gracious and a Proteſtant Prince, and under the bleſſing alſo of ſo particular a providence, that when all our Neighbours have been at fire and ſword round about us, this Nation has been yet exempt from the common calamities of Chriſtendom? And ſhall we now expoſe and abandon our *preſent quiet* and *ſecurity* only for *future poſſibilities*, and make our ſelves *certainly* miſerable *before-hand* for fear of being miſerable *hereafter*? Whoſoever ſoberly conſiders what we *enjoy* on the one hand, and what we *fear* on the other, comparing and examining both parts with their due and reaſonable circumſtances, he ſhall find all attempts and propoſals of popular prevention or reformation, to be as wild a project, as if a man ſhould cut off a leg or an arm for fear of corns or chilblains. But what if our fears were yet juſter than they ſeem to be? how many things may yet intervene,

according

according to the ordinary courſe of humane affairs, to diſappoint the danger? as Mortality, Survivorſhip, change of thought, *&c.* or can the appellant preſcribe us any Remedy, that is not worſe then the diſeaſe? ſhall a man caſt himſelf from the top of *Bow*, for fear of tumbling down ſtairs? ſhall we deſtroy *Proteſtantiſm* for fear of *Popery*? or a *Good Government* for fear of a *bad One*? ſhall we run the hazzard of Damnation, for fear of oppreſſion? Nay, what if our preſent apprehenſions were Gratified? New ones would yet ſucceed into their places: For the Rage of Jealouſie is boundleſs, and Incurable. And ſo we found it in the late Rebellion, which was built upon the ſame Foundation. Never ſo mean and ſo deſpicable a ſlavery, as that which we then brought upon our ſelves for fear of ſlavery. Never was any *Papacy* ſo *Tirannical*, and ſo *Ridiculous* together, as that *Perſecuting*, and *Nonſenſical Presbytery*, which we had in Exchange for the beſt temper'd Eccleſiaſtical Government upon the Face of the Earth. Were not *Thoſe* bleſſed days when our *Divines* had *Saleſmen*, and *Mechaniques* for their *Tryers* and the *Laity* a ſupercilious Company of *Claſſical*, and *Congregational Noddys* for the *Inſpectors* of our *Lives* and *Manners*: When *Tone*, and *Lungs*, without either *Learning*, or *Honeſty*, were the diſtinguiſhing Marks of a *Gifted Brother*? Methinks the very Memory of theſe ſervile and profane Indignities ſhould put the bare thought of the Second part of it out of Countenance.

And he ſeems as much out in the pretended *Cauſe* of our *Calamities*, as he was in the *Calamities themſelves*. There were no Princes Educated abroad in the Late Kings time, and yet the ſame clamour to

a Tittle. But if the *Appellant* had been ſo minded, he might have given us a much more Rational account of our misfortunes, than he has done. He might have charg'd them upon thoſe people, who in truth, firſt ſent the *young Princes* into *Exile*, and then *kept* them there; and have at preſent a deſign upon the Exerciſe of the ſame Arbitrary power again, which they would be thought to fear. They began with a cry againſt Popery, but they concluded in the Murther of the King, the diſſolution of the Monarchy, and the perpetual Excluſion of the Royal Family, as may be ſeen in their Proclamation of *Jan.* 30. 48. for *Inhibiting any perſon to be King. Whereas* Charles Stuart *King of* England, (ſay they) *being for the Notorious* Treaſons, Tyrannies, *and* Murthers, *committed by him in the Late Unnatural and cruel Wars, condemned to Death*, &c. It is remarkable, that though they poſſeſt the people againſt His Majeſty, as a *Papiſt*, there is not one word of Religion in the Reaſons, of their putting him to *death*.

The *Appellant* comes now to ſhew his Reading, in two paſſages out of *Philip de Comines*, with an application of his Obſervations upon them. The *former* concerning certain *Engliſh* Penſioners; which *Lewis the Eleventh of France* kept in *Pay*. Now though I cannot agree the hundreth part of thoſe perſons to be *Penſioners*, which out of an envy to the Government, the Common people are inſtructed to call ſo; yet I ſhall never differ with him upon this point, that the Money of *Lewis the Fourteenth* may perhaps have been current in *England*, as well as that of *Lewis the Eleventh* was. The other ſtory is that of *Lewis the Eleventh* to *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy* in the Caſe of *Campobache*. The *French* King advertiſes the Duke of *Burgundy*

The Treachery of *Campobache*.

(they

(they being then in hoſtility) that the Count *Campobache* was a Traytor to him: But the Duke would not believe it. And there was one *Cifron* alſo, who was of the Plot with *Campobache*: This ſame *Cifron*, being taken priſoner by the Duke before *Nancy*, and condemned to dye; gave the Duke to underſtand, that he had a moſt Important ſecret to communicate to him. But the Duke, neither giving admittance to *Crifon*, nor credit to the King; loſt his Life afterward, and his Dominions, by being too incredulous, The *Appellant* applies this to his Majeſties Caſe, in Language ſo courſe and ſcandalous, that there is no repeating of it. And what does all this amount to, but that a Prince may be as well undone by believing *too much*, as *too little*? If he had Truſted either *leſs* to *Campobache*, or *more* to the King, it had come all to a purpoſe. He will have his Majeſty in danger for not believing *enough*, of the *Popiſh Plot*: But his Royal Father was Ruin'd on the other ſide by not believing *enough* of the *Presbyterian Plot*. And God grant that his preſent Majeſty may only believe ſo much of that Plot over again, as may ſtand with his honour and ſafety. But it appears in this place, by the courſeneſs of the *Appellants* Expreſſions, and by the byaſs of the whole Libel throughout, that he is not ſo much concern'd for the Kings believing or not believing, as to faſten a ſcandal upon his Majeſty, by perſwading the People, that the King does not believe it; and conſequently to poſſeſs them, that his Majeſty is a favourer of *Popery*, tho' never any Prince in Chriſtendom gave more Convincing and Irrefragable Proofs of the contrary.

Equally Dangerous to believe too much and too little.

This paſſage of the Duke of Burgundy (he ſays Fol. 4.)

may

may be very much to our purpoſe, to ſhew you, that when God deſigns the deſtruction of a King or People, he makes them deaf to all diſcoveries, be they never ſo obvious. And having levelled the Application in particular, he ſpeculates in general terms (toward the bottom of the leaf) upon the whole matter.

There are four ſeveral Arguments (*he ſays*) which *many times prevail with Princes to be incredulous of all pretended Conſpiracies againſt themſelves. The* First *is drawn from their being in, or made privy themſelves to* Part *of the* Plot, *but not to the* whole. *The* Second, *from their own good* Nature, *and* Clemency. *The* Third, *from the nature of the* Evidence. *And the* Fourth, *from the nature and Intereſt of the pretended* Conſpirators. *To begin then with the* Firſt, *when the Prince hath been made acquainted with a Deſign of Introducing a* New Government, *or a* New Religion, *but not with the* Deſign of taking away his own Life; *this ſometimes hath prevailed with him not to believe, that the ſame party with whom he himſelf is in a Conſpiracy, ſhould have any ſuch other Plot againſt his Life. But this I hope is not our Caſe; For,* &c.----- *And then he Reaſons that his Majeſty could get nothing by it.* Fol. 3.

We ſhall put him together now, and make *Engliſh* of him, *Firſt*, He makes the Duke of *Burgundies* Caſe, in his *Deafneſs to Diſtoveries*, to be the *Kings*. Secondly, He infers from *that Deafneſs*, that *God has deſign'd his Majeſty to deſtruction.* Thirdly, He takes upon him to Philoſophize upon the Reaſons of Princes Incredulity in ſuch Caſes; and very fairly repreſents his Majeſty as a *Party* in the *Conſpiracy*, and conſenting to the Introduction of a *New Government*, and a *New Religion*, though *not privy to the Plot of taking away his own Life.* Only he concludes with a [*But this I hope is not our Caſe.*] in ſuch a way of *Doubting*, as implies *Believing*. And ſo much for the firſt point.

The Kings Bounty a-bus'd.

The ſecond Motive (he ſays, *Fol.* 5.) which may incline a Prince to disbelieve the report of a Plot is, *from his own* good Nature, *and* Clemency; *which makes him not believe any ill of thoſe to whom he has been ſo kind.* But this is a fallacious way of arguing.

Now, by his favour, This is not ſo much an Argument from *Good Nature*, on the *one* ſide, as from the Tye of *Gratitude*, on the *other*: but whether way ſoever it be taken, the

Late

Late King found it indeed *a very fallacious way of arguing*: for almoſt all his Acts of Grace and Bounty turn'd to his miſchief, as appears in his Majeſties *Declaration* of *Aug.* 12. 1642. when after delivering up his Miniſters to Impeachments, his Conceſſions in the buſineſs of Star-Chamber, High-Commiſſion Court, Ship-Money, Forreſt-Laws, Stannery-Courts, Tonnage and Poundage, Continuance of the Parliament, *&c.* they improv'd all theſe Truſts and Condeſcenſions, even to the formal taking away his Authority, Revenue, and Life. And thoſe particularly whom his late Majeſty oblig'd to the higheſt degree, laid the Foundation of his Ruine. Nor is the ingratitude of the ſame Party to the Son leſs *notorious*, than the other was to the Father: None flying ſo fiercely in the face of the Kings Authority and Perſon, as thoſe that ſtand indebted to the King for their Lives and Eſtates; who yet act as confidently, as if one Rebellion might be placed in Juſtification of another. For they do now afreſh and in publick avow the Methods and Practices of the late Times; while the true Sons and Servants both of the *Engliſh Church* and *State*, lie in the duſt, waiting for the righteous Judgment of the Lord in want, and patience. Now if according to the *Appellants* Rule thoſe are the moſt dangerous, to whom the King has been moſt kind, that Danger muſt be underſtood of the Fanatiques; for otherwiſe the *Appealer* runs the hazard of a *Præmunire*, upon the Act *for the ſafety of the Kings Perſon*, in ſcandalizing his Majeſty for a *Favourer of Popery*. It is not yet that the general Rule fails, becauſe of this Exception; for the greater the Obligation, the greater in reaſon ought to be the confidence, though the *Appellant* ſeems to be of another Opinion.

Who betrays you in your Beds? (ſays he) *your Friend; for your Enemy is not admitted to your Houſe. Who betrays you in your Eſtate? your Friend; for your Enemy is not made your Truſtee. So that nothing is more dangerous than a blind friendſhip.*

This is an admirable fetch of his, to prove his Royal Highneſs dangerous to his Majeſty, becauſe he is both a *Friend* and a *Brother*; and ſtill the *Nearer*, the more *Dangerous*: as if the King were ſafer in the hands of his *Enemies*, than of his *Friends*. But he expounds himſelf, that they are more dangerous

gerous, in respect of greater *Confidence*, and fairer *Opportunities*. There is no fence against that danger, but utterly to cast off and renounce all the Bonds, and Dictates of *Society* and *Good Nature*. We must contract no Friendships, and trust no Relations, for fear they should cut our Throats. How much more wretched than the very *Beasts*, has our *Appealer* at this rate made *Mankind*, by poysoning the very *Fountain* of *Human Comforts?* Nor is it a *Friend* that *betrays* us, but an *Enemy*, under *that appearance:* By which Rule an *Episcopal*, a *Fanatical*, a *Popish Friend*, are all equally dangerous; For a Man has no more security of a *Friend* under *one denomination*, than under *another*. But the *Appellant* in this place speaks of the danger of a *blind Friendship*; that is to say, a *kindness* that is taken up without any *consideration*, or *Choice*, and runs on *without fear or wit*: which in this application, must either be very little *respectful*, or altogether *Impertinent*. He produces instances of perfidious *Favourites* and *Relations*: as if there were no other to be found in Nature. By his Argument, because *one Woman* poyson'd her *Husband*, *all men* should destroy their *Wives*: Because *one Son* supplanted his *Father*, *all Parents* should drown their *Children* like Kitlins. Because *one Elder Brother* offer'd violence to his *Elder*, there should be no longer any *Confidence*, or *Faith* maintain'd among *Brethren*.

An Argument destructive of Society and good Nature.

And of evil Consequence.

If little petty Interests (says he) *make one Brother wish the others Death, how much more prevalent will the Interest of a Crown be? Nay, of two Crowns*, viz. *One here, and another hereafter in Heaven, promis'd him by an Old Fellow with a bald Pate, and a Spade-beard.*

As to the Argument, this is only the Second Part to the same tune; and a *particular Instance* improv'd into an *Universal Exception*. There are *wicked Husbands, Wives, Children*; Let there be no more *Marrying*. Men have been *poyson'd* in the *Sacrament*, in their *Cups*, and *Dishes*; shall we therefore never receive the *Communion*, nor *Drink*, nor *Eat?* There have been *Tyrants* in *all forms of Governments*, shall we therefore have *no Government at all?* And moreover, as this way of Reasoning lessens all the Bonds of Human *Trust*, and *Concord*, and runs us back again into Mr. *Hobb*'s Original *State of War*, so does it as little serve the *Appellants* purpose, even if

A dangerous Proposition.

it

it were admitted. *First*, the Temptation of a *Crown* does not work upon any man, either as a *Brother*, or as a *Stranger*, but equally upon *Both*; and *more*, or *leſs*, as the man is *more* or *leſs Conſcientious* or *Ambitious*. So that the danger ariſes from the *Humour* of the Perſon, not from the *Relation*. Nay, *Secondly*, the Danger is Greater, from a *Popular Faction* that has *no Right at all to a Crown*, than from a *Legal Pretendent* to it, upon a Claim of *Deſcent*. For the One only waits his *Time*, according to the courſe of *Nature*, whereas the Other preſſes his end by the ways of *Bloud* and *Violence*, having no other way to compaſs it: He makes it yet a ſtronger Argument, where there is but *One Life* betwixt a *Succeſſor* and *Three Kingdoms*: But does not this Argument hold as ſtrong on the *other* ſide? There was only the *Kings Life* betwixt the *Faction* of 1641. and the *Three Kingdoms*, which Life they took away, and ſo poſſeſt themſelves of his Dominions. Their pretence was only a *Reformation* of *Abuſes*; with Horrid, and Multiply'd Oaths, that they deſigned only the Glory of *God*, the Honour of the *King*, the Preſervation of the *Proteſtant Religion*. His Majeſty (they ſaid) was miſled by *Popiſh Counſels*; and their Buſineſs was no more than to reſcue him out of the hands of *Papiſts*, and bring him home to his *Parliament*. And what was the Event of all? A Gracious Prince was Murther'd, and 500 Tyrants ſet up in his ſtead: Our Religion, and our Laws were trampled upon, and the *Free-born Engliſh-men* ſubjected to Bondage, below that of *Gally-ſlaves*: The whole Nation becoming a Scandal, a Hiſſing, and a Scorn, to all our Neighbours round about us.

The Temptation of a Crown.

Reformation the pretence.

But what were theſe People all this while? If we may credit the *Appellant*, they were *Prieſts* and *Jeſuits*; or at leaſt, *Papiſts*: But the King tells us, they were *Browniſts*, *Anabaptiſts*, and other *Sectaries*; *Preaching Coach-men*, *Felt-makers*, &c. The Act for *Indempnity* gives us a *Liſt* of the *Regicides*: The Act of *Uniformity* ſtiles them *Schiſmatiques*; and throughout the whole Hiſtory of their *Acts*, and *Ordinances*, there appear none but *Diſſenting Proteſtants*; The Church of *England* being the *only Sufferer*, betwixt the *two Extreams*. And theſe People had the Intereſt of the *two Crowns* in proſpect too; which the *Appellant* deſcants ſo Jollily upon: Almoſt every Pulpit promiſing *Salvation* to the Fighters of the *Lords Battels* againſt the *Lords Anointed*, with a *Curſed be He* (at the end on't,) *that doth the work of the Lord negligently*.

Who they were that deſtroyed the late King.

Upon the *third Head* he ſays, that *moſt Princes believe, or diſbelieve the Information which is given them of a Plot, according to the Nature of the Evidence, and Credit of the Informants.*

There is no more in this, than that moſt Princes *believe*, upon the Common Inducements that move all men of Reaſon whatſoever to *believe*; *viz.* the *Probability* of the matter in Queſtion, and the *Credit* of the *Witneſſes*. Now as to the *Popiſh Plot*; we ſhall give him theſe Points for granted, but without diſcharging a *Plot* likewiſe, on the *other* hand, upon the ſame *Principles*, and no leſs pregnant *Evidence*. We do not ſpeak here of the *Popiſh Plot*, which the *Papiſts* would moſt ſillily have turn'd upon the *Presbyterians*, (the ſhalloweſt *Contrivance* certainly that ever was hatch'd, and the moſt palpable *Impoſture*:) But we ſpeak of a *Plot* that was bred and born in the *Fanatical Party*; whereof we have as many Witneſſes almoſt as Readers, in forty *Libels* of that Leaven, and Extraction; beſide ſeveral open and violent attempts upon the *Government*, which do unanimouſly bear Teſtimony againſt them. The following parts of this *Paragraph* are wrought into ſuch a Complication of Zeal and Scandal (one *Snap* at the *King*, and another at the *Plot*) that every Period is a *Bait*: And whoever touches upon it, is ſure of a Hook in his Noſtrils. Under Colour of Aſſerting and making out the Truth of the *Plot*, (which no ſober man doubts of) he throws Dirt upon his Majeſty and his Miniſters, for dodging, and Impoſing upon the People, in favour of it. One while *too much* comes out, another while *too little*. The frequent *Diſſolutions* and *Prorogations* of *Parliaments* (he ſays expreſly) *were to prevent the Tryal of the Lords*? And ſo the *Squib* runs ſputtering on, from the King to his Privy Councel; Thence, to his Courts of Juſtice; and in one word, the whole *Story* comes to no more than a *Political Abſtract* out of *Harris*'s *Domeſtick Intelligence.*

Two Plots.

He covers the Libel with the Plot.

But why theſe *Pamphlets* to the *Multitude*? *Firſt*, There's no fear of the peoples running into *Popery*: For 'tis their Horrour and Averſion. *Secondly*, There's no need of convincing *them* of the Truth of the *Plot*; but rather to keep them from Extravagancies, upon the jealouſies and apprehenſions they conceive of it already. *Thirdly*, There's no need neither of calling them to our aſſiſtance, toward the ſuppreſſing of it: For the ſifting and examining of this *Conſpiracy*, with the bringing of the *Confederates* to Publique Juſtice, is a great part of the buſineſs of the *Government*. So that theſe Libels cannot be reaſonably underſtood

Why this Appeal to the Multitude?

ſtood to have any other than theſe two ends. *Firſt*, To Teaze and Chafe the *Rabble* into a Rage, diſpoſing and preparing them to entertain any occaſion for Uproar and Tumult. *Secondly*, When their Blood is up againſt this Deteſtable *Plot*, with the Contrivers, Promoters, and Abetters of it; what does he but turn the Rancour of that Outragious *Humour* upon the King, Privy Councel, Courts of Juſtice; and briefly, all his Friends; by marking them out for *Parties* in the *Treaſon*: And ſo rendring his Majeſty, and his Government odious, by theſe Malicious Inſinuations, and endangering the Peace of the *Publique*, to the Higheſt Degree?

The fourth and laſt Argument (ſays he) *which may ſometimes prevail with the Prince to disbelieve any report of a* Conſpiracy, *is taken from the Nature and Principles, and from the Intereſt of the pretended Conſpirators. But neither of theſe Motives can pretend to Influence our Prince into a disbelief of this Popiſh Plot*, Fol. 7.

The Appellants Obſervation and Inference is *this*, that the *Popiſh Plot* is to be *believ'd*, becauſe it ſquares with the Principles and Intereſt of the *Party*. We are better informed in the Hiſtory and Doctrine of *Maſſacres* and *Regicides*, than to queſtion the Malice of the *Jeſuitical Poſitions*, or the Credibility of the *Plot* here in Debate; and ſo we ſhall yield him the Helliſh *Tenet*, which he inſiſts upon, of Murthering KINGS, and a Helliſh *Tenet* it is indeed; and as Helliſh undoubtedly in a *Schiſmatique*, as in a *Jeſuit*. For his Quarrel otherwiſe is to the *Faction*, not to the *Maxim*, which is equally dangerous and deteſtable in all *Factions*. Now whereſoever we find the ſame *Principles*, we have the *Appellants* leave honeſtly to ſuſpect the ſame *Deſigns*.

Popiſh Principles and Intereſt.

Was not this the Doctrine of the *Fanatiques*, from *Forty* to *Sixty*? And did they not make good their Doctrine by their practice? Did they not declare the *King* accountable to the *People*? And did they not put him to Death, upon that Foundation? We have the very *Journals* themſelves of thoſe Times, to prove what we ſay; beſide the Damned Harmony of their beſt received Authors to that purpoſe. *We propound* (ſay the *Remonſtrants*) *that the Perſon of the King may be ſpeedily brought to Juſtice, for the Treaſon, Bloud and Miſchief he is Guilty of. An Act* (ſays another) *agreeing with the Laws of God, Conſonant to the Laws of Men, and the Practices of all Well-order'd States and Kingdoms. Let Juſtice and Reaſon bluſh* (ſays another) *and Traytors and Murtherers, Parricides and Patricides put on white Garments, and rejoyce*

Puritan Jeſuits.

as Innocent Ones, if this man (ſpeaking of the late King) *ſhould eſcape the Hands of Juſtice and Puniſhment. The Government of* England (ſays a Fourth) *is a* Mixt Monarchy, and *Govern'd* by the Major Part *of the* Three Eſtates *aſſembled in* Parliament. *Whenſoever a King* (ſays a Fifth) *or other Superiour Authority Creates an Inferiour, they inveſt it with a Legitimacy of Magiſtratical Power, to puniſh themſelves alſo, in caſe they prove Evil Doers. It is Lawful* (ſays a Sixth) *for any, who have the Power, to call to account a Tyrant or wicked King; and after due Conviction, to Depoſe and put him to Death, if the Ordinary Magiſtrate have deny'd to do it.* Detrahere Indigno, *&c. It is not for private perſons to Depoſe a wicked Governour; but that the Univerſality of the People may lawfully do it, I think no body queſtions.*

Treaſonous Libels.

Theſe Seditious *Poſitions*, with many more, (and ſome *worſe*, perhaps,) were publiquely Printed and avow'd before his Majeſties *Return*. And the very ſame *Principles*, with Peſtilent Additions to them, have been expos'd by the ſame *Party*, in the Face of the Sun, ſince his Majeſties *Reſtauration*. And there is ſcarce a Pamphlet without ſomething of this Mixture, that comes from any of the Private and Pragmatical *Intermedlers* in the preſent *Controverſie*. So that the Principles are the very *ſame*, as to the *Quality* and *Ingredients*, under ſeveral *Colours*. And ſo much for their *Principles*: Now to their *Intereſts*.

Of Counſel with the Papiſts.

In his following way of Reaſoning; under the Countenance of proving it to be the *Papiſts Intereſt* to *Murther* the King, he does all he can in the world, by a Side-wind, to poſſeſs them with the Neceſſity of doing it; and conſequently, to *force* them upon it: Only, as good luck is, the Arguments will not bear that ſtreſs. I ſhould not dare to ſpeak his words after him, if it were not, *Firſt*, that the Libel is already, by ſeveral Impreſſions of it, made as publique as a *News-Book*; And *Secondly*, that his Propoſitions are erected upon a falſe bottom. Upon which two Conſiderations, we ſhall preſume to inſert only two Periods of his, upon this Subject.

A dangerous Hint.

Their Intereſt (ſays he) *does unavoidably excite them to Murther his Sacred Majeſty: For Firſt, they know he cannot long ſubſiſt without a conſiderable Sum of Money, which he muſt receive either from the Party, or from the Parliament: Now for them to ſupply him with ſo vaſt a Sum, is a Charge, that (you may well imagine) they would deſire to get rid of it, if they could, though by the Kings Death. On the other ſide, for the Parliament to ſupply him with Money, that they know cannot*

not be done but by taking off the Heads of their Faction; excluding their Succeſſion, and conſenting to ſuch Laws as muſt of neceſſity ruine them: Beſides, his Majeſty hath already permitted the Executing ſo many of their Party, as they never can nor will forgive it.

It falls out happily, that the *force* of his Argument does not come up to the *Drift* of it. But the *Weakneſs* of the one takes off the *Edge* of the other. He tells the whole world, that the *Papiſts* have no way in the Earth to ſave themſelves, but by the Murther of the King. The one half of this ſpoken in a Corner to a Knot of *Prieſts* and *Jeſuits*, and fairly prov'd upon a man, would be as much as his Head's worth. And is the Crime ever the leſs for doing the ſame thing in Publique, where the Provocation is ſtronger? Theſe Diſcourſes are not to paſs for *ſimple Declarations* of a mans *Opinion*; but Artificial *Encouragements* rather, and *Adviſes*, toward the *doing* of the thing; eſpecially coming from the Pen of a Perſon that calls himſelf *Junius Brutus*, and recommends himſelf to the City by the borrow'd name of a *King-killer*. Though I cannot inform my ſelf of any of *that Family* that lives near *Richmond*.

His faulters in his Arguments.

His firſt Argument runs thus. The King wants Money; and there's none to be got, but either of the *Papiſts*, or of the *Parliament*. The *Parliament*, he ſays, will give his Majeſty none; and therefore the *Papiſts* will Murther him to ſave Charges. This is a Policy far fetch'd: The *Fathers* Head (we know) was ſet at a Price, but we hope better of the *Sons*. Now in his prejudging the *Parliament*, upon an Aſſumption that the King gets not a peny of Money of them, but upon ſuch and ſuch Terms; he does not ſo much ſpeak his *thought*, as vent his *Propoſition*; rather *deſiring*, than *foreſeeing* that the *Houſe of Commons* will hold the King to ſuch unhappy Conditions. And then he finiſhes his Contemplation with this Concluſion, that the *Papiſts* will never forgive his Majeſty, for what he has done already. Wherein, *Firſt*, he contradicts himſelf, in ſuppoſing the King an *Enemy* to the *Papiſts*, whom he has hitherto inſinuated to be their *Friend*. And *Secondly*, inſtead of proving the *Papiſts* Deſign againſt the King in this particular, he advances one of his *own*.

The Popiſh and Fanatick Intereſt the ſame.

Now if he would have come roundly up to the point of the *Papiſts* Intereſt; he ſhould have told us of the Eccleſiaſtical Dignities and Preferments that the Church of *Rome* has confer'd upon their *Emiſſaries* into his Majeſties Dominions: And he ſhould have expounded it to the people, what pains they take, and

what

what Hazards they run, only in the playing of their own Game, and making way to their advantages in Reverſion. This is ſo great a Truth, that moſt of the ſerious *Catholiques* themſelves reflect familiarly upon theſe *Buſie* people, as the common *Troublers* of the *Peace* of *Chriſtendome*. But then I ſhould have oppos'd an Intereſt alſo on the *Fanatiques* ſide, to ballance this. For they have their Reverſional proſpects too; their *ſequeſter'd Livings* and *Eſtates*; their *plunder'd Goods*, their *profitable Offices* and *Commiſſions*, *Crown* and *Church-Lands*, *&c.* And they wait for their day again as impatiently as the *Jews* do for their *Meſſias*. Nay, to keep their Title ſtill a-foot, they ſtand faſt to their Old *Covenant* ſtill, as the *Fanatiques Magna Charta*; by which they pretend to make out a *Religious Claim* to all the advantages they got by Sacriledge and Oppreſſion. So that their *Principles* and *Intereſts* lying indifferently againſt the *Eſtabliſht Order* both of Church and State, there will be no need of caſting eithers faults upon the other.

A wicked Calculation.

After a worſe than Aſtrological Determination upon the *Kings* Fate; he beſtows another Caſt of his Cunning upon the City and Citizens of *London*, which (he ſays) is in danger to be conſum'd by *Fire*. It is a lewd and a ſeditious Hint, in both theſe Caſes, the putting of it into the head, as it is much in the power of any profligate and deſperate Villain, to verifie his Calculation. Beſides that, in telling the Citizens what they are to expect, he does at the ſame time, Counſel the Papiſts what to do. They will burn *London*, (he ſays) *Firſt*, *as the only United force*, *able to withſtand Arbitrary Government*, *and without that*, *Popery can never prevail.*

Miſtaken in his Computation.

If *Popery* cannot come in without *Arbitrary Government*, if the *Jeſuits* deſign the *burning* of *London*, *as the only United force that can withſtand that power*: either there is no fear of *Popery* and *Arbitrary Government*, and (conſequently) of ſuch a deſign taking place in *this Kings Reign*; or the whole Calumny falls directly upon his *Majeſty himſelf*: or otherwiſe, if the *Appellants* proſpect looks forward into the future, what's the meaning of all theſe *Alarms*, ſo unſeaſonably, to trouble our preſent peace with the ſickly Viſions of things to come? And he ſhould have done well alſo to have expounded himſelf a little upon the *United Force* that ſhould *withſtand*, and the *Arbitrary Government* to be *withſtood*? For otherwiſe, it may be taken for the ſounding of a Trumpet to a *Rebellion*. For the *Arbitrary Government* which he

he phancies to himſelf, muſt be exerciſed either by a *Lawful Prince*, or by an *Uſurper*: If by the *Former*, *his Tyranny* is no *Warrant* for *our oppoſition*; if the *Latter*, there's no appearance of any other *Uſurpation*, then (as we ſhall ſee preſently) of his own ſetting up.

Secondly, he ſays that London *is the only place, where by reaſon of their Excellent Preaching and dayly inſtruction in the Proteſtant Religion, the people have a lively ſence thereof, and doubtleſs will not part with it, to pleaſure a Prince; but perhaps rather loſe their* Lives *by the Sword in the* Wars, *than by* Faggots *in* Smithfield,

The paſſage now is plain *Engliſh*; and as many indignities upon the Government, crouded into one ſentence, as could well be brought together. Here is *firſt* an exhortation to a *Rebellion*. For the Prince here in Queſtion, againſt whom the ſword is to be drawn, can be no other, upon his ſuppoſition, then actually the *King*. And let him take his choice now whether it ſhall be intended of his *preſent Majeſty*, or of his *Succeſſor*. It is a *Rebellion* againſt the *King* that *now is*, in the *one caſe*, and againſt the *next King* in the other. And *ſecondly*, It is not only a *ſimple Rebellion*, but (to the ſcandal of the reformation, and particularly of the Church of *England*) a *Rebellion* founded upon the *Doctrine* of the *Proteſtant Religion*: *Thirdly*, it is no other then (as he himſelf has worded it) the *Helliſh Tenet* of *murthering Kings*, in a *diſguiſe*: only a *Jeſuitical Principle* in *Maſquerade*. It is, *Fourthly*, a Condemnation of the practices and ſubmiſſions of the *Primitive Chriſtians*, and the whole ſtory of our *Proteſtant Martyrology*.

Sedition in plain Engliſh.

He ſays, Thirdly, *that the City is too powerful for any Prince that Governs not by the love of his people, which no Popiſh ſucceſſour can expect to do*. This is the very Tranſlation of his Name ſake, *Jun. Brutus*, in his *vindiciæ contra Tyrannos*. *If the Prince fails in his promiſe* (ſays he) *the people are exempt from their obedience; The contract is made void, and the right of obligation is of no force. It is therefore permitted to the Officers of a Kingdom, either all, or ſome good number of them, to ſuppreſs a Tyrant*. Here's a great deal of virulence in his Diſcourſe, without one word of weight, to countenance it. For the Well-being of this City is ſo eſſentially requiſite to the well being of this Kingdom, that the very charge of the Government is to be defray'd without it. So that it is the intereſt of all Governours to cheriſh, and ſupport it, Here he trifles away ſome half a ſcore lines more about the *Fire*; and then, from the danger of the *City*, advances to the further *danger accruing to the Citizens, as well as to the whole Kingdom, upon the Kings untimely Death*.

Sedition ſtill.

The

The greateſt danger (ſays he) will proceed from a confuſion, and want of ſome Eminent an Intereſted perſons, whom you may truſt to lead you up againſt a French *and* Popiſh Army, *For which purpoſe no perſon is fitter then his Grace the Duke of* Monmouth, *as well for Quality, Courage and Conduct; as for that his life and fortune depends upon the ſame bottom with Yours. He will ſtand by you therefore ought you to ſtand by him. And remember the old rule is,* he who hath the Worſt Title ever makes the Beſt King.

A Propoſition for a new King.

Does he ſuppoſe this Confuſion upon the *Death* of thc *King*; or the *Burning* of the *City*, or *before* or *after*? Or has he conſulted either the illuſtrious Perſon, or the Honorable City (that he makes ſo bold with) to know whether or not the *one* would accept of ſuch a Commiſſion upon the *Appellants terms*, or the *other offer* it? The Charecter that he is pleaſed to beſtow upon his Grace, for his quality, Courage, and Conduct, is not unknown to any man that ever ſomuch as heard of his Name. But the *Appellant* never conſiders that all theſe Glorious Circumſtances are point blanck contradictions to his Deſign. How can he imagine that ſo brave a Perſon can ever ſtoop to ſo mean a thought; and ſuffer himſelf, by a Proſtitute Libell, to be Inchanted out of his Honour, Reaſon, and Allegiance. Or that the moſt Eminent City of Chriſtendom for purity of Religion, Loyalty to their Prince, Power, Good Government, Wealth and Reſolution, ſhould be *cajol'd* out of all theſe Bleſſings and Advantages, by the *Jeſuitical Fanaticiſm* of a *Dark-Lanthorn-Pamphlet?* But to what end is all this clutter? The *Appellant* has a mind (it ſeems) to change his Maſter, *He who hath the worſt Title* (he ſays) *ever makes the beſt King*; which is a very fair propoſition for ſetting up of a worſe Title, in his Majeſties place. From hence he goes forward, ſtill computing upon his Majeſties death, as a thing to be taken for granted; and ſo recommending himſelf to the *moſt worthy Citizens*, he finiſhes his *appeal*, filling up the *Page* with a *Poſtcript* concerning ſome *Antimonachical principles* in the *Church* of *Rome*. He that has a mind to ſee theſe match'd in the *Scottiſh Kirk*; may receive further ſatisfaction in a little book Entitled.

TYRANNy and POPERY *Lording it over the* Conſciences, Lives, Liberties, *and* Eſtates, *both of King and People.*

THE END.

A

SEASONABLE

MEMORIAL

IN SOME

HISTORICAL NOTES

UPON THE

LIBERTIES

OF THE

PRESSE and PULPIT:

WITH THE

Effects of Popular Petitions, Tumults, Associations, Impostures, and Disaffected Common Councils.

The Third Edition.

To all *Good Subjects* and *True Protestants*.

By *Roger L'Estrange*.

London, Printed by *J. Bennet* for *Henry Brome* at the Gun in S. *Pauls* Church-yard, 1681.

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A Seaſonable MEMORIAL, &c.

THis Title may perhaps give the Reader an expectation, if not a Curioſity to hear more then the Authour is willing to tell him: For it is his intent, only to expoſe the myſtery of the *Contrivance*, of our late Troubles, without the names of the *Perſons*; and to ſhew that the great work of Deſtroying *three Kingdoms* was only the Project, and Influence of a Private Cabal: and that the Rebellion it ſelf was excited and carry'd on by the Force, rather of an *Impoſture* then of a *Confederacy*; the Generality of the people, being powerfully, and artificially Poſſeſs'd by the pretended Patrons of our Religious, and Civil Liberties, that *Popery* and *Arbitrary Power* were breaking in upon us, and the deſign promoted by the Intereſt of a Court-Faction; It could not chuſe but create in them the tendereſt affection imaginable for the one Party, and as violent a Deteſtation for the other: Eſpecially conſidering that the *Perſon* and *Authority* of the *King* were as yet *Sacred*; and not any man opened his Mouth, but for his *Honour*, and *ſafety*; the *Purity* of the *Goſpel*, and the Peace of the *Kingdome*. For ſuch was the Reverence the Nation had, at that time, for the *King*, and the *Law*; that the leaſt word againſt the Government had ſpoyl'd all.

This *Double-refining ſpirit* came into the World, even with *the Reformation it ſelf*; when by flying from one Extream to another, it left the Truth in the middle; which *Calvin* himſelf takes notice of in a Letter to the *Protector* (in *Ed.*6.) *There are two ſorts of Seditious men* (ſays he, ſpeaking of the *Papiſts* and the *Puritans*) *and againſt both theſe muſt the ſword be drawn*; *For they oppoſe the King, and God himſelf*. It was the ſame Spirit that mov'd the Diſtemper afterward at *Frankford*; and the ſame ſtill, that made ſuch havock in *Scotland*; and flew in the Face of Q. *Eliz.* her *Parliaments* and *Councill*: till ſhe was forced to ſuppreſs it by Severity and Rigour. Her ſucceſſor King *James*, after a long Perſecution in *Scotland*, and a freſh attempt upon him

at *Hampton Court*, by the ſame Faction; took them up roundly, once for all, and ſo paſt the reſt of his days in ſome meaſure of quiet. But the Plot ſucceeded better under King *Charls*; when taking advantage of his Majeſties neceſſities, with the infinite goodneſs of his Nature, that made him apt to believe the beſt of all men, and a Popular mixture in the Houſe of Commons, that was ſtill ready for their turn; they purſu'd him with *Remonſtrance* upon *Remonſtrance*, through *four Parliaments*; and at laſt by the help of the *Act* for the continuance of the *Parliament*, *Tumults*, and that *Execrable Libel* of *Dec.* 15. 1641. Entitled, *A Remonſtrance of the State of the Kingdome*, they accompliſhed their ends, under the Countenance of the *Fifth*. By what ſteps, and Methods they gained their Point, comes now to be conſider'd.

The Schiſm led the way to the Sedition.

Their firſt advance towards a *Sedition*, was the introducing of a *Schiſm*; by diſtinguiſhing themſelves, under the Name of the *Godly Party*, from the reſt of the Nation: which they found, to be the ſafeſt way of approach, and the moſt plauſible expedient. To this end they brought in *Lecturers* over the Heads of *Parochial Miniſters*; whoſe maintenance being dependant upon the Faction, made them wholly at the devotion of their Patrons.

Emiſſaries in Corporations

They had their *Emiſſaries* alſo in all Corporations, and Populous parts of the Kingdom, that were appointed as *Feoffees*, to deal for *Impropriations*, under the charitable pretext of making a better *Proviſion* for the *Miniſtry*, And theſe were men of publick buſineſs in the World, as Clergy-men, Lawyers, *&c.* well known, and made famous for their Zeal, by the Reputation of ſo pious an Undertaking. By this project they advanced conſiderable Sums of Money; but the Incumbents little the better for it: For either it ſtuck to the *Feoffees* fingers, or it was applyed to other uſes; and with the *Tithe* of a *Parſonage* in one place, a *Lecture* was ſet up in another.

After the Choice of fit Inſtruments; their next work was to ſecure them from any trouble of *Church-Cenſures*: To which end, they bought ſome *Headſhip* or other in an Univerſity, for ſome Eminent man of their own way, for the training up of

Seminaries of Novices.

Novices in their Diſcipline. And then they had a kind of a *Practical Seminary* at St. *Antholins* in *London*; where their Diſciples were in a manner, upon a Probation, for Abilities, and Affections: and out of this Nurſery they furniſh'd moſt of their New-bought *Impropriations*.

Theſe

These young *Emiſſaries* of theirs had their Salary, and were ſubordinate to a *Claſſis* or *Clero-Laicall Conſiſtory*, to be tranſplanted at their pleaſure. And yet this Conſiſtory did not ſo ſtrictly confine themſelves to their own Members; but upon Letters Teſtimonial from the Patriarchs of the Party, that ſuch or ſuch a man was fit for their turn; or had given proof of his fidelity to the Cauſe, by undergoing ſome ſentence for contemning the Orders of the Church, and perſiſting Obſtinately in that diſobedience: to ſuch a man, (I ſay) in ſuch a Caſe, they commonly allow'd a Preference. And the better to avoid the denger of the Spiritual Courts, they made it their buſineſe to provide *Commiſſaries* of their Own Leaven, where they had any ſpecial Plantation. And Laſtly, to make ſure of their Ageuts, that they ſhould not fall off when they had ſerv'd their own turns, they kept them only as *Pentioners at pleaſure*, and liable to be turn'd out at any time, either if they cool'd in the *Holy Cauſe*, or fail'd of Preaching according to the direction of the *Conclave*.

Their Agents were upon their behaviour.

Let it be noted here by the by, that the deſign and miſchief of thoſe *Lecturers*, when they could not ſo well Congregate in *Private Meetings*, is, in our days, ſupply'd, if not outdone, by a greater number of *Conventicles*; to the very ſame Intent; and God grant it prove not with the like effect.

Their Lecturers are ſupply'd by our Conventicles.

They were as yet but upon the *Preparatory* to the great work of their *Thorough Reformation*; which in plain *Engliſh* was the *Diſſolution* of the *Government*. So that the Pulpits had nothing more to do at preſent, then to diſpoſe and accomodate the Humours and Affections of the People. The Common Subject of the Pulpit (and they all ſung the ſame Song) was *Firſt* to irritate the Multitude againſt Popery: which had been well enough, if they had not, *Secondly* by ſly Inſinuations, under the Notions of *Arminianiſm*, intimated the Church of *England* to be leaning that way. By this Artifice the People were quickly brought into a diſlike of *Engliſh Communion*; and by degrees into as fierce an Averſion to the One Church, as to the Other. Now whatſoever the *Government Loſt*, the *Faction Gain'd*: And thoſe *Pedantique Levites*, that brought ſo many dreadfull Judgements upon this Nation themſelves; were by the Credulous, Tumultuary Rabble cry'd up and Idolized, as the very *Moſes*'s that ſtood in the Gap to avert them. Having by this means render'd the Government *Odious*, and given ſome credit

The People were poyſon'd from the Pulpit.

to

to the *Schism*; their next Inſtruction was, to make Proclamation of the Numbers, the quality and the ſobriety of the Perſons aggrieved; to poſſeſſe the outſide with a confidence, and the other with an apprehenſion of their ſtrength! *Thouſands of Souls ready to Famiſh*, (they cry) *for want of the Bread of Life. How many Inſufficient, negligent and ſcandalous Paſtors? How many Congregations deſtitute of able, Faithfull Teachers; Preaching in ſeaſon and out of ſeaſon, and labouring in the Word? Alas! they dare not conſent to any Addition to, or Diminution of Chriſts Worſhip, or to the Uſe of the Inventions of Men, in Gods Service. They deſire only the Freedom that Chriſt and his Apoſtles have left unto the Churches; and to ſerve God according to the Example of the beſt Reformed Churches abroad. This is the Caſe of Thouſands of the upright of the Land.* Let it be underſtood, that the *Preſſe* all this while kept pace with the *Pulpit?* only now and then there ſtarted out a Party upon the Forelorn, to make Diſcoveries, and try the Temper of the Government. Some ſcap'd, and others were taken and cenſur'd; as *Leigh on Burton*, *Prin*, and *Baſtwick*, who only ſhew'd themſelves inconſiderately before their Friends were ready to Second them.

The boaſt of their Numbers.

We ſhall ſee now how they changed their ſtile with their Condition; and how their boldneſs encreaſed with their Intereſt. Their grievances at firſt, were only a dark and a doubtfull Proſpect of *Popery*, and *Popiſh Innovations* afar off; and an anxiety of thought for the calamities that were coming upon Gods People through the corruptions of the Times. But ſucceſs opening their Eyes, they are coming now to diſcover more and more Popery nearer hand: They find the *Church-men* to be *Popiſhly affected*; the *Liturgy* to be no other then an *Engliſh Maſs-Book*; the *Hierarchy* it ſelf and all the *Courts*, and *Officers* depending upon it, to be directly *Anti-Chriſtian*: They charge his Majeſty to be *Popiſhly affected*, and all that will not renounce him, to be either flat *Papiſts* or *Worſe*, impoſing *Proteſtations*, *Covenants*, *Engagements* of *Confederacy* againſt both *King* and *Church*; and Oaths of *Abjuration*: as *the Teſts* of a *Loyall Proteſtant*; paſſing an *Anathema* upon any man that interpoſes betwixt their malice, and their Soveraign: They proſtitute the Sacred Function for Mony; they ſuck the blood of *Widdows* and of *Orphans*; By violence taking poſſeſſion of *Eighty five Livings* at one clap, out of *Ninety ſeven*, within the Walls of *London*; expoſing ſo many Reverend, and Loyall Divines with their Families, to the wide

They grow upon the Government.

World

world to beg their Bread: They Preach the People into *Murther*, *Sacriledge*, and *Rebellion*, they purſue a moſt gracious *Prince* to the *Scaffold*; they animate the *Regicides*, calling *that Execrable Villany* an Act of *Publique Juſtice*, and Entitling the *Holy Ghoſt* to the Treaſon.

If this General recital of the Riſe and Progreſs of their Actings be true; the Reader has here before him the Iſſue, and the drift of their pretended *Scruples*, the Expoſition of their *Proteſtations*, *Covenants*, and *Deſigns*: wherein it cannot but be obſerv'd how their *Conſciences* widen'd with their *Intereſts*: And this may ſerve to ſatisfy any man, whither People are then a going, when they come to tread in the ſame ſteps. *But* however, for a further ſupport to the credit of this Memorial, we ſhall now ſubjoyn ſome undeniable Evidences of the whole matter, out of their Own words and Writings: where we ſhall fiude Mr. *Hookers* ſaying made good, in the Preface to his *Eccleſiaſtical Polity*. *What other ſequel* (ſays he) *can any wiſe man imagine but this*; *that having Firſt reſolved, that attempts for Diſcipline* without *Superiours are* Lawfull, *it will follow in the next place to be diſputed what may be attempted* againſt *Superiours*. But now to our Proofs, which we ſhall give you from Point to Point, and from the very *Rabbies* of the *Schiſm*.

The ſquar their Conſciences to their Intereſts.

First, As to the CHURCH. *Good People* (ſays *Burton*) *lie under Bondage of Conſcience in point of* Liturgy. 2dly. *In bondage of Conſcience under* Ceremonies. 3dly. *Of Conſcience under* Diſcipline. 4ly. *Of Conſcience under* Government. *Burton* on *Pſal* 53. 7. 8. *Jun.* 20. 1641.

How the Preſence and Preaching of Chriſt did ſcorch and blaſt thoſe Cathedrall Prieſts, that Unhallowed Generation of Scribes and Phariſees! Pa. 21. *Caſe* on *Ezra* 10. 2, 3. pa. 33.

Prelacy and Prelaticall Clergy; *Prieſts and Jeſuits*; *Ceremonies and Service-Book*; *Star-Chamber and High Commiſſion-Court*, *were mighty Impediments in the way of Reformation*. *Caſe* on *Iſa.* 43 4. pa. 19.

The Scots *were neceſſitated to take up Arms for their juſt Defence againſt* Anti-Chriſt, *and the Popiſh Prieſts*. *Ward* on *Deut* 33. 16. pa. 18.

Now to the LITURGY. *The Service of the Church of* England *is now ſo dreſſed, that if a Pope ſhould come and ſee it, he would Claim it as his own.* And again, *what credit is this to our Church, to have ſuch a Form of Publique Worſhip, as Papiſts may without offence Joyn with us in?* This we have from the *Smectymnuans* themſelves,

E. Cal.

E. Cal. *and* Stephen Marſhall *being part of the* Club. *Now* (ſays *Biſhop* Hall) *If the Devill confeſs Chriſt to be the Son of God, ſhall I diſclaim the Truth becauſe it paſſeth through a damned mouth?* And what did they give us, in exchange for this *Form of Publique worſhip*, but a *Directory* without either the *Decalogue*, or a *Creed* in't?

Diſpu. againſt Engliſh Popiſh Ceremonies, pa. 11.

Let not the pretence of Peace and Unity cool your Fervour, or make you ſpare to oppoſe your ſelves unto thoſe Idle and Idolized Ceremonies, againſt which we diſpute.

Smectymnuus, pa. 58.

Their next fling is at the HIERARCHY it ſelf. *The Plaſtring, or palliating of theſe Rotten Members, [*Biſhops*] will be a greater diſhonour to the* Nation, *and Church, then their cutting off: and the Perſonall Acts of theſe Sons of* Belial *being connived at, become National ſins.*

Marſhall before the Commons, *Jun.* 15. 43. pag. 25.

The Roman Emperors *waſted the* Saints *in Ten ſeveral Perſecutions, but all theſe were nothing in Compariſon of this deſtroyer. All their Loyns are not ſo heavy as the little finger of* Antichriſt.

Caſe of the Covenant, 1643. pa. 47.

The Prelacy of England *which we ſwore to extirpate, was that very ſame Fabrick and mode of Eccleſiaſticall Regiment, that is in the* Antichriſtian *World.* And again; *As thy Sword* Prelacy *hath made many Women Childleſſe, many a faithfull Miniſter Peopleleſſe, ſo thy Mother* Papacy *ſhall be made Childleſſe among Harlots: your* Dioceſſes, *Biſhopleſſe, and your* Sees *Lordleſſe.* Pag. 51.

Marſhalls Peregyrique 1643. pa. 21.

Carry on the work ſtill: leave not a Ragg that belongs to Popery: Lay not a bit of the Lords building, with any thing that belongs to Antichriſt, *but away with it Root and Branch, Head and Tail, till you can ſay, now is Chriſt ſet upon his Throne.*

Woodcock on *Gen.* 4. 23. pa. 12.

Were they not Engliſh Prelates *that conſpired to ſell their Brethren into* Romiſh *ſlavery?*

Faircloth, on *Joſh.* 7. 25. pa. 28.

'Tis not partial Reformation, and Execution of Juſtice upon ſome Offenders will afford us help, except thoſe in Authority extirpate all Achans *with* Babyloniſh *Garments; and Orders, Ceremonies, Geſtures, be rooted out from amongſt us. Trouble they will bring upon us for the time to come, if they be not now cut off,* Pag. 36.

Caſe on *Iſaiah* 43. 4. pa. 18.

As to the KING and his PARTY, *what a ſad thing is it, my Brethren, to ſee our* King *in the head of an Army of* Babylonians, *refuſing as it were to be called the King of* England, Scotland, Ireland, *and chuſing rather to be called the King of* Babylon.

Calamy's Sermon, *Dec.* 25. 44 pa. 18.

Thoſe that made their Peace with the King at Oxford, *were Judaſes of* England; *and it were juſt with God to give them their Portion with* Judas.

Here

Here follows next, their Opinion of the COVENANT. *The Walls of* Jerico *have fall'n flat before it; the* Dagon *of the* Biſhops Service-Book *brake its neck before this* Ark *of the* Covenant, *Prelacy, and Prerogative have bow'd down, and given up the Ghoſt at its feet.* *Caſe on the* Covenant, 1643 pa 65.

Take the Covenant, *and you take* Babylon: *the Towers of* Babilon, *and her* Seven Hills *ſhall move.*——*It is the* Shiboleth *to diſtinguiſh* Ephraimites *from* Gileadites. *Pag.* 27. *Not only is that* Covenant *which God hath made with* Us, *founded upon the Blood of* Chriſt, *but that alſo which we make with* God, *Pag.* 33. *Caryls* Sermon at the taking the Covenant, Oct. 6. 43.

See now the TENDERNESS of theſe men of *tender Conſciences. Whenſoever you ſhall behold the hand of God in the fall of* Babylon; *ſay, True here is a* Babiloniſh Prieſt *crying out alas! alas! my Living; I have Wife and Children to maintain. Ay, but all this is to perform the Judgement of the Lord. Pag.* 13. *Though as Little ones they call for pity, yet as* Babyloniſh *they call for* Juſtice, *even to* Blood. *pag.* 11. *Bridges on* Revelations 4. 8.

We are now entring upon the State of the WAR; *wherein* you will finde in the firſt place who ſounded the Trumpet to it. *To you of the Honourable* Houſe, *Up, for the Matter belongs to you: We even all the* GODLY MINISTERS *of the Country will be with you.* *Faircloth on Joſh.* 7. 25. Pag. 25.

The Firſt Enginiers that batter'd this great Wall of Babylon, *who were they, but the poorer, and meaner ſort of People, that at the Firſt joyn'd with the* Miniſters *to raiſe the Building of* Reformation. *Marſhalls* Sermon *June,* 15. 43. Pa. 15.

Here is an Extraordinary appearance of ſo many Miniſters to encourage you in this Cauſe, that you may ſee how real the Godly Miniſtry in England *is unto this Cauſe.* (This was upon calling in the *Scots.*) And again, *If I had as many Lives as I have hairs on my head, I would be willing to Sacrifice all thoſe Lives for this Cauſe.* Ibid. ——*You ſhall read* Numb. 10. *that there were two Silver Trumpets; and as there were Prieſts appointed for the Convocation of their* Aſſemblies, *ſo there were Prieſts to ſound the Silver Trumpets to proclaim the* War, *And* Deut. 20. *When the Children of* Iſrael *would go out to* War, *the Sons of* Levi, *one of the* Prieſts, *was to make a Speech to encourage them.* *Ca.'s* Speech at *Guild-Hall,* Oct. 6. 43.

Nor were they leſs cruel and fierce in the *Proſecution* of the *Herle* Jan. 15. on Pſal. 95.

War, then they were forward in *Promoting* it. *In vain ſhall you in your Faſt with* Joſhua, *lie on your faces, unleſs you lay your* Achans *on their Backs: In vain are the* High Praiſes *of* God *in your* Mouths, *without a* Two edged Sword *in your* hand, *Pag.* 31.

Herle on *Gen.* 22. 5. pa. 23. *Fairclith*, on *Joſh.* 7. 25.

The Blood that Ahab *ſpur'd in* Benhadad, *ſtuck as deep and as heavily on him, as that which he ſpilt in* Naboth.

The Lord is purſuing you, if you execute not Vengeance on them betimes, Pag. 48.——*Why ſhould life be farther granted to them, whoſe very life brings death to all about them?* pag. 50.

Caſe on *Dan.* 11. 32 44.

Curſed be he that with-holdeth his Sword from blood; that ſpares when God ſaith ſtrike, &c. pag.

And let it not be now pretended that this War was not Levy'd againſt the King; for they both diſclaim his Authority and even the oppoſing of him on expreſſe terms. *It is lawfull* (ſays Dr. *Downing* of *Hackney*, in a Sermon to the Artillery Men) *for defence of Religion, and Reformation of the Church, to take up Arms* AGAINST the King. *It is commendable* (*ſays* Calamy) *to fight for peace, and Reformation AGAINST the Kings Command.* And *Caſe* again. *Why come not in the* Scotiſh *Army AGAINST the King?*

Cal's Theſes pa. 29. *Caſe* on the Covenant, 43. *Herle* before the Commons 44.

If the Devil can but once get a Prophet to leave Gods ſervice for the Kings, he hath taken a Blew already, and is ready for as deep a Black as Hell can give him. pa. 28.

But what do they ſay all this time to his AUTHORITY?

Cal's Theſes in a Sermon Dec. 25. 44.

The Parliament, whom the People chuſe, are the Great and only Conſervators of the peoples Liberties. pag. 2. *They are the chief Magiſtrate*, pag. 38. *All thoſe that fought under the Kings Banner againſt this Parliament, fought themſelves into ſlavery; and did endeavour by all bloudy and Treacherous ways to ſubvert Religion and Liberties*, pag. 9. *The Lords and Commons are as Maſters of the Houſe*, pag. 22.

Jenkin's Petition.

The Parliament of the Common-wealth of England *without the King* 1651. *were the Supreme Authority of this Nation.*

Herles Sermon before the Commons, 1644.

The Houſes are not only requiſite to the Acting of this Power of making Laws, but Coordinate *with his Majeſty in the very Power of* Acting. pag. 42.

Baxters Holy Commonwealth.

The Reall Sovereignty here in England *was* (ſays *Baxter*) *in* King, Lords *and* Commons, pag. 72. *And thoſe that conclude that the Parliament being Subjects, may not take up Arms AGAINST the King,*

and

and that it is Rebellion to resist him, their grounds are sandy, and their Superstructure false. pag. 459. 460.

The next point is their Animating the MURTHER of the KING. *Do Justice to the Greatest; Sauls Sons are not spar'd; no nor may* Agag, *or* Benhadad, *tho' themselves* Kings. Zimri, *and* Cozbi *(tho Princes of the people) must be pursu'd into their Tents: This is the way to Consecrate your selves to God.* pag. 16. *Herle* before the Commons *Nov.* 5. 44.

The Execution of Judgment is the Lords word; and they shall be curſed that do it negligently. And curſed shall they be that keep back their Sword in this Cauſe. You know the ſtory of Gods Meſſage unto Ahab, *for letting* Benhadad *go upon Compoſition.* pag. 26. *Stickland's* Thanksgiving Sermon *Nov.* 5. 44.

But you shall now hear the MURTHER of his Sacred Majesty press'd more particularly in these Words. *Think not to ſave your ſelves by an unrighteous ſaving of them, who are the Lords, and the Peoples known Enemies, you may not imagine to obtain the favour of thoſe againſt whom you will not do Juſtice: For certainly, if you act not like Gods in this particular, againſt men truly obnoxious to Juſtice; they will be like Devils againſt you. Obſerve that place,* 1 Kings 22. 31. *compared with* Cap. 20. *It is ſaid in* Cap. 20. *that the King of* Syria *came againſt* Iſrael, *and by the mighty power of God, he and his Army were overthrown, and the King was taken Priſoner. Now the mind of God was (which he then diſcover'd only by that preſent Providence) that Juſtice ſhould have been executed upon him, but it was not. Whereupon the Prophet comes with aſhes upon his face, and waited for the King of* Iſrael, *in the way where he ſhould return; and as the King paſſed by, he cry'd unto him, thus ſaith the Lord, becauſe thou haſt let go a man whom I appointed for Deſtruction, therefore thy Life ſhall go for his Life. Now ſee how the King of* Syria, *after this, anſwers* Ahab's *love: about three years after,* Iſrael *and* Syria *engaged in a new War, and the King of* Syria *gives command unto his Souldiers, that they ſhould fight neither againſt ſmall nor great, but againſt the King of* Iſrael. Benhadads *Life was once in* Ahabs *hand, and he ventur'd Gods diſpleaſure, to let him go. But ſee how* Benhadad *rewards him for it? Fight neither againſt Small nor Great, but againſt the King of* Iſrael, *Honourable, and Worthy. If God do not lead you to do Juſtice upon thoſe that have been great Actors in ſhedding Innocent Blood, never think to gain their Love by ſparing of them; for they will, if Opportunity be ever offer'd, return again upon you. And then they will not fight againſt the poor, and mean ones, but againſt thoſe that have been the Fountain of that* *Cockayns* Sermon before the Commons *Nov.* 29. 48.

The Kings Murther Encouraged.

Brook's Sermon before the Commons Dec. 26. 48.

Authority and Power which have been improved againſt them.

Have you not ſins know of your Own, (ſays another) *but will ye wrap your ſelves up in the Treachery, Murther, Blood, Cruelty, and Tyranny of others?* p. 17. *Set ſome of thoſe Grand Malefactors a mourning (that have cauſed the Kingdom to mourn ſo many years in Garments roll'd in blood) by the Execution of Juſtice,* &c. *pa.* 19.

Tantum Religio potuit ſuadere Malorum. And we are not yet at the Top on't neither; For to look back upon that hideous Impiety, not only without remorſe, but with ſatisfaction, is a piece of hardneſs, and Inhumanity, till this Age, and this Caſe, perhaps unheard of.

Jenkin's Sermon before the Commons Sep. 25. 56. pa. 23.

Worthy Patriots, (ſays another of the ſame Order) *you that are our Rulers in this Parliament, 'tis often ſaid, we live in times wherein we may be as good as we pleaſe; wherein we enjoy in Purity and plenty the Ordinances of* Jeſus Chriſt, *praiſed be God for this; Even that God who hath deliver'd us from the Impoſition of* Prelatical Innovations, Altar-Genuflexious, *and* Cringings, *with* Croſſings, *and all that Popiſh traſh and Trumpery. And truly I ſpeak no more then I have often thought, and ſaid, The Removal of theſe Inſupportable Burthens, Countervails for the Blood and Treaſure ſhed and ſpent in theſe late Diſtractions: Nor did I as yet ever hear of any Godly men, that deſired, were it poſſible, to purchaſe their Friends, or Mony again, at ſo dear a rate, as with the return of theſe, to have thoſe* ſoul-burthening, Anti-Chriſtian Yoaks *re-impoſed upon them. And if any ſuch there be, I am ſure that deſire is no part of their Godlineſs; and* I PROFESS MY SELF, IN THAT TO BE NONE OF THE NUMBER.

The Kings Murther Juſtified.

Baxters Holy Commonwealth 486

And M. *Baxter* likewiſe in effect ſays as much, *viz. That having often ſearched into his heart, whether he did lawfully engage in the War, or not, and whether he did lawfully encourage ſo many thouſands to it, he tells us that the Iſſue of all his ſearch was but this, that he cannot yet ſee that he was miſtaken in the main Cauſe, nor dares he repent of it, nor forbear doing the ſame, if it were to do again, in the ſame State of things.*

Mr. Baxters Caſes of Conſcience *Theſes* 137. 181.

We might carry the aggravation yet a ſtep farther, in a Remarque or two upon his *Political Theſes,* where he took as much pains in 1659. to keep out his preſent Majeſty, as he did in the late War to drive out his Royal Father; caſuiſtically reſolving upon the point then in Hope and Proſpect; that in that ſtate of things, *the King himſelf could not juſtifie the reſuming of his Government, nor his People the ſubmitting to it.* But this is enough to recommend

recommend the ſame perſons over again, to the care of another Reformation, that were ſo dutifull in the former; and the Government needs not doubt but they will be juſt as kind to his Majeſty as they were to his Father. Good God! that any thing in Humane ſhape, that Glories in the Murther of his Sovereign, ſhould make a face at a Ceremony!

Here's no amplyfying of the Matter, no forcing of conſtructions, Packing of Preſidents, or ſuborning of Proofs; But the Doctors of the *Schiſm*, *Cited*, *Produc'd*, and *Judg'd*, *out of their own mouths*: and in ſo clear a manner too, as to leave no place for a doubt, either of the Fact, or of the Deſigne. We could give you an account of the many good Offices they did in the various Revolutions of the War, and upon the Pinching Exigences of the State: As the promoting of *Petitions*, *Tumults*, *Proteſtations*, *Oaths* and *Covenants*, of all ſizes and colours: the Conſecrating of the Rebellion by Authorities of *Scripture*; Dividing *Wives* from their *Husbands*, *Sons* from their *Fathers*, Preaching away the *Apprentices* from their *Maſters*, and ſetting *Jeſus Chriſt* in the Head of the *Sedition*. The artifices of their *Faſts* and *Thanksgivings*, their Cajoling the City out of their *Bags*, and the ſimple multitude out of their *Lives* and *Duties*; the Influence they had upon bringing in the *Scots*, their faculty both of Creating *Fears* and *Jealouſies*, and of Emproving them; their miraculous *Diſcoveries of Plots of their own making*: Their *Sermons* were a kinde of *Domeſtique Intelligence*, and people went to Church as to a Coffee-houſe, to hear News and Fables. We could ſhew you likewiſe how they ſhifted their *Principles* with their *Intereſts*, and from 1640. to 1660. how theſe Mercenaries of the Pulpit complied with every turn of State: But we have rak'd far enough already in this puddle, and it is high time to Proceed.

Ex ore tuo.

The Schiſmaticks did the Faction many good Offices.

If a man might with a fair *Decorum* call ſo direfull a *Tragedy* a *Puppet-play*, we ſhould tell you that you have hitherto ſeen only the *Puppets* of this *Pretended Reformation*; and that they ſignified nothing of themſelves, but as they were guided by the Maſters of the *Machine*, from under the Stage, or behinde the Hanging. Now we cannot better lay open this Practice and Confederacy, then by ſetting forth the admirable Harmony and Concert that appear'd betwixt the *Lay-Caball*, and the *Eccleſiaſtick*; agreeing in the ſame method, in the ſame ſteps, in the ſame cauſe, and in the ſame Opinion. Only that which was matter

The Pulpit only ſpake as the Cabal dictated.

Their agreement in Method and design.

matter of *Policy* in *Private*, was made matter of *Conscience* and *Religion* in *Publick*, First, they finde out Corruptions in the Government; as matter of *Grievance*, which they expose to the People. Secondly, they Petition for Redress of those Grievances, still asking more and more, till something is deny'd them. And then Thirdly, they take the Power into their own hands of Relieving themselves, but with *Oaths* and *Protestations*, that they Act only as *Trustees* for the *Common Good* of *King* and *Kingdom*. From the pretence of *Defending* the Government they proceed to the *Reforming* of it; which *Reformation* proves in the end to be a *Final Dissolution* of the Order both of *Church* and *State*. This we shall deduce as briefly as we may.

A deduction of our Late Troubles.

After the Fatall Pacification at *Berwick*; *June* 17. 1639. (upon the *Scots* Insurrection, who kept not any one Article that was there agreed upon) the King called a Parliament, that met *Apr.* 13. 1640. which at the first was thought to be well enough disposed, till Sir *Hen. Vane* (then Secretary of State) demanded *Twelve Subsidies*, in stead of *Six*, which put the Commons into such a flame, that upon *May* 4. his Majesty, by the Advice of the Council, thought fit to Dissolve them. In *August* following, the *Scotch Confederates* (holding very good Intelligence with the *English*, entred *England* with an *Army*, which the King oppos'd with what force he was at that time able to Raise, upon his own Credit. His Majesty, upon this pinch, Summons his *Great Council of Peers* to assemble at *York*, *Sep.* 24. where they met accordingly, and advised the King to a Treaty, which was held at *Rippon*, and a Peace was there Concluded and Signed *Octo.* 26. His Majesty being ply'd in the *Interim* with Petitions to call a Parliament, and his work cut out ready to his hand, in the matter of *Property* and *Religion*. Those *Petitions* might have been spar'd, the King having before hand resolved to call a Parliament, to meet on the 3d of *November* next. They were no sooner met, but they fell upon *Grievances* and *Impeachments*, beginning with the Earl of *Strafford*, and the Bishop of *Canterbury*, and so proceeding, till all his *Majesties Friends* were made *Traytors*, and the *Law it self* was found to be the *Greatest Grievance*.

Exact Collection pa. 4.

There is a Malignant and Pernitious Design (*says the* Remonstrance *of* Dec. 15. 41.) *of subverting the* Fundamental Laws, *and Principles of* Government, *upon which the* Religion *and* Justice *of this Kingdom is firmly establish'd. And there are certain* Councellors *and* Courtiers, *who for private Ends have engaged themselves to further*

ther the Interest of some Forreign Princes *and* States, *to the Prejudice of his* Majesty, *and the State* at Home. Take notice now, *that the King had already* (by their own confession) *pass'd more Good Bills to the advantage of the Subjects, then had been in many ages.* Coat *and* Conduct-money *were all damn'd*; *The Earl of* Strafford *beheaded. The Archbishop of* Canterbury, *Judge* Bartlet, *and several other* Bishops *and* Judges Impeach'd; *two Bills pass'd, the* One *for a* Triennial, *the* Other *for* Continuance of the Present Parliament; *the* Star-Chamber, High-Commission, Courts *of the* President, *and* Council *in the* North *taken away, the* Council-Table *Regulated, the Power of* Bishops *and their* Courts *abated*; Innovators *and* Scandalous Ministers *terrify'd by accusations*; *the* Forrests *and* Stannary-Courts *brought within compass*; and yet after all this, *other things* pa. 15. *of main Importance for the Good of this Kingdom are in Proposition.* But their Intention *pag.* 19. is only *to reduce within Bounds that exorbitant Power which the Prelates have assumed*; *to unburden mens Consciences of needless and superstitious Ceremonies*; *Suppress Innovations*; *and take away the Monuments of Idolatry: To support his Majesties Royall Estate with Honour and Plenty at home, with Power and Reputation abroad*; *and by their Loyall Affection, Obedience and Service, to lay a sure and lasting Foundation of the Greatness and Prosperity of his Majesty and his Royall Posterity after him,* pa. 2. *Declaring and Protesting further to this Kingdom and Nation, and to the whole World,* pag. 163. *in the presence of Almighty God, for the satisfaction of their Consciences, and the discharge of that Great Trust which lies upon them, that no* Private Passion *or* Respect, *no* evill Intention *to his* Majesties Person, *no designe to the prejudice of his* JUST Honour *and* Authority *engaged them to raise Forces, and take up Arms against the Authours of that War, wherein the Kingdom was then Inflam'd.* Pag 16.

Let us see now how well they acquitted themselves as to this Profession; *They put the Kingdom into a* Posture of Defence *by the Authority of Both Houses* pag. 96. *They require an Obedience to it,* Pag. 112. *They Vote it a Breach of priviledge, not to submit to any thing, as Legal which they declare to be Law.* Pag. 114. *And declare* pag. 150. *that upon* Certain Appearance, *or* Grounded Suspition; *the* Letter *of the Law shall be improved against the* Equity *of it*; *and that the* Commander *going against its* Equity, *discharges the* Commanded *from* Obedience *to the* Letter: *to shorten the business, they make it Treason, upon any pretence whatsoever,* Pag. 576. *to assist his Majesty in the War, with Horse, Arms, Plate, or Monies*; Exact Collections.

nies; and his Majesty Sums up the Malice of that Declaration in these *Six Positions*.

Six Treasonous and Seditious Positions. Pag. 297. 298.

First, *That they have an absolute Power of Declaring the Law; and that whatsoever they declare to be so, ought not to be questioned either by King or People: So that all the Right, and safety of the Prince and Subject, depends upon their pleasure.*

Secondly, *That no Presidents can be Limits to bound their Proceedings*; which if so, the Government of the *Turk* himself is not so Arbitrary.

Thirdly, *That a Parliament may dispose of any thing wherein the King or Subject hath a Right for the Publick Good*; : (speaking all this while of the remnant of the two Houses.) *That they without the King are this Parliament, and Judge of this Publick Good*; *and that the Kings Consent is not necessary. So that the Life and Liberty of the Subject, and all the Good Laws made for their security may be dispos'd of and Repeal'd by the Major Part of both Houses, at any time, present, and by any ways and means procured so to be, and his Majesty has no Power to Protect them.*

Fourthly, *That a Member of either House ought not to be troubled or medled with, for Treason, Felony, or any other crime, without the Cause first brought before them, that they may Judge of the Fact, and their leave obtained to proceed.*

Fifthly, *That the Sovereign Power resides in Both Houses of Parliament*; *the King has no negative Voice, and becomes Subject to their Commands.*

Lastly, *That the Levying of Forces against the Personal Commands of the King (though accompany'd with his presence) is not Levying War against the King: But to Levy War against his Laws and Authority (which they have power to declare and signify) is Levying War against the King*; *and that Treason cannot be committed against his Person, otherwise then as he is intrusted with the Kingdome, and discharging that Trust*; *and that they have a power to judge whether he dischargeth it or no.* And all this still, for the maintainance of the true *Protestant Religion*, the *Kings JUST Prerogatives*, the *Laws* and *Liberties* of the Land, and the *Priviledges* of *Parliament*, Pag. 281. *Nay they will not allow the King* any great Officer or Publick Minister, the Power of Treating upon War, or Peace, or any matter *of State, conferring Honours*; *no not so much as the Power of appointing any Officer, Civil or Military, without leave of the two Houses.* The Scale of their wickedness, in One Word, (wherein

(wherein their hireling-Pulpitiers fall in as pat with them as two Tallies) was this. *Firſt*, they fell upon the Kings *Reputation*; they invaded his *Authority* in the next place; after That, they aſſaulted his *Perſon*, ſeiz'd his *Revenue*; and in the Concluſion, moſt Impiouſly took away his *Sacred Life*: At which rate, in proportion, they treated the Church, and the reſt of his Friends, and laid the Government in Confuſion.

Baits for all Parties.

For the compaſſing of theſe accurſed ends, they ſtill accommodated themſelves to the matter they had to work upon. They had their *Plots*, and *falſe allarms* for the *ſimple*, their *Tumults* for the *fearfull*, their *Covenants*, *Aſſociations* for *the Factious*, and *in fine*, the *Party*, was a Receptacle for all ſorts of *Libertines*, and *Male-contents*. But the great difficulty was the gaining of the City: which could not be effected, but by embroyling the Legal, and ancient conſtitution of that Government. For there was no good to be done upon the *Imperial Monarchy* of *England*, without Firſt confounding the *Subordinate Monarchy* of the City of *London*, and creating a perfect underſtanding betwixt the *Cabal*, and *Common-Councill*: which was very much facilitated, by caſting out the Loyall, and Orthodox Clergy, and teaching all the Pulpits in *London* to ſpeak the ſame Language with *Margarets Weſtminſter*. But let us conſider the Government of the City of *London*, Firſt, in the due, and Regular Adminiſtration of it; and then in its corruptions, and by what means it came afterwards to be debauch'd.

The Legal Government of the City of *London*.

The City of *London*, was long before the Conqueſt, Govern'd by *Port-Reeves*: and ſo down to *Richard* the *Firſt*,, who granted them ſeverl Priviledges in acknowledgment of the Good Offices they had render'd him. But the *Firſt Charter* thed had for the Choice of their own *Mayor*, or *Governour*, was confer'd upon them by *King John*, in theſe words. *Know ye that we have granted to our Barons* (or *Freemen*) *of our City of* London, *that they may chuſe unto themſelves a* Mayor *or themſelves*. And their following Charter of *Henry* the *Third* runs thus. *We grant alſo unto the ſaid Citizens, that they may yearly preſent to our Barons of the Exchequer* (*we or our Heirs not being at* Weſtminſter) *every Mayor which they ſhall firſt chuſe in the City of* London, *to the end they may be by them admitted as Mayor*. In a following Charter of *Ed.* 2. *That the Mayor and Sheriffs of the City aforeſaid, may be choſen by the Citizens of the ſaid City; according to the Tenour of the Charter of our Progenitors,* (*ſometimes Kings of* England) *to that end made; and not otherwiſe*. The Charter of *Hen.* 8. runs to the

Mayor, Commonalty and Citizens of *London*, *Conjunctim*. The Charter of *Ed.* 3. is thus. *We have granted further for Us and our Heirs, and by this our present Charter confirm'd to the Mayor, and Aldermen of the City aforesaid; that if any customs in the said City hitherto obtained and used, be in any part Difficult or Defective, or any thing in the same newly happening, where before there was no remedy Ordained, and have need of amending, the said* Mayor *and* Aldermen, *and their Successours with the assent of the* Commonalty *of the same City, may add and ordain a remedy, meet, faithfull, and consonant to reason, for the Common profit of the Citizens of the same City, as oft, and at such time as to them shall be thought expedient.*

The Charter of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen.

We have the rather cited these clauses in favour of the Lawfull Government of the City; in regard that they have been so often, and so earnestly perverted another way. The *Charter* we see, is directed to the *Lord Mayor* and *Aldermen* of the City; the Power is granted to them, to propose the making or mending of Laws, as they see occasion; only by the assent, or dissent of the Commons, they are ratifyed or hindred. And those Laws are only Acts of Common-Council, that is to say, not of the Commonalty alone, but of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons, in concurrence. Some there are that mistake the word *Conjunctim*, and would have *Joyntly*, to be *Equally*: as if one could not have a *greater* Interest or Authority, and *another* a *lesse*, though in a *Joynt Commission*. The Power, in short, of summoning, and Dissolving Common-Councils, and of putting any thing to the question, does legally reside only in the Lord Mayor. And the *Active Power* in the *Making* of a Law, and the *Negative* Voice in the *Hindering* of a Law, have been by long Prescription and usage, in the Lord Mayor and Aldermen. And these being *customs of the City*, every *Freeman* is to support and maintain them by the Obligation of his Oath. And in farther proof that the Lord Mayor and Aldermen are by their Charter invested with the Powers aforesaid; We shall need only to inform our selves who they are that in case of any publick Disorder, are made answerable for the Misdemeanour. *Richard* the *Second* granted a Commission *to enquire of all and singular Errours, Defects, and Misprisions in the City of* London, *for want of Good Government in the* Mayor, Sheriffs *and* Aldermen *of the said City.* And for the *Errours*, *Defects*, and *Misprisions*, in their Government found, they were fin'd 3000. *Marks*: the *Liberties*

berties of the *City seiz'd* into the Kings Lands, and a *Warden* appointed to govern the City: till in the end, the Duke of *Glocester* pevail'd upon the King to reinstate them.

We have here given you a short view of the Orderly Government of this glorious City; which is perchance one of the best qualify'd Establishments both for King and People, under the cope of Heaven. We are now coming to lay open by what Arts and Contrivances it came to be corrupted; and in a manner, to lay Violent hands upon it self: Which is a story that may serve some for curiosity, and others for Edification.

In what manner the people were wrought upon.

The People being extreamly discomposed in their minds upon the Apprehension of *Popery* and *Arbitrary Power*; and shaken also in their *Allegianee*, upon a strong Impression that it was a design in their Governours themselves to introduce it. It was no hard matter to inveigle them into *Petitions* for Relief, *Protestations*, *Associations* and *Covenants*, for the Common defence of themselves, in the preservation of their *Liberties* and *Religion*; and into a favourable Entertainment of any plausible pretext even for the Justification of Violence it self: Especially the *Sedition* coming once to be Baptized *Gods cause*, and supported by the Doctrine of *Necessity* and the unsearchable *Instinct* and *Equity of the Law of Nature*: And all this too, Recommended and Inculcated to them by the men of the whole World, upon whose Conduct and Integrity, they would venture their very Souls, Bodies, and Estates. Being thus perswaded, and possess'd; the coming in of the *Scots* serv'd them both for a Confirmation of the ground of their fears, and for an Authority to follow that Pattern in their Proceedings: both Causes being founded upon the same Bottom, and both parties united in the same Conspiracy. So that this opportunity was likewise improved by all sorts of ayry Phantastical Plots, frivolous and childish reports, to cherish the Delusion: And now was the time for *Tumults* and *Out-rages* upon publique Ministers, and Bishops, nay and upon the King himself; till by Arms and Injuries they forc'd him away from his Palace, when yet they had the confidence to charge his Sacred Majesty with making War upon his Parliament. But this would not yet do their business, till they got possession to the *Militia*; which at length they did: the Presses and the Pulpits all this while giving life and credit to their Proceedings.

The Artifice of Petitions.

EIK. B.

Upon the tuning of mens minds for *Invocations*, by making them ſick of the preſent ſtate of things; the People were eaſily prevail'd upon to *Petition* for what they ſo much wiſh'd for and deſir'd: and this was the ſecond ſtep towards the *Tyranny*, and *Slavery* that enſu'd upon it. The *Rude people* (ſays his Late Majeſty) in his Reflections upon (TUMULTS) *are taught firſt to Petition, then to Protect, then to Dictate, and at laſt to Command.* The Faction made uſe of Petitions as common Houſe-breakers do of ſcrews; they got in by little and little, and without much noiſe, and ſo Rifled the Government: Or they did rather like the counterfeit Glaſiers, that took down the Glaſſe at Noonday under colour of mending the Windows, and then Robb'd the Houſe.

To make a right Judgment upon a Popular Petition we ſhould firſt conſider the matter of it. Secondly the wording of it. Thirdly, the manner of Promoting it. Fourthly, the Probable intent of it. And Laſtly, we ſhould do well to conſult Hiſtory and Experience to ſee what effects ſuch Petitions have commonly produced.

As to the *Subject Matter* of Popular Petitions, it is either for publique concernment or private; Generall or particular: That is to ſay concerning the whole Body of the People, or only ſome *part* of it. It is either within the Petitioners *Cognizance*, and *Underſtanding*, or it is not; It varies according to the Circumſtances of *Times*, *Occaſions*, and *Parties*: and it often falls out, eſpecially where it treats of *Reformation*, that the one half of it is a *Petition*, and the other a *Libell*. The Caſe that is purely *Private*, or *Particular*, cannot properly be called *Popular*; and ſo not to our purpoſe. There are likewiſe *Mixt Caſes* of *Publick*, and *Private*; as in [redacted] Calamities of *War*, *Peſtilence*, *Fires*, *Inundations* and the like; where *Numerous Subſcriptions* are matter of *Atteſtation*, rather then *Clamour*; on the behalf of ſuch and ſuch *Known*, and *Particular Sufferers*. Now there is great heed to be given to the Petitions of men both that *Underſtand* what it is they ask, and whom the Law has made *Competent Judges* of it. But where the Queſtion is, the Redreſſe of *Grievances* in matter of *State*, the *Complaining* part of the *Petition* makes it only *more Artificiall Scandall*: Beſides the dangerous boldneſs of Intermeddling in points which they neither have any thing *to do withall*, nor one jot *Underſtand*. Such as the Petition

tition of the *Rabble*, in and about *London*, in 1640. againſt *Epiſcopacy*, *Root* and *Branch*; the *Porters Petition* in 1641. about the *Militia*, being told *that it was only a* Petition *to Prohibit* Watermen *from carrying of Burthens*, That of the *Stanford School-boys*, which their Maſters made them Subſcribe againſt *Biſhops*; Or the *Scottiſh Petition* in 1637. of *Men*, *Women*, *Children*, and *Servants*, (in thoſe very terms) againſt the *Service-Book*. Theſe few inſtances may ſuffice to ſhow the folly (and worſe) of peoples ſtickling for they know not what.

Many Petitions for they know not what.

Next to the *Matter* of the Petition we ſhould conſider the *wording* of it: For *he that asks he knows not what, may ask any thing in the World, for ought he knows*. And it is not the hnmility of the Stile, that can juſtify the publiſhing of a Reproach upon the Prince: Did not *Joab* take *Amaſa by the* Beard *with the Right hand to* kiſs *him*, and yet at the ſame time *ſtrike him under the* Fifth Rib *that he dy'd? It is no Breach of Charity, when a Multitude are drawn into a Petition blindly to ſollicite the Intereſts of Other men, to take all ambiguities and Equivocalls in the worſt ſenſe.*

The manner of Promoting Petitions.

And then the Manner of Promoting theſe Petitions goes a great way. It was a common practice in the Late Times, for the confiding Members of ſeveral Countries to draw up Petitions to themſelves, and Lodge them in the hands of ſeverall of their Factious Country-men here in the City, to gather Subſcriptions, Where, and how they pleas'd, in the *Name* of their *reſpective Countries*. *Their Seditious Preachers* (ſays the Late King) *and Agents are by them, and their ſpeciall and particular Directions ſent into the ſeverall Counties to infuſe Fears and Jealouſies into the minds of our Good Subjects*, with *Petitions ready drawn by* Them, *for the* People *to* Sign, *which were yet many time by them changed three or four times before the delivery; upon accidents, or occurrences of either, or both Houſes. And when many of our poor deceived People of our ſeverall Counties have come to the City of* London, *with a Petition ſo* framed, altered, *and* Signed, *as aforeſaid; that Petition hath been* Suppreſs'd, *and a* New one *ready drawn hath been put into their hands, after their coming to Town (inſomuch as few of the Company have known what they Petition'd for) and hath been by them preſented to One or Both our Houſes of Parliament. as that of* Bedfordſh. *and* Buckinghamſh.; *Witneſſe thoſe Petitions; and amongſt the reſt that of* Harfordſhire; *which took notice of matters agreed on or diſſented from, the night before the delivery. Which was hardly time enough to get ſo many thouſand hands, and to travel to* London

Ex. Coll. 536. Fobb'd Petitions impos'd upon the Nation by the Faction.

London *on that Errand.* Theſe were not the *Petitions* of the *Subſcribers*, but of *thoſe that ſet them on*; who did in effect, but *Petition* the *People* to *Petition them* again; and that which was *taken* and *impoſed* as the ſenſe of the *Nation*, was only the *Project* and *Dictate* of the *Caball.* Only with the *Porters*, they thought they had ſign'd a Petition againſt the *Watermen*, and it prov'd to be againſt the *Government* (ſo innocent were the greater part of the Petitioners.)

The intent of Popular Petitions is to be conſider'd.

Now as to the *Intent* of thoſe Petitions, ſince we cannot enter into the hearts of men, we are allow'd to judge of the *Tree* by the *Fruit.* And we muſt diſtinguiſh too betwixt the *Intention* of the *Dictatours*, and that of the *Subſcribers*: the *Former Contriving* with an *Ill Intention* that which the *Latter Executed* with a *Good One.* Let the *Matter* of the Petition be never ſo fair, yet (as was ſaid before) if it be a buſineſs out of the *Petitioners ſphere*, and *capacity*, either to *meddle in*, or to *underſtand*; it is a *ſuſpitious* way of Proceeding. Such were the *Confederate Petitions* of *England* and *Scotland* for a Parliament in 1641. which were but a *Prologue* to the Opening of the *Subſequent Confederacy* againſt the *Government*: When the Petitions that *follow'd*, ſufficiently expounded the meaning of the *Former.* They *Petition'd* againſt *Eccleſiaſtical Courts*, *Ceremonies*, *Scandalous Miniſters*, *Biſhops Votes* in Parliament, and *Epiſcopacy it ſelf*, againſt *evill Councellors*, *Monopolies*, *Corruptions of State*, Courts of *Oppreſſion* and *Innumerable Grievances*; Were they not gratify'd in all this? and did not thoſe very *Conceſſions* make them ſtill *Bolder* and *Bolder?* More and more *Greedy* ſtill, and more *Inſatiable*? They muſt have the *Militia* too, the Command of the *Kings Towns*, and *Forts*, and put the Kingdom into a poſture of defence themſelves. They cry for *Juſtice upon Delinquents*; the very Rabble *demanding the Names of thoſe in the Houſe of Peers that would not conſent to the Propoſition made by the Houſe of Commons concerning the* Forts, Caſtles, *and the* Militia, (*when it was rejected by a* Major Part *twice.*) *And declaring them for Enemies to the Commen-wealth:* Loyall *and* Legall Petitions *being ſtill* rejected *and the* ſeditious contenanc'd: In a Word; they grew higher and higher, till they brought the King to the Block; which was no more then a Natural Concluſion from ſuch premiſes. And *the Firſt Petition* (how plauſible ſoever) *was the Foundations of all our Ruins.* Theſe Petitions you muſt know, do not ask to *Obtain*, but to be *Deny'd*; and only ſeek an Occaſion

Confederate Petitions are but the Prologue to confederate Practiſes.

Never ſatisfy'd.

Ex. Coll. p. 548.

to

to pick a quarrel; and if they cannot finde it, they'l make it. if this be not provided for, they tell us, *It is the Case of many a Thousand in* England, *and great troubles will come of it*: The very *Stile* of them is *Menacing*; and certainly nothing can be more Evident then their evil *Intention*. There's Malice in the *Publication* of them too; beside that by the *Number* of the *Subscriptions*, they take an Estimate of the *strength* of their *Party*; which is their safest way of *Muster*.

The Effect of Popular Petitions.

The Last Section under the Head of *Popular Petitions* is the *Effect* of them: which in our Case was no less then the destruction of *Three Kingdoms*; and let the *Matter* be what it will, the *Method* is a most necessary Link in the chain of a Rebellion. And it is the secureſt experiment too, of attempting a commotion, being the gentlest of Political Inventions, for feeling the pulse of the People. If it *takes*, the work is half done; and if *Not*, 'tis but so much Breath Lost, and *the Design will keep Cold*. *But may not men Petition* (you will say) *and Petition for a good thing*? Yes, if the thing be *Simply Good*, the *Petitioners*, *Competent Judges* of it, and every man keep himself to *his Own Post*, I see no hurt in't. But for the *Multitude* to interpose in Matters of *State*; as in the *Calling* or *Dissolving* of Parliaments; *Regulation* of *Church Government*; or in other like Cases, of *Doubtfull* and *hazardous Event*, wherein they have no *Skill* at all, nor any *Right* of *Intermedling*; why may not 20000. *Plow-Jobbers* as well *Subscribe* a Petition to the *Lord-Mayor* of *London* for the Calling of a *Common-Council*? Or as many *Porters* and *Carmen* here in *London* put in for the better government of the *Herring-Trade* in *Yarmouth*? every jot as reasonable would *This* be as the *Other*. And that's not all neither, for the *Thing* they take to be a *Cordiall*, proves many times to be a *Poyson*: and after *Subscription* they are yet to learn the very *meaning* of the *Petition*: And then the *Numerous Subscriptions* prove it manifestly to be a *Combination*: For the *Number* of Hands adds nothing to the *Weight* of the *Petition*; and serves only for *Terrour* and *Clamour*. It is a kinde of an odd way of putting the Question: as who should say, *Sir*, *May we be so bold*? and the *sufferance* or *Patience* of the *Prince* seems to answer them, Yes, you *may*: and so they go on.

Upon what Terms they may be allow'd.

Let every man keep to his own post.

The Transition is so natural, from a *Popular Petition* to a *Tu-*

umult,

A Natural Transition from a *Popular Petition* to a Tumult. EIK. BA. upon Tumults.

mult, that the *One* is but the *Hot Fit* of the other; and little more in effect then *a more earnest way of Petitioning*. *By these* (says his Late Majesty) *must the House be purg'd, and all Rotten Members* (*as they please to call them*) *cast out*. *By these the Obstinacy of men resolv'd to discharge their Consciences must be subdu'd*; *by These, all Factions, seditious and schismatical Proposals of Government Ecclesiastical or Civil must be back'd and abetted, till they prevail. God forbid* (says Mr. *Pym*) *that the House of Commons should proceed in any way to dishearten people to obtain their just desires in such a way*. It would fill a Volume to tell the Insolencies of the *Rabble* upon *Lambeth-House* upon the *Persons* of the *Archbishop of York and all the Loyall members of both Houses*; their Outcries for *Justice* upon *Laud* and *Strafford*, under the Conduct of *Ven* and *Manwaring*: Their Exclamations, No Bishops, No Popish Lords; Proclaming several of the Peers by their Names to be *evil* and *rotten-hearted Lords*: Their besetting of *Sheriff Garnets* House, when the King Din'd there, crying out, Priviledges of Parliament; their affronting the *Lord Mayor* (Sir *Richard Gurney*) *and tearing his Chain from about his Neck*, and using Sir *Thomas Gardyner* (the Recorder) little better; following them with Reproaches, Remember the PROTESTATION. Nay the King himself had his Coach stopt, and *Walkers* Seditious Libel *To your Tents O Israel*, thrown into it in the street. This was upon the dispute about the *Five Members*, when at their Return from *Westminster* they made a stand at *White-hall-gate*, bauling out, *that they would have no more Porters Lodge, but speak with the King when they pleas'd*. *About a hundred Lighters and Long-Boats were set out by water, laden with Sacres, Murthering-Pieces, and other Ammunition, dresst up with Mast-cloths and Streamers as ready for fight*; calling out as they past by *White-hall Windows, what's become of the King? whither's he gone*? The Tower of *London* and *Hull* being both besieged at the same time. Now what was the *End* of These *Tumults*, but over and above the Guilt and Calamities of a *Civil War*, a Vengeance in the Conclusion upon the Heads of all the First Abetters of them? These very men that first by *Tumults* forc'd away the *King* from *Whitehall*, and their *Fellow-members* from attending their Duty at *Westminster*, were *Themselves* afterward *cast out*, by *succeeding Tumults*, under the Character of *Persons Disaffected*, (the *Independents* at that time being too hard for the *Presbyterians*) and the City too was *whipt with its own rod*. No man is so blinde (says the Late King) *as*

Ex. *Coll.* 532.

The Insolencies of the Rabble upon the Parliament

Pag. 533.

Upon the City.

And upon the King himself.

Pag. 538.

The first Tumults punished by tumults.

not

not to see herein the Hand of Divine Justice; They that by Tumults, first occasioned the Raising of Armies, must now be chastened by their own Army for new Tumults. In fine, a *Tumult* is a *seditious action* in *Hot Bloud*; and only accounted the less Criminal, for that there is not in it the *Malice Prepense* of a *Rebellion.* If it succeeds, the Principals of the Faction form it into a conspiracy; but if it miscarries, it passes only as That did in *Scotland*, 1637. for an *Outrage* of the *Rabble.*

EIK. BA. Upon the Distraction of the Parliament Army, and City.

Where many People agree in the *Desiring* of the same thing, they seldom fail of *Engaging* afterwards towards the Procuring of it; and so the Project advances, from *Petition* to *Protestation*, or *Covenant*; the *One* Leading so naturally to the *Other*, that the *Late Popular Petition* was no sooner set on foot, but it was immediately followed upon the Heel with the Proposall of an *Association*, pretending the Practice of 57. *Eliz.* for their Warrant. It would be endless to run through all the *Leagues*, *Covenants*, *Bonds*, *Protestations*, *Engagements*, *Oaths*, &c. of the Late times; and as needless to set forth the Histories of the Miseries they brought upon us, after so many Narratives and Discourses already Published, upon that Subject: So that our Business shall be rather to *discover* the *Imposture* of those *Practises*, then to *dilate* upon the *Story.*

Of Oaths, Covenants, and Associations.

All *Popular Leagues*, *without* the Authority of the *Supream Magistrate* are to be lookt upon as *Conspiracies*; but when they come once to bear up in *Defiance* of it, the Case is little better then a State of *Actual* Rebellion. The Pretence of the Late *Engagements* was only to assert and Compass the *Ends* of the foregoing *Petitions*: And it was the Master-piece of the Faction to keep the Vulgar in the dark, by disguising the Drift, and the Scope, both of the One, and the Other. It was by this following train of thoughts that the Multitude in 1641. were Egg'd on into the fouleſt crimes, and the Heavieſt calamities Imaginable. *The Lord bless us* (say they) *we are all running into the* French Government, *and* Popery: *the* Courtiers *and* Prelates *will be the Undoing of us all; the king is a good man enough of himself, if he had but Good people about him; but he's so damnably led away by Popish Councells; I would to God he would but call a Parliament and hearken to their advice. But why should we not press him to't; and ferret out all these Caterpillers from about him? 'Tis true*, the *King* can do no wrong, *but his* Ministers *may*: *and yet the* King *is bound by*

The Leagues of Subjects among themselves are Conspiracies.

The celusions of 1641.

the Law, *as well as* We. *Had not we better get hands to a Petition, and joyn to ſtand by one another as One Man, for the preſervation of our* Liberties, *and* Religion, *then ſtand gaping with our fingers* in our Mouths till all is loſt? Little did theſe people Imagine all this while that Death was in the Pot, and that inſtead of the way to Peace and happineſs they were then in the High-road to Deſtruction. And This they might eaſily enough have diſcover'd if they had but diligently conſider'd the *Opinions* and *Profeſſions* of the Heads of theſe *Covenanters* and *Subſcribers*; among which, there was not one man of a hundred that was not a *known* and *a vow'd* Enemy both to *Church* and *State*. But they plung'd themſelves like *Curtius*, into the Gulph, as Devotes for the miſtaken preſervation of their Countrey. But the deluſion will better appear, by applying only *Common Reaſon* to the *Impoſture* it ſelf: And firſt, let us conſider their *Proteſtation* of May, 1641.

The Proteſtation. *I* A. B. *do in the preſence of Almighty God, promiſe, vow, and proteſt to maintain and defend, as far as lawfully I may, with my Life, Power, and Eſtate, the True Reformed* Proteſtant Religion, *expreſt in the Doctrine of the Church of* England, *againſt all Popery and Popiſh Innovations within this Realm, contrary to the ſame Doctrine, and according to the Duty of my* Allegiance *to his* Majeſties Royall Perſon, Honour, and Eſtate; *as alſo the* Power, *and* Priviledges *of* Parliament, *the* lawfull Rights *and* Liberties *of the* Subjects, &c. Now as the whole Pretext was plauſible, ſo the ſaving clauſe in it [*as far as lawfully I may*] made it go down without much ſcruple.

The Juggle of the Covenant. The *Solemn League* and *Covenant* of 1643. (which was the *Bond* of the *confederacy* of the Two Nations) had the ſame *ſalvo* in it too, and the very ſame ſpecious pretences for the *Proteſtant Religion*, the *Honour* of the King, the Priviledges of *Parliament*, and the *Liberty* of the Subject: only enlarged to the ſetting up of the *Scottiſh Diſcipline* and *Government*, the *Extirpation* of *Prelacy* and *Popery*; and the bringing of *Delinquents to puniſhment*: So that from the *maintaining* of the *Government*, they are now come to the *Diſſolving* of it; and from the *Defence* of their *own Rights* and *Liberties*, they are advanced to the *Invading* of *other peoples*. We might reflect upon a world of *Solœciſms*, *Illegalities*, *Contradictions* and *Defects*, both in the *Givers* and *Takers* of this *Proteſtation* and *Covenant*: As the *Nullity* of any *Engagement* entered into, *Contrary* to *Law*; the *altering* of the *Government*,

ment, without the consent of his *Majesty* in *Parliament*; The perjurious *Fraud* of *Swearing* in *One sence*, in opposition to the *Known Intent* of the *Imposer* in *another*; beside the *Inconsistence* of *these Vows* with Themselves, and the *Contractions* they bear to *One another*. Wherefore we shall rather detect the *Cheat* in the Thing it self, and the wonderfull *Rashness* of the *Undertakers*, then play the *Casuist* upon the Question.

Take the *Protestation* as it runs with that Qualifying Clause in it [*as far as lawfully I may*] and there is hardly any thing more in it then what a man is oblig'd to do without it: So that without some Mystery in the bottom, the thing appears in it self to be wholly idle and impertinent, and not answerable to the solemnity of making it a National Duty. And then the *Imposition* was in it self an *Usurpation* of *Soveraign Power*. The *Covenant* (I must confess) was Ranker, having an Auxiliary Army of about 20000 *Scots* to second it. But was ever any thing in appearance more *harmless*, *Loyall* or *Consciencious*, then this *Protestation?* and if the fellow of it were now in agitation, how would the Town Ring, of any *Church of England-Man* for a disguised Papist, that should refuse to take it? And yet what ensu'd upon the peoples joyning in this officious piece of *miss-guided Zeal* and *Duty?* when they were once In, there was no longer any regard had to *Grammar* or *Literal Construction* of it, but to the *List* of those that took it, as the Discriminating *Test* of the Party; They that contriv'd it, did likewise expound it: and every man was bound implicitly to believe that only to be *Lawfull*, which they told him *was* so, without being allowed the liberty of Judging of his own Actions. He that looks into the Records of that Revolution, will finde the *Contributions*, *Subscriptions*, *Loans*, *Levies*, and briefly the highest violences of the *war*, the boldest attempts upon the *Honour* and *Person* of the *King*, the *Priviledges* of *Parliament*, and the *Property* of the *Subject*, to be charg'd at the foot of the account, upon the Tye of the *Solemn League* and *Protestation*, and every man bound, upon the forfeiture of his Life, Liberty, and Estate, to observe it, in their sence. Over and above the *Iniquity* of these Oaths, how Ridiculous is it for every Paltery Fellow to swear to the doing of he knows not what, and the *maintaining* of the *Priviledges* of *Parliament*, *which no man living understands?* We shall conclude this Point, with the words of the Late King [*Confederations by way of* Solemn Leagues *and* Covenants, *are the Common Road us'd in all* EIK. BA.

The Protestation an Oath of Policy not Conscience.

Factious and powerful Perturbations of State *or* Church.] And our *Covenanters* did but write after the Copy of the *Holy League of France*.

Impostures upon the People.

The people being now prepar'd for any mutinous Impressions, poyson'd in their affections to the Government, besotted into the apprehension of Remote and Invisible dangers, and United in the Resolution of Defending their Rights against all Opposers; the Designe would have been there at a stand, for want of matter to work upon, if the Caball had not fed and entertain'd their *fears* and *Jealousies*, with stories of *Plots* and Discoveries nearer hand, where still the *Parliament* and the *City* were in the greatest hazzard. One while the *Northern Army* was coming up, and strong *Guards* appointed upon all Passes within 20. miles of *London*, and then comes a Letter to the *Close Committees*, of a *Conspiracy* to seize the Earl of *Argile*, and some other Lords in *Edenburgh*: and upon This, an Order is presently issu'd out to the Justices of *Middlesex*, *Surry*, and *Southwark*, to secure the *City* by *strong Watches*; *because* (says the Order) *the mischievous Designs and Conspiracies lately discover'd in* Scotland *against some Principal and Great men there, by some of the Popish Faction, gives just occasion to suspect that they may maintain Correspondency Here, and practice the like mischief.* They had a Touch now and then at the mighty preparations of *France* and *Denmark*, for the invading of the Nation, and assisting the King to govern by an *Arbitrary Power*. And then the Army *under ground at Ragland Castle* was a terrible thing, and miraculously discovered by an *Inn-keepers Servant* at *Rosse*, to *Alderman Actons Coachman*. These whimsies were but so many approaches toward the *Militia*; and they are so extravagant, that the man that was upon the place, and can witness the effect of them, has hardly the face yet to make the Report.

A false Alarm.

Upon *Twelfth Night* 1641. the City was allarm'd at Mid-night with a Report of 1500. *Horse*, that design'd to surprize the City. Whereupon a matter of 50000. men were presently in Arms, and the Women at work in the streets, with *Joynt-stools*, *Empty Casks*, and other Lumber, to interrupt their passage.

The goodwomen could not sleep for fear of the Tower guns.

Upon the Kings making Sir *Tho. Lunsford Lieutenant* of the *Tower*, the good women of the City could not sleep for fear of the Guns. But yet without any Objection, his Majesty presently puts in Sir *John Byron*. They could make no exception against him, till at last (as my Authour has it) *Lieutenant Hooker*,

er, the *Aqua-Vitæ-man*, and *Nicholſon* the *Chandler*, enform the Common-Council, that ſince he came to be Lieutenant, there was nothing to do at the *Mint*, though it was made appear that the *Mint* had more buſineſs ſince the Gentlemen was *Lieutenant*, then ever it had in ſo ſhort a time *before*: But their Trade being in the Retail of *Brooms*, *Candles*, and *Muſtard*, their Ignorance in the other point might be the better excus'd.

A Tumult for fear of a Peace.

In *Aug.* 1643. upon a Vote for ſending *Propoſitions of Peace* to the *King*, the very next day there were *Papers ſcatter'd, and poſted up and down the City; requiring all perſons well-affected to riſe as One man, and come to the Houſe of Commons next Morning, for that* 20000 Iriſh Rebells *were landed.* And this was the News of the Pulpits next day; when, (though *Sunday*) a *Common-Council* was call'd late at Night, and a *Petition* there fram'd againſt *Peace.* This Petition was next morning recommended to the *Commons* by *Pennington*, then Mayor, with a Rabble at his heels, declaring that *the Lords* Propoſitions *for* Peace *would be deſtructive to* Religion, Laws, *and* Liberties, *and that if they had not a good anſwer they would be there again the next day, with double the Number.*

Nr. *Pyms* Plague plaiſter.

We muſt not forget the deſign upon the Life of Mr. *Pim* by a *Plague Plaiſter*, that was wrapt up in a Letter and ſent him, which Letter he put in his Pocket for Evidence, though he threw away the Plaiſter. And there was another diſcovery that came as wonderfully to light: a Taylor in a Ditch in *Finsbury-Fields* over-heard two men talking of a Plot upon the Life of my Lord *Say*, and ſome other Eminent Members of both Houſes; and ſo the deſign never took effect.

A Taylor diſcovers a Plot againg my Lord *Say.*

The people Impos'd upon by ridiculous Stories and Impoſtures.

At this rate were the people gull'd from day to day, with freſh and palpable *Impoſtures*; never was any Nation certainly under ſuch an *Obſeſſion* of *Credulity*, and *Blindneſs*; but as the Cauſe was *founded* in *Hypocriſy*, ſo it was by *Forgery* to be *ſupported.* And yet theſe *Legendary Tales* ſtood the Faction in very good ſtead; by authorizing the People now and then to betake themſelves to their *Arms*, and to put themſelves upon their *Guard*; which did, by degrees, let them into the Command of the *City Militia*; out of which *Egg* (as one ſays) came forth the *Cockatrice* of *Rebellion.* Thus was poor *England* frighted out of a *Dream* of *Dangers* into cutting of *Throats* in *Earneſt*: Out of a fear of *Popery*, into a proſtitution even of *Chriſtianity*; and out of an apprehenſion of *Tyranny* into a moſt deſpicable ſtate of

Slavery.

No foresight wanting in the Faction.

Slavery. The Change of Government now in agitation, had been long in Project, and no foresight wanting for the furtherance of the design. None so diligent at the *Military Yard*, or *Artilery-Garden*, as the zelots of the *Faction*; and upon the Vacancy of any considerable Employment there, who but they to put in for the Command? Nor were they less industrious to screw themselves into the Bench of *Aldermen* and *Common-Council*, insomuch that a Motion was made there (with an Eye to two *beggerly*, and *Fanatical Captains*,) that *Honest men*, (for that's their Name when they are their own Godfathers) *might bear the* Magistracy, *and the* City *the* expence. But what did all this amount to, without a *Fond* of *Men*, *Mony*, *Arms*, and *Ammunition*, to carry on the Work? So that their business was now to make sure of the CITY, as the only means of their supply: But *that*, they found could never be brought about, without a *Lord Mayor* for their Turns; Or else reducing the *Mayor* and *Aldermen* to a *Level* with the *Commons*: and establishing a firm correspondence betwixt *Westminster*, and *Guild-Hall*, the *One* to *Contrive*, and the *Other* to *Execute*. So that this was the thing they pitch'd upon, and the manner of their proceeding was as follows.

The Faction could do nothing without the City.

The Practices of the Faction upon the Common-Council.

Having *Pharisaically*, and *Invidiously* divided the people into *Two Parties*; *Themselves* forsooth, the *Godly Party*, and the *Friends* of the *Government*, the *Papists*: a little before St. *Thomas*'s day 1641. (when the City chuses their *Common-Council*) they calumniated the *Old Common-Council-men*, as men too much inclining to the *Court*; sticklers for *Episcopacy*, and the *Common-Prayer*; and not at all zealous for *Religion*, (just as we cry out against *Papists*, and *Pensioners* now adays;) by this practice, they worm'd out *Honest men*, and chose *Schismaticks* into their places: and instead of Sir *George Benyon*, Mr. *Drake*, Mr. *Clark*, Mr. *Gardiner*,; *Deputy Withers*, Mr. *Cartwright*, and other Loyall, and *considerable Citizens*; they took in *Foulk* the *Traytor*, *Perkins*, (my *Lord* Say's *Taylor*,) and Others of the same stamp and Value.

The Common Council impos'd upon by the Faction beyond president.

Now though the *Election* be on St. *Thomas* day, they are never *Return'd* yet before the *Munday* after *Twelfth*; nor allow'd to Act as *Common-Council-men* till the *Indentures* of their *Election* be *Returned* from the *Wardmoot Inquest* to the *Town-Clark*; and a *Warrant* Issu'd from the *Lord Mayor* to *the Serjeant of the Chamber* to Summon them. But the Faction however made bold to dis-

pence

pence with these *Puntillo's*, (though the constant *Rule* and *Custome* of the *City*) and a *Common-Council* being held *December* 31. 1641. by the *Kings Expres's Order*, all that Gang of the *New Choice*, thrust themselves in, and took their places with the *Old*. This Intrusion was opposed by several, but out of respect to a *Message* from his *Majesty* which was then brought them by the Lord *Newbourgh*, complaining of *Tumults* about *White-hall*, and *Westminster*, and recommending to the care of the City, the preventing of any further disorders: the question was let fall from the present; and the Court apply'd themselves to dispatch an answer to his Majesty; which was in effect, an *acknowledgment* of his *gracious Goodnesse* expres't to the *City*; the *Courts* disavowing of the *Tumults*; their promise of doing the best for the future *to prevent*, or *suppress* them, and their humble desire that whosoever should be found guilty of them, might be brought to condign punishment.

On the *Last* of *December*, the House of Commons under pretence of finding themselves in danger, sent to the King for a *Guard*, but it must be a *Guard out of the City of* London, *and to be commanded by the Earl of* Essex. To which Message, his Majesty offer'd them, *Jan.* 3. a *Guard* of his own appointment for their security: But this Trick would not pass upon the King: so that they were forc'd to do their business another way. Ex. *Coll.* 44. Ex. *Col.* 45.

Upon the *Fifth* of *Jan. another Common-Council* was call'd by the *Kings Order*, when his Majesty was pleased, in person to acquaint the Court with the Reasons of his demanding the *five Members* the day before: admonishing them to harbour or protect those men in the City. *Fowke* and his new Brethren (contrary to all Right or Prefident) were got in again, and there he most audaciously affronted his Majesty with a Discourse of *Fears* and *Jealousies*, *Priviledges of Parliament*, &c. the King only replying in effect, that they were dangerous *men*, and that they should have a *Legal Tryal*. The King goes to the Common-Council.

On the same day (being *Wednesday*) the House adjourned till the *Tuesday* following, and Order'd a Committee to set next morning at *Guild-hall*; taking upon themselves little less then Soveraign Power. The Committee met at *Grocers Hall*, where the *Five Members* met, under the Guard of the City-Train'd-Bands, where they past such Votes of Priviledge as never any Age heard of before, extending it even to the *Excepting* and justifying of *Treason* it *self*. The Commons adjourn and remove into the City.

On

The Committees Vote at *Grocers-Hall.*

On *Saturday, Jan.* 8. upon a Debate for the safe meeting of the *Five Members* at *Westminster* the Tuesday following; the Result was, *That the* Sheriffs of London *should and might raise a Guard of the Train'd-Bands, for the Defence of the* King *and* Parliament; *and that they might warrantably march out of their Liberties.* A Rout of Sea-men offering their service by water, as the Other by Land. This Subject set all the Puritan Pulpits on work to inflame the people against their *Soveraign* in favour of the *Five Members.*

The King withdraws from *London.*

Upon the fatall 10*th.* of *January*, the King was forc'd to withdraw from *London*, which was then left at the Mercy of the Faction, and that every day, the Indentures of the *Election* were Return'd: Upon all Questions about These *Elections*, the Decision was formerly in the *Lord Mayor* and Court of Aldermen; but by the Violence and Importunity of these New Intruders, it is left to a *Committee* of the *Common-Council*, (being the Committee also for *the safety of the City* (so call'd): This *Committee* was their first approach toward the *Militia*; aud then follow'd another, for putting the City into a *Posture* of *Defence*; consisting of *Six Aldermen* and *Twelve Commons*, most of them of the New Cutt: and 300*l. per annum* allow'd to *Skippon*, as an assistant to the Committee.

They settle the Militia.

Having already modell'd the Common-Council to their liking they furnish themselves with all sorts of *Military Provisions*; augment the Train'd-Bands, from 6000. to 8000. the *Six Aldermen* are made Colonels, and the *Committee* for the *Posture of Defence*, are to choose their Officers; and authority of *Summoning Common-Councils* is taken away from the *Lord Mayor*, and lodg'd in the people of the Faction; and whensoever they'l have One call'd, the *Lord Mayor* must obey, without so much as asking a Reason for't.

And strip the Mayor of his priviledges.

They took away his Power also of *Dissolving* them, and kept him to his seat, till they thought fit to discharge him.

And again, whereas all Proposals were formerly offer'd to the Court, and all *Questions* put by the *Recorder* from the *Lord Mayor*; when the Faction had anything to propound, wherein the *Lord Mayor* would neither Command the *Recorder*, nor the *Recorder* act without the *Lord Mayor*, *Ven*, *Pennington* and *Vassel* help'd them out at a dead lift, with an Order from the House of Commons.

And finally, they brought the Orderly Constitution of the City

ty-Government to a *Levell*, confounding *Mayor*, *Aldermen* and *Commons* in the Blending of their Votes.

The *Schismatiques* have now got the *Riches* and the Strength of the City in a manner at their own Disposal, For if the *major* part of the *Common-Council* may *Call*, *Continue* and *Dissolve* the Court at pleasure, put what *Questions* they list, and Determine all things by a *Plurality of Votes*, there needed little more then a Pack't *Common-Council* to do their business. The Faction Masters of the City.

Let us consider now the Harmony betwixt the *Two Junto's* of *Westminster*, and the *City*. The *Commons Jan.* 26. *Petition'd* his Majesty about the *Tower*, *Forts*, and the *Militia:* to which his Majesty returns them a Refusal, *Jan.* 18. in the most obliging Terms imaginable, telling them, *that he did not doubt, that his having granted more then ever* King *had* granted, *would ever perswade his House of Commons to* ask *more then ever* Subjects *had* ask'd. The Commons Petition about the Militia. Ex. Col. 16.

About the beginning of *Feb.* there was held a Common-Council; which sat till One in the Morning. When the Court was quite weary, and tir'd out, *Ven* took that Opportunity of presenting an Order of the Commons, desiring a return of the Names of those Persons whom the City intrusted with the *Militia* of *London*. The Court was a little surpriz'd at it; but yet being desirous to be gone, and considering whatsoever past at One Council was in course to be debated at another, sent the Names of the *Committee* for the *Posture of Defence*, in return to the Houses Order. By this fetch, the *Lord Mayor*, *Sheriffs*, and *Court of Aldermen*, were understood to have voluntarily relinquished their Own Interest, and lodg'd the Power of the *Militia* in the *Committee* for the *Posture of Defence*, whereof the *Major Part* was wholly at the Devotion of *Ven*, and his complices. At the next *Common-Council*, upon reading the Orders of the last meeting, some of the *Aldermen Protested* against them; as having no thought, of either shutting out the *Mayor*, or making the *Committee* so *absolute* as they found the two Houses had done. Whereupon it was mov'd that the Houses might be *Petition'd* to reverse the *Order*. But that being carryed in the *Negative*, *Ven* produces another Order for the adding of *Skippon* to the *Committee* for the *Militia*, which was carry'd without much Difficulty. A Trick put upon the Lord Mayor & Aldermen.

The Government of the City affronted.

The Court of *Aldermen* reflecting upon the Indignities cast upon the *Mayor* and *Government* of the *City*, Petition'd the House apart from the Commons, that the Mayor and Sheriffs might be nominated *of the Committee*, but to no purpose; For they knew Sir *Richard Gourny* was a person of too much Honour and Loyalty, to comply with their Designes. After this Repulse, several of the most Eminent Citizens, both for Worth and Estates, Petition'd the *Two Houses* in *their own Names* for the Removal of That Scandal, but there was no relief to be had; and they were barbarously treated for their pains over and above. Sir *George Benyon* (to his Honour) as the framer and chief Promoter of that most reasonable Petition, was fin'd 3000*l*. *Disfranchiz'd in the City, never to bear Office in the Kingdom, to be Committed for two year to* Colchester Goal, *and at the end of the Term to give security for his good Behaviour. Methinks the bare Recital of This Inhuman Insolence should turn the Blood of every honest Citizen.*

The Tyranny of this Committee.

This *Committee* was now become the Masters of the Mititia: they remov'd Sir *Richard Gourny*, and put *Pennington* into his place; they make *Ordinances* to pass for Laws, and *Rebellion*, to be a point of *Conscience*, they persecute the *Orthodox Clergy*, *Oppress* their *Fellow Citizens*, and the whole *Nation*; and where they have not *Credit* to *borrow*, they make use of their *Power* to *Take away*, living upon the Spoil, without any regard to the Laws either of God or Man. And to shew the world that as the Faction had *subverted* the *Government* of the *City*, so they intended to perpetuate the slavery: See as follows.

Vice-

Vicesimo Octavo, *Februarii* 1648.

An Act of the Commons of England *in Parliament Assembled, For Removing Obstructions in the Proceedings of the* Common-Conncil *of the* City *of* London.

THe *Commons of* England, *in Parliament assembled, do Enact, and Ordain, and be it Enacted and Ordained by the Authority aforesaid, that in all times to come, the* Lord Mayor *of the said City of* London, *so often and at such time as any* 10. *or* more *of the* Common-Council-men *do by Writing under their hands, request or desire him thereunto, shall Summon, assemble, and hold a* Common Council, *and if at any time being so required or desired he shall fail therein, then the* ten persons, *or* more *making such request or desire, shall have Power, and are hereby Authorized by Writing under their hand, to Summon or cause to be Summoned, to the said Council, the Members belonging thereunto, in as ample manner as the* Lord Mayor *himself usually hath done, and that the Members appearing upon the same Summons, being of the Number of* 40. *or* more, *shall become a* Common Council, *And that each Officer whose duty it shall be to warn in, and Summon the Members of the said Councill, shall perform the same from time to time upon the Warrant or Command of* ten Persons *or* more *so authorized as aforesaid: And it is further Enacted and Ordained, by the authority aforesaid, that in every* Common Council *hereafter to be assembled, the* Lord Mayor *of the said City for the time being, or in his absence, such* Locum tenens *as he shall appoint, and in default thereof, the* Eldest Alderman *present if any be, and for want of such* Alderman *or in case of his neglect, or refusal therein, then any other* person *Member of the said Council whom the Commons present in the said Council shall chuse, shall be from time to time* President *or* Chairman *of the said Council; and shall cause and suffer all things offered to or proposed in*

the said Council to be fairly and orderly debated, Put to the Question, Voted, and determined, in and by the some Council, as the Major part *of the Members present in the said Council shall desire or think fit; and in every Vote which shall pass, and in the other Praceedings of the said Council, neither the* Lord Mayor *nor* Aldermen, joynt, *or* Seperate, *shall have any* negative *or* distinct Voice, *or* Vote, *otherwise then with, and among, and as part of the rest of the Members of the said* Council, *and in the same manner as the other Members have; and that the absence and withdrawing of the* Lord Mayor, *or* Aldermen *from the said* Council, *shall not stop or prejudice the proceeding of the said* Council, *And that every* Common-Council *which shall be held in the* City *of* London, *shall sit and continue so long as the* Major part *of the Council shall think fit, and shall not be* dissolved, *or* adjourned *but by and according to the* Order *or Consent of the* Major part *of the same Council: And that all the* Votes *and* Acts *of the said* Common Council *which was held* 13 January *last, after the departure of the* Lord Mayor *from the same* Council, *and also all Votes and Acts of every* Common Council *hereafter to be held, shall be from time to time duely Registred as the Votes and Acts of the said Council have used to be done, in time past. And be it further Enacted and Ordained by the Authority aforesaid, that every Officer which shall sit in the said* Council, *shall be from time to time chosen by the said* Council, *and shall have such reasonable allowance or Salary, for his pains and service therein, as the* Council *shall think fit: And that every such Officer shall attend the said* Common Council, *and that all* Acts *and* Records *and* Register Books *belonging to the said* City, *shall be extant, to be perused and searched into by every* Citizen *of the said City, in the presence of the* Officer *who shall have the* Charge *of keeping thereof, who is hereby required to attend for the same purpose.*

Hen. Scobel Cler. Parliament.

Take

Take notice that the *Vote* of *Common Council* in the Act above-recited of *Jan.* 13. 1648. when the *Lord Mayor* went off, and diſmiſſed the *Court*, was a *Treaſonous Vote, for the ſpeedy bringing of the King to Juſtice.*

You have here the State of the *New-Model'd Government* of the City (and effectually of the whole *Nation*) together with the Methods of *Hypocriſy* and State that brought us into that miſerable Condition. And what were they but *Canting Sermons, Popular Petitions, Tumults, Aſſociations, Impoſtures*, and *Diſaffected Common-Councils?* We have likewiſe ſet forth how theſe Advantages were gain'd with their Natural Tendency to the Miſchiefs they produc'd. And who were they that promoted and brought all theſe Calamities upon us, but men of *deſperate Fortunes* and *Principles, Male-contents, broken Tradeſmen, Coblers, Thimble-makers, Dray-men, Oſtlers*, and a world of this ſort of People, whoſe Names are every where up and down in the Hiſtory of our late Confuſions; Men of *Ambition* and *Intereſt*, and agreeing in nothing elſe but an United Diſaffection both to *Church* and *State*. *The contrivers of all theſe miſchiefs* (ſays his *Late Majeſty*) *know what overtures have bren made by them; and with what Importunity for Offices and Preferments; what great Services ſhould have been done for us; and what other Undertakings were* (*even to have ſav'd the Life of the Earl of* Strafford) *if we would confer ſuch Offices upon them.* And *Henry Martin* very Honeſtly blurted it out, *A pox ô your ſnivling for Religion* (ſays he) *we fight for Liberty*: And all their bawling to put other people out of Employment was only to get themſelves In. Thus they went on till the Government was made a Prey to the Faction; and the deluded Multitude too late made ſenſible of their Errours.

How we were deſtroyed, and By whom.

Ex. Col. 534.

Methinks the People of *England*, after all this Experience, ſhould be both *Wiſer* and *Honeſter*, then by treading the ſame ſteps over again, to re-engage themſelves in the ſame *Miſeries* and *Crimes*: Or if both *Conſcience* and *Common Prudence* ſhould have quite forſaken us, the very *ſhame*, methinks of being fooled over again the ſame way, ſhould move us to bethink our ſelves. Or if that very *ſhame* were loſt too, it was ſo *Baſe*, ſo *Scandalous* a *Servitude*; we were *Slaves* to the Meaneſt of the *Rabble*: And our *Maſters* were a greater Infamy to us then our Fetters; the very *Ignominy* cannot but work an *Indignation* in any thing that wears the Soul of an *Engliſhman*.

We muſt be made to engage in New Troubles.

This

The Factions Ingratitude.

This Paper and occasion will not bear the tracing of their *Ingratitudes* and *Tyrannies* at length; but in short, how barbarously did they treat even their Idoliz'd *House* of *Commons*; their *Assembly*; nay their *Covenanting Brethren* the *Scots*; when they follow'd them from *Newark* even to their Borders with a body of Horse at their Heels? their *Generall*, and the *Army* that set them up: in a most Eminent manner the City of *London*, though (as the Faction order'd it) the very Nurse and Supportresse of the Rebellion.

The Method of our Late Troubles fresh in our Memories.

His *Sacred Majesty* can never forget by what means his Blessed *Father* was *Murther'd*; nor the *Bishops* forget the abuse and Profanation of the *Pulpits* even to the Extirpating of the Holy *Order*; the *Nobility* and *Gentry* can never forget the Illusions that were put upon them under the Appearance of *Religion* and *Duty*, by men that were void of both; neither certainly can the *Common people* forget how they were conjur'd into a Circle by *Sermons*, *Petitions*, and *Covenants*; when there was no getting out again.

Ungratefull to the City.

We'l see a little of their *Ingratitude* now to the City of *London*; and whether they far'd any better then other people. First they stript them of the *Militia*, then of their *Charter* and *Priviledges*, they turn'd their Government *Topsy Turvy*: *Tax'd*, *Disarm'd*, *Imprison'd*, and *Plunder'd* at pleasure; took down their *Chains*, and *Posts*, *Quarter'd Souldiers* upon them, *Garrison'd* the *Tower*, and several other places of the City; the Army Marching in Triumph through it, for the aggravation of their Slavery; they degraded the *Lord Mayor Reynoldson*, *Fin'd* him 2000*l.* and Committed him to the *Tower*, *April* 21. 48. for refusing to publish the *Proclamation* for *Abolishing* the *Kingly Office*: they Threatned to *set fire to the City*, and lay it in the *Dust*, telling the *Mayor* and *Aldermen*, in a Letter about the beginning of *Aug.* 1647. *that they were unable to defend either the Parliament or themselves*; *and demanding to have the City deliver'd into their hands*, *which was submitted to*, *upon Conditions*, *of relinquishing the* Militia, *and* 11. Members, *delivering up the* Forts *and* Tower *of* London, *and all* Magazins, *and* Arms *therein*, *to the Army*, disbanding *their Forces*, *turning out all* Reformades, *and drawing off their* Guards *from the* Parliament. In *Walkers Hist.* of *Independency*, these Particulars are to be seen at large.

The Plot driven on principally by Petitions.

It is remarkable, that what other means soever were occasionally made use of, the Plot was still driven on, from First to Last,

Laſt, mainly by PETITIONS, but none were admitted on the Other ſide: For ſo ſoon as ever any *Petition* appear'd that croſt the Factions Intereſt; (as in ſeveral Caſes from the *Agitators* of the *City* of *London*) there was preſently *a ſtrict enquiry after the Authours and Abettors of them, and the Deſign immediately cruſht.* They ſhould have taken in the SUBSCRIBERS too, and Iſſu'd out a *Commiſſion of Enquiry*, wherein all the *Marks*, and *Subſcriptions*, produced in the *Names* of *ſo many thouſands Petitioners*, were really the *Acts*, and *Atteſtations* of the *Perſons ſo Named*, and what Arts and Menaces were made uſe of for their procurement. No unneceſſary caution, even in our preſent Caſe, to diſtinguiſh the *Sober*, and *well-meaning Subſcribers*, from the *Fierce* and *Bloody Fifth-Monarchy men*, and other Sects that hold affinity with them; It being notoriouſly known, that a Mark is ſet upon the Refuſers by thoſe Factions, who are the violent ſticklers in this proceeding, which carries the face rather of an *Intended Maſſacre*, then a *Petition*. This will ſeem no uncharitable Conſtruction, when I ſhall tell you what a Noble Lord ſaid in the Houſe of *Peers*, *Dec.* 16. 42. *They cheerfully undertook* (ſays he) *to ſerve againſt that Army wherein they knew their Own Fathers were; and on my Conſcience* (ſays he) *I ſpeak it to their Honour, had they met them alone, they would have ſacrific'd them to the Commands of both Houſes.* And now you ſhall ſee their *Piety* expounded in another part of the ſame Speech. *They* (ſays he) *who think that Human Laws can binde the Conſcience, and will examine the Oaths they have taken, according to the Interpretations of* Men, *will in time fall from us: but ſuch who* Religiouſly *conſider that ſuch* Moral Precepts *are fitter for* Heathens, *then for* Chriſtians; *will not faint in their Duty.*

A way to diſcover Counterfeits.

Duriful Children.

A Diſpenſation for perjury.

To bring this Pamphlet to a Concluſion, we ſhall only ſay this further in juſtification of it, that is was written with a very *Honeſt Intention*; that the matter of *Fact* is partly upon *Certain Knowledge*, and partly upon the credit of very *Warrantable Papers*. The principal Scope of it was, to lay open the *Miſtery* and *Method* of the *Late Rebellion*; and ſo to expoſe it, that the *ſame Project*, and *Model* may not be made uſe of for *Another*.

The End.

CITT
AND
BUMPKIN,
IN A
DIALOGUE
Over a *POT* of *ALE*,
Concerning Matters of
RELIGION
AND
GOVERNMENT.

The First Part.

The Fifth Edition.

By *R. L.*

LONDON,
Printed for *Joanna Brome*, at the *Gun*, at the West End of S. *Paul's*. 1681.

CITT and *BUMPKIN*,

In a DIALOGUE, *&c.*

Citt. SO that you would know, *First*, how we *manag'd* the *Petition*; and *Secondly*, how it came to *miscarry*.

Bum. *Those are the two Points*, Citt; *but first take off your* Pot, *and then tell your* Story: *you shall have mine afterwards.*

Citt. There was no way, you must know, to carry the business clear, without getting a *Vote* of *Common-Council* for the *Petition*; and so making it an Act of the *City*: And in order to this End, we planted our *Committees* every where up and down, from *Algate* to *Temple-Bar*, at convenient distances; some few of them in *Taverns*, but most at *Coffee-houses*; as less liable to suspition. Now we did not call these *Meeting-Committees*, but *Clubs*; and there we had all Freedom both for *Privacy* and *Debate*: while the *Borough* of *Southwark*, *Westminster* and the *Suburbs*, proceeded according to our Method.

Committees to promote the Petitions. Their Powers and Instructions.

Bum. *And what are these* Committees *now to do?*

Citt. Their *Commission* was to procure *Subscriptions* to justifie the Right of *Petitioning*, and to gain *Intelligence*: And then every *Committee* had one man at least in it that wrote *Short hand.*

Bum. *Well, and what was he to do?*

Citt. It was his part to go smoaking up and down from one Company to another, to see who was *for* us, and who *against* us; and to take Notes of what People said of the *Plot*, or of the *King's Witnesses*, or against this way of *Petitioning.*

Bum. *But how came those Committees (as ye call 'um) by their* Commissions?

Citt. For that, let me tell you, we had *two Grand Committees*, that adjourn'd from place to place, as they saw occasion: But they met most commonly at *Two Coffee-houses*; the *One* near *Guild-hall*, the other in the *Strand*; for you must take notice that we went on, hand in hand with our *Neighbours* in the *Main Design.*

Two Grand Commiittees.

Bum. *But you do not tell me yet who set up the* Other Committees.

The Office of the Grand Committees.

Citt. These two *Grand Committees*, I tell you, nominated and appointed the *Sub-Committees*, gave them their *Orders*, and received their *Reports*: It was their Office more-over to digest *Discoveries* and *Informations*; to instruct *Articles*, improve *Accusations*, manage *Controversies*, defray the charge of *Intelligencers*, and *Gatherers of hands*, to dispose of *Collections*, to influence the *Anglicus's* and *Domesticks*, and fortifie those that were weak in the Faith; to furnish matter sometimes for *Narratives*.———

Bum. *What dost thou mean by* Narratives, Citt?

Citt. They are only *strange Stories*; as that of the *Dragon* in *Essex*; *Earth-quakes*, *Sights in the Air*, *Prodigies*, and the like.

Bum. *One would think it should not be worth their while, to busie their Heads about such Fooleries as these.*

Stories of Prodigies startle the Common People.

Citt. Now this is thy simplicity *Bumkin*, for there is not any thing that moves the hearts of the People so effectually toward *the Work of the Lord*, especially when the *Narrative* carries some *Historical Remarque* in the Tail of it: As for the purpose, *this or that happen'd in such a Kings Reign*; *and soon after such and such troubles befell the Church and State*; such a *Civil War*, such or such a *Persecution*, or *Invasion* follow'd upon it. When the people perceive once that the Lord hath declared himself against the Nation, in these Tokens of his Displeasure, the Multitude seldom fail of helping the Judgment forward.

Bum. *I don't know what you call your* Committees, *but our Gentry had their* Meetings *too*; *and there was a great Lord or two among 'um that shall be Nameless.*

Citt. We could shew you *otherguess Lords* among *Us*, I'll assure you, than any you have; but let that pass.

Bum. *You told me that your* Committees *were to procure* Subscriptions: *we were hard put to't, I'm sure, in the* Country *to get* Hands.

The way of getting hands in and about *London.*

Citt. And so were we in the *City*, *Bumkin*; and if it had not been to advance the *Protestant Interest*, I'd have been torn to pieces by wild Horses, before I'de have done what I did. But *extraordinary Cases* must have *extraordinary Allowances*. There was hardly a *Register* about the Town that scap'd us for *Names*: *Bedlam*, *Bridewell*, all the *Parish-books*, nay the very *Goals* and *Hospitals*;

Hospitals; we had our *Agents* at all *Publick Meetings, Court, Church, Change.* All the *Schools* up and down; *Masters* underwrit for their *Servants* and *Children*; *Women* for their *Husbands* in the *West-Indies*; nay we prevail'd upon some *Parsons*, to engage for their whole *Congregation*; we took in *Jack-Straw, Wat Tyler*, and the whole Legend of *Poor Robbin's Saints* into our List of *Petitioners*; and the *same Names* serv'd us in four or five *several Places.* And where's the hurt of all this now? So long as the Cause it self is Righteous.

Several ways of getting Hands in the Countrey.

Bum. *Nay, the thing was well enough* Citt, *if we could but have gone through with it: And you shall see now that we were put to our shifts in the* Country, *as well as you in the* City; *I was imploy'd, you must know, to get* Names *at* four shillings a Hundred, *and I had all my* Real Subscriptions *written at such a distance one from another, that I could easily clap in a Name or two betwixt 'um, and then I got as many* School-boys *as I could, to under-write after the same manner, and after this, I fill'd up all those spaces with* Names *that I either* Remember'd *or* Invented *my self, or could get out of two or three* Christning-books. *There are a World (ye know) of* Smiths, Browns, Clarks, Walkers, Woods, *so that I furnish'd my Catalogue with a matter of Fifty apeice of these* Sir-Names, *which* I Christen'd *my self. And besides, we had all the* Non-conformist Ministers *in the* Country *for us, and they brought in a power of hands.*

The Protestant Dissenters great Promoters of the Petition.

Citt. What do you talk of your *Nonconformists?* They do but work *Journey-work* to *Ours.* We have the *Heads* of all the *Protestant Dissenters* in the *Nation*, here in this Town; why, we have more *Religions*, Bumkin, in *this City*, than you have *People* in your whole *Countrey.*

Bum. *Ay, and 'tis a great blessing too, that when* Professors *are at so mighty Variance among* themselves, *there should be so wonderful an* Agreement *in the* Common Cause.

Citt. And that's notably observ'd, *Bumkin*; for so we found it here. The *Presbyterian* got Hands of *His Party*; the *Independent* of *His*, the *Baptist* of *His*, the *Fifth-Monarchy-man* of *His*; and so throughout all our Divisions: and we had still the most zealous man in His way, to gather the *Subscriptions*: And when they had compleated their *Roll*, they discharg'd themselves as Naturally into the *Grand-Committee*, as *Rivers* into the *Sea*; and then we were sure of all the *Republicans.*

Bum. *But after all this* Care *and* Industry, *how was it possible for the business to* Miscarry?

Citt.

Citt. Why I know 'tis laid in our Diſh, that when we had ſet the whole Kingdom agog upon *Petitioning*, our hearts would not ſerve us to go through ſtitch, and ſo we drew our own necks out of the Collar, and left the Countries in the Lurch.

Bum. *Nay that's the Truth on't*, Citt; *We ſtood all gaping, for* London *to lead the way.*

Citt. The great work that we look'd upon was the gaining of a *well affected Common Council*; which we ſecured upon the *Election*, with all the skill and watchfulneſs imaginable.

Bum. *And that was a huge Point*, Citt: *but how were ye able to compaſs it?*

Tricks to defeat Elections

Citt. Why we had no more to do, than to mark thoſe that we knew were not for our turns; either as *Courtiers*, or *Looſe-livers*, or *half-Proteſtants*, and their buſineſs was done.

Bum. *We went the ſame way to work too in the* Country, *at all our* Elections; *for it is a lawful Policy, you know, to leſſen the Reputation of an Enemy.*

Citt. Nay we went further ſtill, and ſet a *Report* afoot upon the *Exchange*, and all the *Coffee-houſes* and *Publick-houſes* thereabouts, which held from *Change-time*, till the very *Riſing* of the *Common Council*, when the *Petition* was *laid aſide*; that paſt ſo currant, that no Mortal doubted the Truth on't.

Bum. *But you ha' not told me what that* Report *was yet.*

Citt. It was this; That *the King had ſent a Meſſage to the City to let them underſtand that he took notice how much they ſtood affected to the* Petition; *that he expected they would proceed upon it; and that His Majeſty was ready to give them a* Gracious Anſwer.

Bum. *But was this fair dealing Brother?*

Citt. Did not *Abraham* ſay of *Sarah*, *She's my Siſter?*

Bum. *Well, thour't a heavenly man* Citt! *but come to the Miſcarriage it ſelf.*

The Petition laid aſide in the *Common-Council.*

Citt. After as Hopeful a *Choice* as ever Was made, we procur'd a *Common-Council*: Where the *Petition* was put to the *Vote*, and it was carry'd in the *Commons* by two *Voices*, for the preſenting it; and by *Fourteen* or *Fifteen Votes* in the *Court* of *Aldermen*, on the *Negative.*

Bum. *So that* your Damn'd Aldermen, *and* our Damn'd Juſtices, *have ruin'd us both in* City *and* Countrey.

Citt. Hang u'm, they are moſt of them *Church-Papiſts*; but we

ſhould

ſhould have dealt well enough with *them*, if it had not been for that confounded *Act* for *Regulating Corporations*.

Bum. *Prethee let me underſtand that, for I know nothing on't.*

The Act for Corporations brake the neck on't.

Citt. Take notice then, that the Deviliſh Statute has provided, That *no man ſhall ſerve as a* Common-Council-man, *but upon condition of taking* three Oaths, and *Subſcribing* one Declaration *therein mentioned*; *and having taken the* Sacrament *of the* Lord's Supper, *according the Rites of the Church of* England, *within one year next before his Election.* Now it ſo fell out, that what with this *Act*, and a *Court-Letter*, for putting it in *Execution*, a matter of *thirty* of our Friends were put *by*, as not duly qualifi'd; and upon the pinch we loſt it. Nay, let me tell ye as a Friend, there were at leaſt *twenty* or *thirty* of the reſt too, that would hardly have paſt Muſter.

Bum. *But is this certain?*

Citt. Why I am now in my Element *Bumkin*; for thou know'ſt my Education has been toward the Law.

Bum. *This was a Plaguy Jobb* Citt; *but we muſt look better* to our *Hits next bout.*

Citt. Nay my Life for thine we'll have another touch for't yet. But tell me in ſhort, how came you off with your *Petition* in the Country?

Bum. *It went on for a good while prettily well, at the* Quarter-Seſſions; *till at laſt one* croſs-grain'd Curr *there upon the* Bench *claw'd us all away to the Devil, and got an Order of Court againſt it, while you would ſay what's this.*

Citt. But what did he ſay?

The Petition baffled in the Countrey.

Bum. *Oh there was a great deal a ſtuff on't*; *the* King *and the* Judges *(he ſaid) had declar'd it to be* Seditious *and ſo they were to take it, That they ſate there to* keep *the* King's Peace, *not to countenance the* Breaking *of it*; *and then (ſays he) theſe fellows don't know what they would have.* One *Petitions for* Chalk, *and* Another *for* Cheeſe; *the Petition was at firſt* for the Meeting of the Parliament; *and then they came to Twit the King with his* Coronation Oath, *and then* Delinquents *muſt be brought to* Puniſhment; *and then the* Parliament *was to Sit as* long *as* they [illegible], *and at* laſt, *every man muſt be* marked *for a* Common Enemy, *that would not* Suſcribe *it. So that firſt they would have the* Parliament Sit; *and then they'd* [illegible] *out their work, and in fine, it was like other* [illegible] *Petition againſt thoſe that would not* Petition. *He ſaid*

there

there were ill practices in the getting of hands; and so they threw out the Petition, *and order'd an* Enquiry *into the* Abuses.

Citt. Well there's no Remedy but Patience.

Bum. *I had need of Patience I'm sure; for they'r Examining the Hands already, and as hard as they can drive; You'l see me in the* Gazette *next* Thursday *as sure as a Gun.*

Citt. Why then we must play the *Domestique* against *him, next Friday.*

Bum. *Nay, I'm sure to be trounc'd for't to some tune, if I be* taken.

Citt. Prethee what art afraid of? There's no *Treason* in getting hands to a *Petition*, man.

Bum. *No, that's true, but I have put in such a Lurry of* Dog-Rogues; *they cry* they'r defam'd, *with a Pox*, they'l have their remedy; *and they make such a Bawling.*

Citt. Come, come, set thy heart at rest; and know that in *this City* th'art in the very Sanctuary of the *Well-affected.* But 'tis good however to prepare for the *worst*, and the *best* (as they say) *will help it self.* But art thou really afraid of being *taken?*

Bum. *And so would you be too, if you were in my condition, without a* penny, *or a* friend *in the World to help ye.*

The blessing of having neither friends nor Money.

Citt. Thou art two great Owls, *Bumkin*, in a very few words. *First*, thou hast *great friends*, and do'st not *know on't*; and *Secondly*, thou do'st not understand the *Blessing*, of having neither *Friends*, nor *Money*. In one word, I'll see thee provided for; and in the mean time, give me thy answer to a few questions.

I make no doubt but they that put thee into this *Trust*, and *Employment* of helping on the *Petition*, are men of *Estates*, and men *well inclin'd* to the *Publick Cause.*

Methods of *Popularity.*

Bum. *O, their* Landlords *and* Masters *are men of huge Estates: but 'tis the* Tenants, *and the* Stewards *that I have to do withal. But then (do you mark me?) those People are all in all with their Masters.*

Citt. I suppose you may be known to the *Landlords* and *Masters themselves* too. Do they ever take any notice of you?

Bum. *Yes, yes; I go often to their Houses man, and they speak mighty kindly to me; and there's nothing but* Honest Obadiah, *and* Good Obadiah *at every turn; and then the men take me into the Kitchen, or into the Cellar, or so. And let me tell you* Citt, *if it had not been for them once, I had been plaguily paid off in the* Spiritual Court *upon a certain Occasion.*

Citt. That's a very good sign of *Affection* to the C[illegible] I

[illegible]d

told thee: and it would be never the worſe if they were under a Cloud at *Court*; for *an honeſt Revenge*, ye know, *goes a great way with a tender Conſcience.*

Bum. *I have heard ſome Inkling that way, but we'll ſcatter no Words.*

Citt. They never ſpeak any thing to you in Private, do they? As of *Grievances*, (I mean) *Religion, the Liberty of the Subject*, and ſuch like?

Bum. *No, no*; *but they talk as other People do, of the* Plot *and the* Jeſuits, *and* Popery, *and the* French King, *and ſo.*

Citt. And what is the Reaſon now, do ye think, that you are not receiv'd into their *Bed-Chambers*, their *Cloſets*, into their *Arms*, and into their very *Hearts*, as well as ſome other People as we know?

Bum. *Alas! what ſhould they do with me? I'm not a man fit to keep them Company.*

Citt. Why then *Honeſt Bumpkin*, here's a Golden Sentence for thee; *Be Taken, Sifted, Impriſon'd, Pillory'd*, and ſtand true to thy *Principles*, and th'art company for the beſt *Lord* in *Chriſtendom*. They'l never dare to truſt thee till th'art *Jayl* and *Pillory-proof*; and the bringing *thee into* a Jayl, would be a greater kindneſs, than the fetching of *another man Out*,

A Golden Sentence,

Bum. *Prethee* Citt, *tell me one thing by the way*; *haſt thou ever made Trial of this Experiment thy ſelf?*

Citt. To tell thee as a Friend, I have try'd it, and I'm the beſt part of a Thouſand Pound the better for't. 'Tis certainly the High-way to Preferment.

A Jayl is the high-way to Preferment.

Bum. *And yet for all this*, Citt, *I have no mind in the World to be* Taken.

Citt. And that's becauſe th'art an arrant Buzzard; the Lord deliver me from a Man that has neither *Money* nor *Friends*, and yet's afraid to be *Taken*. Why 'tis the very making of many a man's Fortune to be *Taken*. How many men are there that give Money to be *Taken*, and make a *Trade* on't? Nay happy is the man that can but get any body to *Take* him? Why I tell ye, there are people that will *quarrel* for't, and make *Friends* to be *Taken*. 'Tis a common thing in *Paris*, for a man in *One ſix Months*, to ſtart out of a *Friendleſs* and *Moneyleſs* condition, into an Equipage of *Lacqueys* and *Coaches*; and all this by nicking the Bleſſed Opportunities of being *diſcreetly Taken*.

Bum. *I have heard indeed of a man that ſet fire to* one old Houſe,

and got as much Money by a Brief *for't, as built him* two New ones.

Citt. Have not I my ſelf heard it caſt in a fellows Teeth, *I was the making of you* Sirra, *though y'are ſo high now a body muſt not ſpeak to you: You had never been* Taken *and* Clapt up, *Sirrah, but for me.*

Bum. *Father, What Simpletons we* Country-folks *are to you* Citizens!

Citt. Now put the Caſe, *Bumpkin*, that you were *Taken, Examin'd* and *Committed*, provided you *ſtand to your Tackle*, y'are a Made man already; but if you *ſhrink in the wetting*, y'are loſt.

Bum. *Pray'e what do ye mean by* ſtanding to my Tackle?

Citt. You muſt be ſure to keep your ſelf upon a Guard, when y'are before the *Juſtice*; and not to be either *wheedled*, or *frighten'd* into any *Diſcovery*; for they'l be trying a thouſand Tricks with you.

Bum. *But may I deny any thing that's charg'd upon me, point-blank, if I be guilty of it?*

A Salve for a Lie.

Citt. Yes in the Caſe of *Self-preſervation*, you may; but you muſt be ſure then that no body can diſprove you; for if it be *known*, it is a *Scandal*, and no longer *Lawful*: Your beſt way will be not to anſwer any Queſtions againſt your ſelf.

Bum. *But now you have brought me into a* Goal, *you would do well to tell me how I ſhall get out again.*

The Benefits of Priſon.

Citt. Why before you turn your ſelf thrice in your *Kennel*, (if *Baylable*) Y'are out again upon a *Habeas Corpus*; but in the mean time, the Town rings of your *Commitment*, the *cauſe* of it, and how bravely you carry'd it upon your *Examination*; all which ſhall be reported to your Advantage; and by this time, y'are Celebrated for the *Peoples Martyr*. And now come in the *Bottles*, the *Cold Pies*, and the *Guynni's*: But you muſt lay your Finger upon your Mouth, and keep all as cloſe as if the *Fairies* had brought it.

Bum. *Pre'thee* Citt, *wert thou ever bound* Prentice *to a* Stateſman?

Citt. No, not altogether ſo neither; but I ſerv'd a convenient time in two of his Majeſties Houſes; and there I learnt *my Politiques*; that is to ſay, in *Newgate*, and the *Gate-houſe*; *Two Schools* (ſays one) *that ſend more wiſe men into the World, than the* four Inns of Court. Now let your ſuffering be what it will, the *Merit* of it will be rated according to the *Difficulty* and *Ha-*

zard

zard of the *Encounter*: For there's a great difference betwixt the Venture of a *Pillory*, and of a *Gibbet*. But in what caſe ſoever; if you ſtand faſt, and keep your Tongue in your head, you ſhall want neither *Money* nor *Law*; nor *Countenance*, nor *Friends* in the *Court*, nor *Friends* in the *Jury*.

Bum. *Hold, hold*, Citt; *what if all my great Friends ſhould deceive me at laſt?*

Citt. They'l never dare to do that, for fear you ſhould deceive them. I have found the experiment of it my ſelf, and every *Term* yields us freſh Inſtances *of People that make their Fortunes in a Trice, by a generous contempt of Principalities and Powers.*

Bum. *Thou'rt a brave fellow* Citt; *but prethee what may thy Employment be at preſent, if a body may ask thee?*

Citt. I am at this preſent, *Bumpkin, under* the *Roſe* a *Secretary Extraordinary* to one of the *Grand Committees* I told thee of, and my Buſineſs is to draw up *Impeachments, Informations, Articles*; to lick over now and then a *Narrative*; and to deal with the *Mercuries* to publiſh nothing againſt the Intereſt of that Party; and *in fine*, there's hardly any thing ſtirs, but I have a finger in't. Mine is a buſineſs, I can tell you, that brings in *Money*. The Secretary to a Grand Committee.

Bum. *I make no doubt on't*, Citt; *but could ye put me in a way to get a little Money too?*

Citt. We'll talk of that preſently. You may think perhaps now the *City-Petition*'s blown off, that our *Committee* will have nothing to do. But I do aſſure you, buſineſs comes in ſo faſt upon us, that I ſhall never be able to go thorough it without an *Aſſiſtant*; and if I find you fit for't, you ſhall be the man.—— Nay hold, let me ſpeak firſt; do you continue the uſe of your *Short-hand?*

Bum. *Yes, I do: and I have mended my* Baſtard-Secretary *very much ſince you ſaw it.*

Citt. Will you be *Juſt*, *Diligent*, and *Secret*.

Bum. *I'le give you what Security you'l ask, for my* Truth *and* Diligence; *and for my* Secreſie, I could almoſt forget to *ſpeak.*

Citt. That figure pleaſes me; but I muſt ſift you further; How ſtands your Appetite to *Wine* and *Women?*

Bum. *Why truly at the rate of* other fleſh and blood.

Citt. 'Tis not to bar ye neither; but what Liberties ye take, let them be *Private*, and either to advance the *Common Cauſe*, or at *ſpare hours.*

Bum. *You cannot ask nor wiſh more than I'd do.*

Citt. Only a word or two more, and then I'le let you into my Affairs. What courſe did you propound to your ſelf, in caſe your *Petition* had ſucceeded? I ask this, becauſe you ſeem ſo much troubled at the Diſappointment.

Other petitions upon the Anvil.

Bum. *Why, if this* Petition *had gone* on, *and the* Parliament *had* met, *I was promiſed four or five* Petitions *more*; *one againſt* Danby, *and the Lords in the* Tower, *another* for the Sitting of this Parliament, till they had gone through all they had to do; *a* Third *for taking away the* Biſhops Votes, *a* Fourth, *for the Remove of* Evil Counſellors, *and a* Fifth, *for putting the* Militia *into* Safe hands.

Citt. Theſe Points, you muſt know, have been a long time upon the Anvil; and our Friends have Inſtructions all over the Kingdom, to proceed upon them to ſhew the Miraculous *Union* of the Nation. But do you think, becauſe the *Firſt Petition* has receiv'd a *check*, and the *Parliament* is *Prorogu'd*, that therefore *the other Petitions muſt fall to the ground?*

Bum. *I cannot well ſee how it ſhould be otherwiſe.*

Citt. Why then let me tell you, *Bumpkin*, We'll bring the whole buſineſs about again, and carry it on in ſpite of Fate, for we have better *Heads* at work perhaps than you are aware of.

Bum. *Ay, but what* Hands *have we* Citt? *for it will come to that at laſt.*

Citt. Thoſe *Heads* will find *Hands*, never trouble your ſelf, if there ſhould be occaſion; but 'tis too early days for that ſport yet. 'Twas an unlucky thing however to be ſo ſurpriz'd; for our Friends did no more dream of the *Sacrament*, than of their *dying day*.

Bum. *Well, there's no recalling of what's paſt: But the Queſtion is, how we ſhall avoid it for the time to come.*

Citt. Nay, *Bumpkin*, there's a Trick worth two of *avoiding* it; we'll *take* it next bout, and then we're ſafe; we'll carry it I'll undertake by *fifty Voices*.

Bum. *But cannot the* Aldermen *hinder you from putting it to the Vote?*

A Deſign upon the Common Council.

Citt. 'Tis the Cuſtom of the City, I muſt confeſs, for the Lord *Mayor* to *Summon* and *diſſolve Common-Councils*, and to put all points to the *Queſt.* but we'll find a cure for that too: 'Tis a thing we've been a good while about already; the bringing down

down the *Authority* of the *City* into the *Major part* of the *Commons*.

Bum. *Now if the* Mayor *and* Aldermen *ſhould be aware of this, thy'l never endure it; but we muſt leave that to time. But hark ye* Citt, *I thought our Friends refuſing of the* Sacrament *had been matter of* Conſcience.

Citt. Why ſo it is, man: but take notice then, that you are to diſtinguiſh of *Conſciences*: There is *firſt*, a *plain ſimple Conſcience*, and that's a Conſcience that will ſerve well enough to keep a man *Right*, if he meet with nothing elſe to put him *out of the way*. And then there's a *Conſcience* of *State*, or *Profit*; and that *Conſcience* yields, as a *leſs Weight* does to a *greater*; an *Ounce* turns the *Scale*, but a *Pound* carries the *Ounce*, and no body blames the *weaker* for being over-power'd by the *ſtronger*. There is a *Conſcience* of *Profeſſion* too; which is a *Conſcience* that does not ſo much regard the *Reaſon* of the *thing*; as the being *True* to a *Party*, when a man has paſt his *Word*: and this is the *Conſcience* of a man of *Honour*, that fights for his *Whore*. There is likewiſe a *Conſcience* of *Religion*, and that's a *quiet peaceable Conſcience*, that reſts in the Affection of the *Heart*, in ſubmiſſion to *Lawful Inſtitutions*; and in ſerving *God*, and doing good to our *Neighbour*, without *Noiſe* or *Oſtentation*. Diſtinctions of Conſciences.

Bum. *Well, but I ſee a great many very* Conſcientious men *that love to* pray *and* ſing Pſalms *next the* Street, *that their Neighbours may hear 'um; and go up and down* ſhaking of their Heads, *and* wringing of their Hands, *crying out of* the Calves *of* Bethel, *and the* High Places, Popery, Prelacy, *and the* Common Prayer, *in ſuch a manner, that 'twould grieve a bodies heart to ſee 'um.* Conſciences of State or Intereſt.

Citt. Theſe are *Conſcientious men, Bumpkin*; and this is the *Conſcience* of *State* or *Profit*, that I told ye of.

Bum. *Ay, but I have ſeen ſome men in Fits of the* Spirit, *jump, and fling about a* Pulpit *ſo deſperately, that they ſet the Children a crying* to have 'um let out. *One while they'd* raiſe *themſelves upon their* Tip-toes, *and* roar out *upon a ſudden, you'd have thought they had been pinch'd with* Hot Irons; *and then all in an Inſtant they'd* Dop down again, *that ye could hardly ſee 'um; and ſo* fall *into a* faint lamenting Voice, *like the* Groan *of a poor Woman* three quarters ſpent in Labour. *Nay, there was one of 'um that Gap'd and held his mouth open ſo long, that the People cry'd out,* The man has a Bone in his Throat. *Theſe muſt needs be very* Conſcientious men,

Citt. Citt.

Citt. They are ſo *Bumpkin*, but 'tis the *ſame Conſcience* ſtill; for it works all manner of ways. We took up this Mode, I ſuppoſe, from the *Tranſports* and *Grimaces* of the *Pagan Prieſts*, in the Ceremony of their *Sacrifices*, which had a very effectual operation upon the People.

Bum. *Nay* Citt, *theſe men have a holy way of* Language *too, as well as of* Behaviour, *for all their* Talk *is of* Heaven, *and* Heavenly things, *the* Saints, *and the* New Jeruſalem; *they deal mightily in* Expoſitions *upon the* Viols, *and the* Little Horn: *and then they are bitterly ſevere againſt* Wicked Magiſtrates, *and thoſe that* Lord it over God's Heritage. *They are*, in fine, *a very* Conſcientious *ſort of People.*

Citt. Oh beyond queſtion ſo they are: But this is ſtill a Branch of the *ſame Conſcience.* I have known indeed ſome People ſo Tranſported with this ſame *Talkative Holineſs*, that it has been a kind of *Spiritual Salivation* to 'um; they continue *ſpitting* when they have not one drop of *Moiſture* left 'um in their *Bodies.*

Bum. *Prethee* Citt, *tell me in honeſt* Engliſh, *where ſhall a body find the* Simple, *and the* Religious Conſciences *thou told'ſt me of?*

Not many Religious Conſciences.

Citt. Why every man living has the *former* of 'um, but takes no notice on't: But for the *latter* ſort, 'tis very ſcarce; and you ſhall find more of it perhaps in *one Jayl*, or in *one Hoſpital*, than in all the *Courts* of *Chriſtendom.* It is commonly *the Bleſſing of men in years*, in *ſickneſs*, or in *adverſity.*

Bum. *Ah* Citt, *that I were but as capable of Learning as thou art of Teaching! Prethee explain thy ſelf a little upon the* Conſcience *of* Profeſſion *too.*

A Conſcience of Profeſſion.

Citt. Obſerve me what I ſay then, *Bumpkin:* There is a *Profeſſion*, *Particular*, and *General*; *Particular*, as when *One Cavalier* ſerves another in a *Duel*, he's obliged to it by the *Profeſſion* of a *Sword-man*, without Formalizing upou the *Cauſe.* There's a *Conſcience* of *Profeſſion* even among the *Banditi* themſelves. What is it but the *Profeſſion* of *Presbytery*, that makes the whole Party oppoſe *Epiſcopacy*; as the *Independants* do *Presbytery*, the *Republicans Monarchy*, and the like.

Bum. *Now I thought that there might have been* Conſcience *of* State, *as well as of* Profeſſion *in theſe Caſes.*

Citt. Thou ſayſt very well, *Bumpkin*, and ſo there is, and of *Profit* too; and it was much the ſame Caſe too, throughout the

the Circle of our Late *Revolutions*, when we *Swore* and *Vow'd* from the *Oaths* of *Allegiance*, and *Canonical Obedience*, to the *Proteſtant*, the *Solemn League and Covenant*, the *Engagement*, the *Negative Oath*, the Oath of *Abjuration*, and ſo till we ſwore round, into the *Oath of Allegiance* again.

Bum. *What do you mean now by your* General Profeſſion?

Citt. I mean the *Subordination* of a *Partial* to a *General*; *of a Private Profeſſion* to a *Publick*; as thou ſeeſt in the late Times, *Bumpkin*, how ſtrictly the *Divided Reformers* kept themſelves to this Rule, ſo long as the *Common Enemy* was upon his Legs.

Bum. *But what do you mean by the* Common Enemy?

Citt. I mean the *Court*, and the *Church-Party*. So long (I ſay) all our Brethren of the Separation joyn'd as one man, againſt that *Inordinate Power*; and herein we were *Conſcientiouſly True* to our *General Profeſſion*; but ſo ſoon as ever we had ſubdu'd that *Popiſh* and *Tyrannical Intereſt*, through the *Conſcience* of our *General Profeſſion*, we then conſulted our *Particular*; and every man did Conſcientiouſly labour for the Eſtabliſhment of *his own* way. But now we come to the great Nicety of all: that is to ſay, the *Conſcience* of making a *Conſcience* of uſing *any Conſcience at all*. There's a Riddle for ye *Bumpkin*.

Bum. *I muſt confeſs I do not underſtand one bit on't,*

A Conſcience of uſing no Conſcience at all.

Citt. That's for want of a diſcerning Spirit, *Bumpkin*. What does *Conſcience* ſignifie to the *Saints*, that are deliver'd from the Fetters of *Moral Obligations*, by ſo many *Extraordinary* and *Over-ruling Privileges*, which are granted in a peculiar manner to the *People of the Lord*? What's he the *better* or the *worſe* for *keeping* or for *breaking* the *Ten Commandments*, that lies under the *Predeſtinarian Fate* of an *Unchangeable Neceſſity* and *Decree*? What needs he care for any *other Guide*, that carries within himſelf an *Infallible Light*? Or he for *any Rule at all* that cannot *ſin*? For the *ſame thing* may be a *ſin* in *another Man*, which in *Him* is *None*.

Bum. *Really this is admirable: So that we that are the* Elect, *are bound up by no* Laws *at all, either of* God *or of* Man.

Citt. Why look you now for that; we *Are*, and we are *Not*. If it ſo happens that the *Inward* and *Inviſible Spirit* move us to do *the ſame thing*, which the *Outward* and *Viſible Law* requires of us, in *That Caſe* we are *bound*; but ſo, as to the *Spirit*, not to the *Law*: and therefore we are bid to *ſtand faſt in our Chriſtian Liberty*.

Bum

Of Christian Liberty.

Bum. *That's extremely well said; for if* We Christians *should be* Shackled *with* Humane Laws, *which can only reach the* Outward Man, *then are* the Heritage of the Lord, *in no better condition then the* Wicked, *and the* Heathen.

The Extent of it.

Citt. Oh! th'art infinitely in the Right; for were it not for this *Christian Liberty*, we could never have *Justify'd* our Selves in our *Late Transactions*: the *Design* of *Overturning the Government* had been *Treason*; taking up *Arms* against the *King*, *Rebellion*: *Dividing* from the *Communion* of the *Church*, had been *Schism*; appropriating the *Church-Plate* and *Revenues* to *private Uses*, had been *Sacrilege*; entring upon *Sequester'd Livings* had been *Oppression*; taking away mens *Estates* had been *Robbery*; *Imprisoning* of their *Persons* had been *Tyranny*; using the Name of *God* to all this, would have been *Hypocrisie*; forcing of *contradictory Oaths*, had been *Impiety*; and shedding the *Blood* both of the *King* and his *People*, had been *Murther*: And all this would have appear'd so to be, if the *Cause* had come to be *Try'd* by the *known Laws* either of *God* or *Man*.

Bum. *Make us thankful now! What a blessed State are we in; that* Walk up to our Calling, *in* Simplicity *and* Truth, *whose* Yea *is* Yea, *and whose* Nay *is* Nay. *'Tis a strange way thou hast* Citt, *of making things out to a man. Thou wert saying but now, that the* same thing *may be a* Sin *in* One man, *and* not *in* Another. *I'm thinking now of the* Jesuits.

Citt. Oh that's a *Jugling*, *Equivocating*, *Hellish* sort of *People*; 'tis a thousand pities that they'r suffered to live upon the Earth; they value an *Oath*, no more than they do a *Rush*. Those are the *Heads* of the *Plot* now upon the Life of the *King*, *the Protestant Religion*, and the *Subversion* of the *Government*.

Jesuits and Phanaticks compar'd.

Bum. *A, Ay*, Citt, *they'r a* damn'd Generation *of* Hell-hounds. *But as I was thinking just now, we have so many things among* Us, *like some things among* Them, *that I have been run down sometimes almost, as if we our selves were* Jesuits; *though I know there's as much difference as betwixt* Light *and* Darkness; *and for my part*, I defie them as I do the Devil.

A Vast difference betwixt them.

But Citt, *thou hast so wonderful a way of making Matters plain, I'd give any thing in the World thoud'st but teach me what to say in some Cases, when I'm put to't. One told me t'other day*, You are rather worse than the *Jesuits* (*says he*) for when *They* break an *Oath*, they have some *Mental Reservation* or other for a *Come-off*:

But

But *You* Swallow your *Perjuries, juſt* as *Cormorants* do *Eels*; an *Oath's* no ſooner *in at one end*, then *out at t'other.*

Citt. Let your Anſwer be This, *Bumpkin*, That the *Law-maker* is *Maſter* of *his own Laws*; and that the *Spirits dictating* of a *New Law* is, the *Superceding of an old one.*

Their Practices compar'd.

Bum. *Theſe are hard words*, Citt; *but he told me further*, don't *You* juſtifie *King-killing* (*ſayes he*) as well as the *Jeſuits*? Only *They* do't with *Piſtol*, *Dagger* and *Poyſon*; and *You* come with *Your Horſe*, *Foot*, and *Cannon*: *They* proceed by *Excommunicating*, and *Depoſing*; by *Diſſolving* the *Character firſt*, and *then Deſtroying* the *Perſon*; and juſt ſo did *You*. *Firſt*, ye *Depos'd* the *King*, and then ye *Beheaded Charls Stewart*. And then you need never go to *Rome* for a *Pardon*, when every man among you is *his own Pope.*

The Fanaticks Clear'd.

Citt. Now your Anſwer muſt be This; That we had, *Firſt*, the *Warrant* for what we did, of an *Extraordinary Diſpenſation* (as appear'd in the Providence of our Succeſs.) *Secondly*, we had the *Laws* of *Neceſſity*, and *Self-Preſervation* to ſupport us. And *Thirdly*, the *Government* being *Co-ordinate*, and the *King* only *One of the Three Eſtates*; any *Two* of the *Three* might deal with the *Third* as they thought *Fit*: Beſide the *Ultimate Sovereignty* of the *People*, over and above. And now take notice, that *the ſame Argument* holds in the *Subverſion* of the *Government.*

Bum, *Now you have Arm'd me thus far, pray'e help me on, one Step farther; for I was hard put to't not long ſince about the buſineſs of the* Proteſtant Religion. *What is that* I *pray'e, that ye call* the Proteſtant Religion?

Of Diſſenting Proteſtants.

Citt. You are to underſtand, that by the *Proteſtant Religion* is meant the *Religion* of the *Diſſenters* in *England*, from the *Church* of *England*; As the *Firſt Proteſtants* in *Germany*, 1529. (from whom we denominate our Selves) were *Diſſenters* from the *Church* of *Rome*: and ſo *Call'd* from the famous *Proteſtation* they enter'd againſt the *Decree* of the *Aſſembly* at *Spires*, againſt *Anabaptiſts.*

Bum. *So that I perceive We* Set up *the* Proteſtant Religion; *we did not* Deſtroy *it*: *But they preſt it then, that the* Church of England *was* a Proteſtant Church, *and that the* Jeſuits *had only* Deſign'd the Deſtruction *of it*, *whereas we* did actually Execute it.

Citt. Your Anſwer muſt be, that the *Church* of *England*, though it be a little *Proteſtantiſh*, it is not yet directly *Proteſtant*: As on the other ſide, it is not altogether the *Whore of Babylon*, though a good deal *Whoriſh*; and therefore the Reply to that muſt be, that we did not *Deſtroy*, but only *Reform* it.

Bum. *Why I have anſwer'd People out of my own* Mother-Wit, *that we did but* Reform *it. And they told me again, the cutting of it off Root and Branch, was a very extraordinary way of* Reforming.

The meaning of Root and Branch.

Citt. The Anſwer to that is obvious, that the *Cutting off Root* and *Branch*, is only a *Thorow*, or a *Higher Degree* of *Reforming*. But upon the whole matter, it was with *Us* and the *Jeſuits*, as it was with *Aaron* and the *Magicians*; we did *both* of us make *Frogs*, but *we alone* had the power to quicken *the Duſt of the Land, and turn it into Lice.*

Thou art by this time, I preſume, ſufficiently inſtructed in the *Methods* and *Fundamentals* of the *Holy Cauſe*. I ſhall now give you ſome neceſſary Hints, to fit and qualifie you for the Province that I intend you. But beſure you mind your Leſſon.

Bum. *As I would do my* Prayers, Citt; *or I were ungrateful, for you have made me for ever.*

Citt. Come we'l take t'other *Sup* firſt, and then to Work. *Who waits there without? Two Pots more, and ſhut the door after Ye.*

A great part of your buſineſs, *Bumpkin*, will lie among *Parliament-Rolls*, and *Records*; for it muſt be *our Poſt* to furniſh *Materials* to a *Cabal* only of *Three Perſons*; that be ready upon occaſion, to be made uſe of by the *Grand Committee*.

Rolls and Records hunted for Preſidents

Bum. *My old Maſter would ſay, that I had as good a gueſs at a* Muſty Record, *as any man; and 'twas my whole Employment almoſt to hunt for* Preſidents. *Nay the People would Truſt me with* Great Bags *home to my Lodging; and leave me alone ſometimes in the* Offices *for four and twenty hours together.*

Citt. But what kind of *Preſidents* were they that ye lookt for?

Bum. *Concerning* the Kings Prerogative, Biſhops Votes, the Liberty and Property of the Subject; *and the like: and ſuch as they wanted, I writ out.*

Citt. But did you Recite them *whole*? or what did you *Take*, and what did you *Leave*?

Bum.

Bum. *We took what ſerv'd our Turn, and left out the Reſt; and ſometimes we were taken* Tripping, *and ſometimes we* Scap'd. *But we never falſify'd any thing. There were ſome dogged Paſſages, indeed we durſt not meddle with at all; but I can turn ye to any thing you have occaſion for, with a wet finger.*

Citt. So that here's one great point quickly over; in thy being Train'd to my hand: a man might lay thee down inſtructions, now, for thy very *Words, Looks, Motions, Geſtures*; nay thy very *Garments*; but we'll leave thoſe matters to Time, and Study. It is a ſtrange thing how Nature puts her ſelf forth, in theſe *External Circumſtances*. Ye ſhall know a *Sanctify'd Siſter*; or a *Gifted Brother* more by the *Meen, Countenance*, and *Tove*, than by the Tenour of their *Lives* and *Manners*. It is a comely thing for Perſons of the ſame Perſwaſion, to agree in theſe *outward Circumſtances*, even to the *drawing of* the *ſame Tone*, and *making* of the *ſame Face*: always provided, that there may be read in our *Appearances*, a *Singularity of Zeal*, a *Contempt of the World*, a *Foreboding of Evils to come*; a *Diſſatisfaction at the preſent Times*; *and a Deſpair of better.* Leſſons of Behaviour for the well-affected.

Bum. *Why this is the very part, that* I *was made for*; *theſe Humors are to be put* on *and* off, *as a man would ſhift his* Gloves; *and you ſhall ſee me do't as eaſily too*; *but the* Language muſt be got, *I Fancy, by converſing with* Modern Authors; *and frequenting* Religious Exerciſes.

Citt. Yes, yes, and for a help to your memory, I would adviſe you to diſpoſe of your Obſervations into theſe *Three Heads*; *Words, Phraſes*, and *Metaphors*: Do you conceive me?

Bum. *There's not a word you ſay ſhall fall to the Ground*; *And I am the more ſenſible of the force of* Words, Looks, Tones, *and* Metaphors (*as ye call 'um*) *from what I find in my ſelf.* Ours *certainly may be well term'd a* Powerful Miniſtry, *that makes a man cry like a Child at the very noiſe of a Torrent of* Words; *that he does not* underſtand one Syllable *of. Nay, when I have been out of reach of hearing the* Words, *the very* Tone *and* Look *has* melted *me.* The Force of Looks and Tones.

Citt. Thou canſt not but have heard of that *moving Metaphor of the* late Reverend Mr. *Fowler*: *Lord Souſe us*; (ſays he) *Lord Dowſe us in the Powdring-Tub of Affliction*; *that we may come forth Tripes worthy of thy Holy Table.* Who can reſiſt *the Inundation* of this *Rhetorick?* But let us now paſs from the *General Ornaments of our Profeſſion* to the *particular buſineſs* of our *Preſent Caſe.* A Moving Metaphor.

I need not tell you, *Bumpkin* of the *Plot*, or that we are all running into *Popery*; and that the beſt Service an *Engliſh man* can do his Country, would be the ripping up of this Deſign to the *Bottom*.

Bum. *I am ſo much of your Opinion, that you have ſpoken my very Thoughts.*

Citt. Bethink your ſelf, *Bumpkin*; what *Papiſts* do you know?

Bum. *Oh hang 'um all, I never come near any of 'um.*

Citt. But yet you may have heard, perhaps, of ſome people that are *Popiſhly affected.*

Bum. *Yes, yes; there are abundance of them.*

Citt. Can you prove that ever they *ſaid* or *did* any thing, in favour of the *Papiſts*.

Bum. *Nay there's enough of that I believe; but then there are ſuch* Huge Great Men among 'um.

Citt. Pluck up a good heart, *Bumpkin*; the *Greater* the *Better*; We fear 'um not. Rub up your Memory, and call to mind what you can ſay upon your own *Knowledg*, and what you have *Heard*; either about Sir *Edmund-bury Godfrey*, The *Plot*, The *Traitors* that ſuffer'd, or the *Kings Evidence.*

Bum. *I have ſeen People ſhrugg ſometimes, and lift up their* Hands *and* Eyes, *and ſhake their* Heads, *and then they would clutch their* Fiſts, Look ſour, *make* Mouths, *and bite their* Nails, *and ſo: and I dare ſwear I know what they thought.*

Citt. Ah *Bumpkin*, if they had but ſo much as mutter'd, they'd been our own.

Signs in Evidence.

Bum. *Well, but hark ye,* Citt, *I hear People ſwear,* or in WORDS to this Effect? *Why may not a man as well ſwear* in SIGNS to this Effect (*and that they lifted up their* Eyes *and* Hands, *bent their* Fiſts, *knit their* Brows, *and made their* Mouths to this or that Effect?

Citt. No, that will never do, *Bumpkin*, but if thou couldſt but phanſie that thou heardſt them *ſpeak.*

Bum. *Why truly I never thought on't, but I ſaw a* Parſon *once the Tears ſtood in his Eyes, as one of 'um went by to Execution. But your* Surcingle-men, (*as our Doctor told us laſt Lords Day*) *are all of 'um* Papiſts in their Hearts.

Citt. Why what's the *Common-Prayer-Book, Bumpkin*, but a Meſs of *Par-boyl'd Popery.*

Bum. *I'm a Dog if our Miniſter does not pray for the* Queen *ſtill.*

Citt.

Citt. Nay, we are e'ne at a fine paſs, when the *Pulpit* prays for the *Queen*; and the *Bench* Drinks the *Duke* of *York's Health.* But to the point, bethink your ſelf well; a man may forget a thing to day, and recollect it to morrow. Take notice however, that it is another main point of your Inſtructions to procure *Informations* of this quality. Sad Times.

Bum. *I'll fit you to a hair for that matter: but then I muſt be running up and down ye know into* Taverns and Coffee-houſes, *and thruſting my ſelf into* Meetings and Clubs. *That licks Money.*

Citt. Never trouble your ſelf for that, you ſhall be well paid and your expences born: Beſide ſo much a head from the State, for every Prieſt that you diſcover.

Bum. *Well! theſe* Prieſts *and* Jeſuits *are damn'd fellows.*

Citt. And yet let me tell you *Bumpkin*, a *Bare-fac'd Papiſt* is not half ſo bad as a *Papiſt* in *Maſquerade*,

Bum. *Why what are thoſe I prethee.*

Citt. They are your *Will-worſhip-men*, your *Prelates* Brats: Take the whole Litter of 'um, and you'l find *never a Barrel a better Herring.* Let me tell thee in Love *Bumpkin*, *theſe* Currs are forty times worſe to *Us* then the *Jeſuits themſelves*; for the *one* is an *open Enemy*, the *other* lies gnawing like a Canker in *bowels.* And then being train'd up to *Latin and Greek*: There's no oppoſing of *the Power of Godlineſs to the Sophiſtry* of *Humane Reaſon*: Beſides that, the Law is for us in the *one* Caſe and againſt us in the *other.* Church-men worſe to Diſſenters that Jeſuits.

Bum. *Which way ſhall we go to work then, to deal with this Generation of Men?*

Citt. We muſt joyn the *Wiſdom* of the *Serpent* to the *Innocence* of the *Dove*; and endeavour to compaſs that by *Stratagem* which we cannot gain by *Argument.* But now am I going to open a *Myſtery* to thee that's *worth*———

Bum. *Prethee* the worth on't Citt: *For Talk is but talk, the* Worth *is* the main point.

Citt. Why then let me tell thee *Bumpkin*, the *Myſtery* that I am about to diſcloſe to thee; was *worth* to our Predeceſſors not long ſince no leſs than *Three Kingdoms*, and *a better penny.* But I'le ſeal your Lips up, before I ſtir one ſtep further.

Bum. *Why look ye* Citt, may this Drink never go through me, if I ever blab one Syllable of any thing thou tell'ſt me as a Secret.

Citt.

Citt. Hold, hold, *Bumpkin*, and *may it never come up again if thou do'ſt*; for we'll have no ſhifting.

Bum. *And may it never come up again neither if I do.*

The ſtrange Agreement of Diſſenters.

Citt. Well, I'm ſatisfy'd and now give attention; thou ſeeſt how unanimouſly fierce all the ſeveral Parties of the *Proteſtant Diſſenters* are againſt the *Papiſts*. Whence comes this *Conjunction*, I pre'thee, of ſo many *ſeparate Congregations*, that are many of them worſe than *Papiſts* one to another? There muſt be in it, either *Conſcience* or *Intereſt*; if it were *Conſcience*, we ſhould fall foul one upon another, and for matter of *Intereſt*; when the *Papiſts* are *deſtroy'd*, we are but ſtill where we were.

Bum. *This is a Crochet*, Citt, *that did not fall under my Night-Cap.*

The ſcope of that Agreement.

Citt. Be enlightned then. It is not the Deſtruction of thoſe that are *Really Papiſts*, that will do our work; for there's nothing to be got by't. But it muſt be our buſineſs to make *thoſe People* paſs for *Papiſts*, that are not ſo, but only have *Places* to Loſe: ſuch as we our ſelves, by the removal of them, may be the better for; and *This*, *Bumpkin*, muſt be *our Maſterpiece.*

Bum. *I had this very Fancy my ſelf*, Citt, *but it ſtuck betwixt my Teeth, and would not out.*

Citt. You hear now in General what is to be done; You muſt be next inſtructed in the Acts of *Raiſing*, *Cheriſhing*, and *Fomenting* ſuch *Opinions*; in what Caſes to *Improve* them, and where to *Apply* them.

Who are Popiſhly affected in the firſt place.

Bum. *I'm perſwaded my Maſters Brother had this very thing in his Head, though he never made words on't to me: He had got a Liſt of all the conſiderable Offices and Employments in the Kingdom; And I remember he was us'd to ſay, that moſt of the reſpective* Officers *were either* Corrupt, *or* Popiſhly Affected. *If they were* Publick Miniſters; *either the* Kings Councels *were* betray'd, *or they put him upon Governing in an* Arbitrary way, *and without* Parliaments: *As for the* Judges *there was either* Bribery, Abſolute Power, *or* Oppreſſion *laid to their Charge; and ſo all the reſt were branded for* Frauds, Imbezlements, *and the like, according to the Quality of their buſineſs: All the* Governors *of* Towns, Caſtles, *and* Forts, *were* Popiſhly Inclin'd; *and not to be Truſted. And then all* Eccleſiaſtical Officers, *whatſoever, within four or five, were half way to* Rome *already.*

Citt.

Citt. This is well remembred, *Bumpkin*: Now 'tis worth a bodies while to make *theſe Blades* paſs for *Papiſts*, and *Traytors*, that leave *good Offices* behind 'um. Nay, we muſt not ſuffer ſo much as any man, either of *Brains*, or *Fortune* (that does not joyn with *Us*) to paſs untainted.

Bum. *Thou ſay'ſt right*, Citt; *for whoſoever is not* With *us*, *is* Againſt *us*.

Citt. Thou haſt ſpoken pat to this point, *Bumpkin*; but yet thou begin'ſt at the wrong End; For you muſt firſt get the skill of *Raiſing*, and *Improving* a *Report*, before ye come to the *Fixing* of it: for that's a Nicity not to be medled with, till we come to the taking out of the very Pins, and the Unhinging of the Government; ſo that the *firſt Clamour* muſt be Levell'd point-blank at ſome *Known*, and *Eminent Papiſts*.

Bum. *Well, but what ſhall we* Charge 'um with?

Citt. Why, if we were once at the bottom of *this Plot* (which, upon my Soul, *Bumpkin*, is a moſt hideous one) and wanted *matter* for *another*, I would charge them with a Deſign of betraying us to a *Foreign Enemy*.

Bum. *As how a* Foreign Enemy *prethee*?

Citt. As thus: I would charge 'um with holding an Intelligence with the Emperor of *Morocco*, for the Landing of *five and thirty thouſand Light-horſemen* upon *Salisbury Plain*. A Heavy Charge.

Bum. *Prethee*, Citt, *don't* Romance.

Citt. Prethee do not *Balderno*, ye ſhould ſay; ſpeak *Statutable Engliſh*, ye Fool you. Thou think'ſt perhaps that the People will not believe it: Obſerve but what I ſay to thee; let it but be put into the *Proteſtant Domeſtique*, that his *Imperial Majeſty* is to hold up his Hand at the *Kings Bench-Bar* for't; and let me be Dogs-meat if they do not ſwallow that too. Why prethee, *Bumpkin*, we muſt make 'um believe ſtranger things than this, or we ſhall never do our buſineſs. They muſt be made to believe, that the *King* intends to play the *Tyrant*; that all his *Councellors* are *Penſioners* to the *French King*; that all his *Enemies* are turn'd his *Friends* o'th' ſudden, and all his *Friends* his *Enemies*; that *Prelacy* is *Anti-Chriſtian*, all our *Clergy-men Papiſts*, the *Liturgy* the *Maſs-Book*, and that the *Ten Commandments* are to be read *backward!* Nothing Incredible.

Bum. *Bleſs me*, Citt; *What do I here?*

Citt. Come, come, Sirrah, y'are under an Oath; and this

is

Popiſh Miniſters may have Orthodox Offices.

is the plain Truth on't. What is it to Thee and Me, I pre'thee, whether the *Great Miniſters* be *True* or *Falſe*; Or what *Religion* the *Clergy* are of, ſo long as their *Livings* ye Rogue, are *Orthodox*, and their *Offices well-affected*.

Bum. *This does qualifie, I muſt confeſs: But you were ſaying, that the firſt Clamour ſhould be levell'd at ſome known* and *eminent* Papiſts: *Now what comes after that, I beſeech you?*

Citt. You may ſafely Mark all their Friends then for *Popiſhly-affected*; and ſo conſequently on to all that *love them*, and all that *they love*. When this Opinion is once ſtarted, 'tis an eaſie matter by the help of Invention and Story to improve it; and by this means we ſhall come, in a ſhort time to ſecure all the *Councils* of the Nation to *our Party*, that are choſen by *Suffrage*. If you were Read in Hiſtory you would find, that ſtill *as the* Papiſts *ſet the Houſe on fire, the* Non-Conformiſts *took the Opportunity of Roaſting their own Eggs*.

Who are Popiſhly affected.

Bum. *Yes, yes, I underſtand ye. As for Example now,* One *goes to the* Lords *in the* Tower; Another (*as you were ſaying*) *drinks the* Duke's Health; *a* Third *prays for the* Queen; *a* Fourth *Fancies* Two Plots; *a* Fifth *refuſes the* Petition; *a* Sixth *ſpeaks well of my* Lord Chief-Juſtice, *or calls the* Proteſtant Domeſtick *a* Libel. *All theſe now are* Popiſhly Affected.

Citt. Save your Breath, *Bumpkin*, and take all in one word: Whoſoever will not do as we would have him, ſhall be *made* ſo.

But now to the matter of *Invention*, and *Story*; I hate the over-hearing of Diſcourſes in blind Allyes, and ſuch ordinary *Shams*: I'm rather for coming down-right to the *Man*, and to the *Point*; after the way of the Proteſtant Domeſtick.

Matters of Eoment.

Bum. *Ay, ay: There's your* free Speaker. *Well*, Citt, the King wants ſuch men about him. *But pre'thee hear me; Is it certain his Majeſty has Lent the King of* France Three Millions?

Citt. No, no; ſome Two and a half or there-abouts.

Bum. *Why, if the King would but make a League now with the* Swiſs, *to keep the* Turk off that way; *and another with the* Proteſtants in Hungary, *to keep off the* French; *the whole world could never hurt us.*

Citt. Nay that's true enough, but then the *Pole* lies ſo damnably betwixt *Us* and the *Baltick*.

Bum. *I'de not value that a half-penny, ſo long as we have the* Waldenſes *to Friend.*

Citt.

Citt. And then *New England* lies ſo conveniently for *Proviſions.* But what do you think of drawing *Nova Scotia,* and *Geneva* into the *Alliance?*

Bum. *Ay, but there's no hope of that: ſo long as the King follows theſe Counſels.*

Citt. Thou art a great Read man I perceive in the *Intereſt of States.*

Bum. *I have always had a phanſie to* Stow's Survey *of* London, *and thoſe kind of Books.*

Citt. But good *Bumpkin,* what's thy opinion of the *Biſhops* Votes *in* Caſes of *Life* and *Death.*

Bum. *Ay, or in Caſes of* Heaven and Hell *either. Why as true as thou art a man,* Citt, *we have but* Three Proteſtant Biſhops *in the Nation; and I am told they are warping too.*

Citt. Prethee why ſhould we look for any *Proteſtant Biſhops* in the *Kingdom,* when there's no *Proteſtant Epiſcopacy* in the *World?* but for all this, we may yet live to ſee the *Rafling* of their *Lawn Sleeves.*

Bum. *Oh, now I think on't; didſt thou ever read the Story of* Moſes *and the* Ten Tables?

Citt. The *Two Tables* in the *Mount* thou mean'ſt.

Bum. Gad *I think 'tis the* Two Tables. *I read it in Print t'other day, in a very good Book, that as ſure as thou art alive now,* the Biſhops in *Harry the* 8*th.* made the *Ten Commandments.*

Citt. Why that was the Reaſon, *Bumpkin,* when the *Lords and Commons* put down *Biſhops,* they put down the *Ten Commandments too*; and made *New ones* of their *Own.* And doſt not thou take notice that they put down the *Lords Prayer* too, becauſe 'twas akin to the *Popiſh Pater-Noſter?* and then for the *Creed,* they caſt it quite out of the *Directory.*

Bum. *Now as thou lay'ſt it down to me, the Caſe is as clear as Cryſtal. And yet when I'm by my ſelf ſometime, I'm- ſo afraid methinks of being* Damn'd.

Citt. What for, ye Fop you?

Bum. *Why for* Swearing, Lying, Diſſembling, Cheating, Betraying, Defaming, *and the like.*

Citt. Put it at worſt, do not you know that every man muſt have his *Doſe* of *Iniquity?* And that what you take out in *One Way* you abate for in *another,* as in *Prophaning, Whoring, Drinking,* and ſo forth. Suppoſe you ſhould ſee POYSON ſet in Capi-

The Brethren are only for Profitable ſins.

tal Letters, upon *seven Vials* in a *Laboratory*; 'twere a madness I know, for any man to venture his Life upon 'um, without a *Taster*. But having before your eyes so many Instances, of men, that by drinking of these Poysonous Liquors; out of a *Consumptive*, *Half-starv'd*, and *Heart-broken* Condition, grow *Merry*, *Fat*, and *Lusty*, would not you venture too? Imagine These *Seven Waters* to be the *Seven Deadly Sins*, and then make your *Application*.

Bum. *Nay the Case is plain enough, and I cannot see why that should be a* Poyson *to* me, *that's a* Preservative *to* Another: *Only our Adversaries twit us with Objections of* Law *forsooth*, and Religion.

Citt. Wherefore the Discipline of the Late Times sav'd a great deal of puzzle. Mr. *Prynn* sent *His Clients* to Mr. *Case* for *Religion*; and Mr. *Case* in requital, sent *His* to Mr. *Prynn* for *Law*; which kept up a Concord among the *Well-affected*. But your Lesson in both these Cases, falls into a very narrow compass.

Bum. *Pray'e let it be* Plain *that I may* Understand *it*; *and* in Short *that I may* Remember *it*.

Three Positions.

Citt. Keep close only to these *Three Positions*: *First*, that the *King* is *One* of the *Three Estates*; *Secondly*, that the *Sovereign Power* is in the *People*; and *Thirdly*, that it is better to obey *God*, than *Man*. These Fundamentals will serve to guide ye in almost any Dispute upon this Matter, that can occur to you.

Bum. *But what becomes of me, if my Adversaries should turn the question another way?*

Citt. I'le fortifie you there too. And let me tell you that he'l have much ado to keep himself Clear of one of these two Rocks: Either of Dashing upon the *Plot*, or upon the *Liberty of the Subject*. As for Example.

L'Estrange Confuted.

There's *L'Estrange* as wary a Dog perhaps as ever pist; and yet ye shall see how we have hamper'd Him. I write the thing my self, ye must know, though it comes out in the Name of the *Authors of the Weekly Pacquet of Advice from* Rome. 'Tis Dedicated to *Both Houses of Parliament*; and Design'd just for the 26*th* of *January*: So that if the Parliament had Set, there would have been means us'd to have had him Question'd for't.

Bum. *Gad, I know where ye are now. 'Tis in the* Preface *to the* History of the Damnable Popish Plot.

Citt.

Citt. Ay, that's it. I'le give ye First, the *Words* in't that concern *L'Estrange*, and you shall *Then* see the *Writings* of *His* that I have reflected upon.

Bum. *Oh, 'Tis a devilliſh witty thing*, Citt; *I have ſeen it. Methinks the Rogue ſhould hang himſelf out of the way: I'le go to* Man's Coffe-Houſe *and ſee how he looks on't.*

Citt. No, no, Pox on him; he's an Impudent Curr; nothing leſs than a Pillory will put him out of Countenance. This Toad was in *Newgate*, I know not how long; and yet he'l take no warning.

Bum. *You muſt conſider*, Citt, *that he writes for Money*; O my Soul, they ſay, the Biſhops have given him five hundred Guinies: *But pre'thee* Citt, *haſt not thou ſeen* the Anſwer to the Appeal, Expounded?

Citt. Yes but I ha' not read it.

Bum. *Why then take it from me*, Citt, *'tis one of the ſhrewdeſt Pieces that ever came in Print.* L'Eſtrange, *you muſt know wrote an* Anſwer *to the* Appeal.

Citt. We've a ſweet Government the while, that any man ſhould dare to fall foul upon *That Appeal.*

Bum. *Well, but ſo it is*; *and* Another *has written Notes upon* Him: *You can't imagine*, Citt, *how he winds him about's Finger*; *And calls him* Fidler, Impudent, Clod-pate; *and proves him to be a* Jeſuit, and a *Papiſt as plain as the Noſe of a Mans Face: he ſhews ye how he accuſes the* Kings Evidence; *and that he is in* Both Plots, *in I know not how many places.*

Citt. I have known the man a great while; and let me tell ye in Private, I am to draw up *Articles* againſt him. But I have been ſo buſie about my *Lord Chief Juſtices Articles*, and *Other Articles* againſt *a Great Woman*, that lay upon my hand, that I could not get leiſure; and yet I ſhould have met with him long er'e This too, for all that, but that the *Committee* Sits ſo curſedly Late: And then they have cut me out ſuch a deal of work about the *Succeſſion.* Well I heard a great Lord ſay, that *That Hiſtory of his deſerv'd to be burnt by the hand of the Common Hangman.* *Citt.* drawing up Articles.

Bum. *Bravely ſaid*, Citt, *I faith: who knows but we two may come to be* Pillars *of the* Nation? Thou *ſhalt ſtand up for the* City, *and I for the* Countrey.

Enter Trueman *out of a Cloſet.*

Enter *Trueman.*

Citt. Trepan'd, by the Lord, in our own way.

Trueman. Nay hold, my Maſters; we'll have no flinching. Sit down, ye had beſt, without putting me to the Trouble of a Conſtable.

Citt. Why we have ſaid nothing, Sir, that we care who hears; but becauſe you ſeem to be a Civil Gentleman, my Service to you, Sir.

Bum. *Ay, Sir; and if you'll be pleas'd to ſit down and Chirp over a Pot of Ale as we do, y're welcome.*

Tru. Very good; And *You* are the *Repreſentative* (forſooth) of the *City*, and *You* of the *Countrey*. *Two* of the *Pillars* of the *Nation*, with a Horſe-Pox; a man would not let down his Breeches in a Houſe of Office that had but *Two ſuch Supporters.*

Citt's Faculty and Employment.

Do not I know you, *Citt*, to be a little *Grub-ſtreet Inſect*, that but t'other day ſcribled Handy-dandy for ſome *Eighteen Pence* a *Job*, *Pro* and *Con*, and glad on't? And now, as it pleaſes the Stars, you are advanc'd from the *Obort*, the *Miſcarriage*, I mean, of a *Cauſe-ſplitter*, to a *Drawer-up* of *Articles*: And for your skill in *Counterfeiting Hands*, preferr'd to be a *Sollicitor* for *Fobb'd Petitions*: You'll do the *Biſhop's buſineſs*, and you'll do the *Duke's buſineſs*; And who but *You*, to tell the *King* when he ſhall make *War*, or *Peace*; call *Parliaments*, and *whom* to *Commit*, and *whom* to *let go:* And then in your Fuddle up comes all; what ſuch a Lord told you, and what you told Him; and all this Pudder againſt your Conſcience too, even by your own Confeſſion.

Citt, Ye'are very much Miſ-inform'd of Me Sir.

Tru. Come, I know ye too well to be miſtaken in you; and for your part, *Bumpkin*, I look upon you only as a ſimple Fellow drawn in.

Bumpkin's Account of himſelf.

Bum. *Not ſo* ſimple *neither, it may be, as you take me for. I was a* Juſtices Clerk *in the* Countrey, *till the buſineſs of the* Petitions; *and my Maſter was an Honeſt Gentleman too, though he's now put out of Commiſſion: and to ſhew ye that I am none of your* ſimple Fellows (*do ye mark*) *if ye have a mind to Diſpute upon* Three Points, *I'm for you.* Firſt, *the* King *is* One *of the* Three Eſtates; Secondly,

the

the Sovereign Power *is in the* People. *And* Thirdly, *'Tis better to Obey* God *than* Man.

Citt. Always provided, *Bumpkin*, that the Gentleman take no advantage of what's ſpoken in Diſcourſe.

Tru. No, there's my hand I will not; and Now let's fall to work. If the King of *England* be *One* of the *Three Eſtates*, then the *Lords* and *Commons* are *two Thirds* of the *King of England.*

Bum. *Oh Pox, you've a mind to put a Sham upon the Plot, I perceive.* *Bumpkin's* way of Argument.

Tru. Nay, if y'are thereabouts:—— If the *Sovereignty* be in the *People*, why does not the *Law* run in the Name of our *Sovereign Lords* the People?

Bum. *This is a meer* Jeſuitical Trick, *to diſparage the* Kings Witneſſes; *for* They *are part of the* People. *Now do you take up the Cudgels*, Citt.

Tru. Do ſo, and we'll make it a ſhort buſineſs, and let's have no ſhifting.

Now to ſhew ye that I gave good heed to your Diſcourſe, I'll run over the Heads of it as you deliver'd them. Firſt, for *Committees*, and *Grand-Committees*, what are they compounded of, but *Republicans* and *Separatiſts*, a Medly of People Diſaffected both to *Church* and *State*? This you cannot deny; and that they would not ſuffer any man otherwiſe affected, to mingle with them. Now beſide the *Scandal*, and *Ill Example* of ſuch *Irregular Conventions*, whoever conſiders their *Principles*, may reaſonably conclude upon their *Deſigns*: For they are wiſer, I hope then to lay their Heads together to deſtroy themſelves. The Compoſition of the Committees.

Citt. But it is hard, if *Proteſtants* may not meet as well as Other People.

Tru. Yes, *Proteſtants* may meet, but not in the quality of *Conſpirators*, no more than *Conſpirators*, may meet under the *Cloak*, and *Colour* of *Proteſtants*: The intent of the *Meeting* is matter of *State*, and you turn it off, to a point of *Religion.*

Citt. But it is not matter of *Religion* to joyn in a *Petition* for the meeting of a *Parliament*, to bring *Malefactors* to a *Trial*, and to *extirpate Popery.*

Tru. Such a Petition as you Inſtance in, is in the appearance of it, not only *Lawful*, but *Commendable*; But then it muſt be promoted by *Lawful Means*, and under *Decent Circumſtances.* What Petitions warrantable, and what not.

'Tis

'Tis a good thing to *Preach*, or *Catechiſe*; but it is not for a *Layman* preſently to pluck the *Parſon* out of the *Desk*, or *Pulpit*, that he himſelf may do the Office. It is a good thing to execute *Juſtice*; but yet *a Private man* muſt not invade the *Judgment-Seat*, though it were to paſs even the moſt *Righteous Sentence*.

Citt. The King may chuſe whether he'll *Grant* or no; So that without invading *His Right* we only claim the *Liberty* of *Preſenting* the *Requeſt*.

No Petition to be preſs'd after Prohibition.

Tru. That may be well enough at *Firſt*; but ſtill, after *One Refuſal*, and That with a *Pubick Interdict* on the Neck on't, forbidding the purſuance of it; ſuch a *Petition* is not by any means to be *Repeated*. *Firſt*, out of *Reſpect* to *Regal Authority*. *Secondly*, as the *King* is the *Sole Judge* of the matter: *Thirdly*, upon the *Importunity*, it is not ſo properly *Deſiring* of a thing, as *Tugging* for it: *Fourthly*, It tends many ways to the Dimunition of His Majeſties *Honour*, in caſe it be Obtain'd; For it implies, either *Levity*, or *Fear*: or (to make the beſt on't) the *King* confers the *Obligation*, and the *Heads of the Petition* receive the *Thanks*. Now add to all this, this *ſuborning* of *Subſcriptions*, and the *Inflaming* of *Parties*, what can be more *Undutiful* or *Dangerous*?

Citt. But do not you find many *Honeſt* and *Conſiderable men* concern'd in theſe *Petitions*.

The Nation Poyſon'd with Falſe Principles.

Tru. Yes, in ſeveral of them I do; and the main Reaſon is This. There's no man under *Five and Fifty*, at Leaſt, that is able to give any Account of the *Deſign*, and *Effects* of this way of Petitioning in *Forty* and *Forty One*, but by *Hear-ſay*: So that This Nation proceeds moſtly upon the *Maxims*, and *Politiques*, which that *Republican* Humour deliver'd over to us: But yet let the *Thing*, or the *Manner* of it be as it will, Thoſe that *Diſarm'd*, and *Turn'd back* the *Kentiſh Petitioners* at *London-Bridge*: Thoſe that *Wounded* and *Murthered* the *Surrey-Petitioners* in the *Palace Yard*, only for deſiring a *Peace*, and in order to the *Preſervation* of His *late Majeſty*: *Thoſe People* methinks, that were ſo Out-ragious *Againſt thoſe Petitions* (and ſeveral others of the ſame kind) ſhould not have the Face now to be ſo *Violent*, *for This*. And whoever examines the *preſent Roll*, will find the *Old Republicans* to be the *Ring-Leaders*.

The Injuſtice of our Common-wealthsmen.

Bum. Really, *Citt*, the man ſpeaks Reaſon.

Tru. Conſider then the *Mean ways* ye have of advancing your-

Preten-

Pretensions, by *Falshood*, and *Scandals*, to disappoint Honest men of *Elections*; The use ye make of the most *Servile Instruments*, to promote your Ends; your *fawning Methods of Popularity* toward the *Rabble*; your ways of undermining the *Government* of the *City*, as well as of the *Nation*; your worse than *Jesuitical Evasions* in matter of *Conscience*; your *Nonsensical Salvo's*, and *Expositions* of *Christian Liberty*; your putting out the *Church of Englands Colours*, and calling your selves *Protestants*, when you are effectually no better than *Algerines*, and *Pyrating* even upon *Christianity it self*; your beating of the Wood, in the History of our most *Seditious Times*, to start *Presidents* and *Records* in favour of your own disloyal Purposes. The *Pharisaical* Distinguishing of your selves from the *Profane* (as you are pleas'd to stile others,) even in your *Dress*, *Tone*, *Language*, &c. Your uncharitable *Bitterness of Spirit*; your *lying in wait* for *Blood*; and laying of *Snares* for the *Unwary* and the *Innocent*; and still vouching an *Inspiration* for all your *Wickedness*; your gathering of *all Winds* toward the raising of a *Storm*; Your *Unity* in *Opposition*, and in *nothing Else*: your *Clamors*, and *Invectives* against *Priests* and *Jesuits*, when it is the Church of *England* yet, that feels the *Last Effect* of your *Sacrilegious Rage*. 'Tis not so much the *Officers* of the Church, and State, that are *Popishly affected*, but the *Offices* Themselves; and those in the first place (as you chuse your *Sins* too) that are most *Beneficial*. To say nothing of your wild *Impostures* upon the multitude.——

The mean ways of promoting their Designs.

Citt. Now you talk of *Impostures*, what do you think of L'*Estrange's History of the* PLOT, and his *Answer to the* APPEAL? Whether are Those Pamphlets, *Impostures* upon the *Multitude*, or *Not*?

Tru. You were saying e'en now, That then *History of the Damnable Popish Plot* was of your Writing; Answer me That Question First; was it so or not?

Citt. No, it was not of my Writing; it was done by a *Protestant Club*?

Tru. Why then let me tell ye, if a man may believe the *Preface* to That *Club-History*: or the *Notes* upon the *Answer to the Appeal*, (for I have read them all:) L'*Estrange's Pamphlets* are great abuses upon the *People*: but if you had the Books about ye, the matter were easily cleared, by comparing them.

Citt.

Citt. By good luck we have 'um all about us, that can any way concern this Queſtion. And look ye here now.

Reflections upon *L'Eſtrange.*

Firſt, *He calls his* Abridgement *of the* Trials, *The* Hiſtory *of the* Plot, *without mentioning one word of the Original Contrivance, the Preparatives, manner of Diſcovery, and other Remarkables eſſential to a* Hiſtory.

2. *He omits* Staly's *and* Reading's Trials, *which yet ſure had Relation to the* Plot.

3. *In his* Epiſtle *he ſeems to drown the* Popiſh Plot *with ſuggeſtions of an* Imaginary One *of the* Proteſtants.

4. *The amuſing People with ſuch Stories, is notoriouſly a Part of the* Grand Popiſh Deſign.

5. *Whereas he tells us, that not one* Material Point *is omitted, moſt Readers cannot find the ſubſtantial part of Mr.* Bedloe's *Evidence againſt* Wakeman, (*pag.* 46. *of the Trial*) *So much as hinted at: Not to mention the groſs ſhuffles, and omiſſions in* Page 77. *and elſewhere.*

6. *He charges the* Printed Trials *(in his FREEBORN SUBJECT* p. 15.) *with many* Groſs Incoherences, *and very* Material Miſtakes; *yet Inſtances but* One, *and corrected too, as an* Erratum.

7. *When our Poſterity ſhall urge theſe Trials for proof againſt* Papiſts, *how eaſily may the ſubtil Villains ſtop their mouths, by alledging from this Author that* no heed is to be given to the ſaid Trials; (*being ſo publickly own'd by a Perſon of his Note, and late Qualification*) *to be guilty of ſo many, and ſuch very* Material Miſtakes.

The Foregoing Reflections Anſwer'd.

Tru. Obſerve here, *Firſt, L'Eſtrange* expounds his *Hiſtory* in the *Title Page*, by reſtraining it to the *Charge* and *Defence* of *the Perſons there mentioned*: Beſide that he calls it an *Hiſtorical Abſtract*, and a *Summary*, in his *Epiſtle.*

2. *Staly's Trial* had no Relation at all to the *Plot*, and *Reading* was not Tri'd for his *Life*: and ſo not within the compaſs of his Intention expreſs'd in the *Preface.*

3. The *Epiſtle* acknowledges a *Deteſtable Plot*, and a *Conſpiracy*: but adviſes *Moderation*, and that the *Rabble* may not dictate Laws to *Authority*; for that *Licence* was the Cauſe of the *Late Rebellion.*

4. It was more than a *Story*, the *Murther* of the *Late King*, and the *Subverſion* of the *Government*, and the *ſuppreſſing* of theſe

Neceſſary

Neceſſary Hints, and *Cautions* is notoriouſly a part of the *Grand Fanatical Deſign*.

4. In *L'Eſtranges Hiſtory*, here *Page* 79, and 80, there's every particular of Mr. *Bedloes* Evidence in Sir *George Wakemans Trial*, *Page* 46. with many other Paſſages over and above: whereas your *Damnable Hiſtory* here *Page* 295, falls ſhort at leaſt by one half. And then for the *Shuffles* and *Omiſſions* reflected upon, *Page* 77. ſee *L'Eſtranges Words Page* 88. *The Lord Chief Juſtice* (ſaies he) *after ſome Remarks upon the* Romiſh Principles, *ſummed up the Evidence, and gave Directions to the Jury*: which is the ſubſtance of the *Page* cited in the *Preface*. Touching your *Elſewhere*, it is in plain *Engliſh*, *No-where*.

6. Look ye, here's more Jugling. He ſays SEVERAL *Groſs Incoherences*, and have you made them MANY: and then you have left out the *Parentheſis* (*eſpecially in the Latter of them*,) Which varies the Caſe too. And I remember again, that the *Erratum* was ſupply'd after *L'Eſtrange* had *corrected* it: And ſure it was a Groſs one too, to expoſe a *Proteſtant Gentleman* for a *Papiſt*, *Nine times in two Pages*. I could ſhew you ſeveral other *Material Miſtakes*, but one ſhall ſerve for *all* *Page* 45.) as I take it) of *Irelands Trial*; which you will find charg'd upon the Preſs, in *L'Eſtranges Hiſtory*, *Page* 18.

7. Pray'e mark me now: *L'Eſtrange* finds *Errors* of the *Preſs* in the other *Trials*, and *Rectifies them* in his *own*: Now if Poſterity ſhall find in the *Right*, that the other are *Wrong*, they are in no danger of being *miſled* by the *One*, in what is *Corrected* by the *other*: and if they do not read the *Right Copy* at all, there's no harm done to the Other, but they muſt take it as they find it. So that this *Remarque* is ſo far from *Diſparaging the Proceedings*, that a greater Right can hardly be done to *Publick Juſtice* by a *Pamphlet*. But now let the *Epiſtle* ſpeak for it ſelf.

To the READER.

THere has not been any point, perhaps, in the whole Tract of *Engliſh Story*, either ſo dangerous to be miſtaken in, or ſo difficult, and yet ſo neceſſary to be underſtood, as the Myſtery of this deteſtable *Plot* now in Agitation. (A Judgment for our Sins, augmented by our Follies.) But the World is ſo miſerably divided betwixt ſome that will believe every thing, and others nothing, that not only *Truth*, but *Chriſtianity* it ſelf is almoſt loſt between them; and no place left for Sobriety and Moderation. We are come to govern our ſelves by Dreams and Imaginations; We make every *Coffee-houſe-Tale* an Article of our Faith; and from Incredible Fables we raiſe invincible Arguments. A man muſt be fierce and violent to get the Reputation of being *Well-affected*; as if the calling of one another *Damned Heretick*, and *Popiſh Dog*, were the whole Sum of the Controverſie. And what's all this, but the effect of a popular Licenſe and Appeal? When every Mercenary Scribler ſhall take upon him to handle matters of Faith, and State; give Laws to Princes; and every Mechanick ſit Judge upon the Government? Were not theſe the very Circumſtances of the late *Times*? When the Religious Juglers from all Quarters fell in with the Rabble, and managed them as it were by a certain ſleight of hand: The *Rods* were turned into *Serpents* on both ſides, and the Multitude not able to ſay which was *Aaron*, and which the *Enchanter*. Let us have a care of the ſame Incantation over again. Are we not under the protection of a Lawful Authority? Nor was there ever any thing more narrowly ſifted, or more vigorouſly diſcouraged than this *Conſpiracy*. *Reformation* is the proper buſineſs of *Government*, and *Council*; but when it comes to work once at the wrong End, there is nothing to be expected from it but *Tumult* and *Convulſion*. A Legal and Effectual Proviſion againſt the danger of *Roniſh Practiſes* and *Errors*, will never ſerve their Turn, whoſe Quarrel is barely to the *Name* of *Popery*, without underſtanding the thing it ſelf. And if there were not a *Roman Catholick* left in the Three Kingdoms, they would be never the better ſatisfied; for where they cannot find *Popery*, they will make it; nay, and be troubled too that they

they could not find it. It is no new thing for a Popular Outcry, in the matter of Religion, to have a *State-Faction* in the Belly of it. The first late Clamour was against *Downright Popery*; and then came on *Popishly affected*; (that sweeps all.) The *Order of Bishops*, and *the Discipline of the Church* took their Turns next; and the next Blow was at the *Crown* it self; when every man was made a *Papist* that would not play the Knave and the Fool, for Company, with the Common People.

These things duly weighed, and considering the Ground of our present Distempers; the Compiler of this Abridgment reckoned that he could not do his Countrey-men a better Office, (than by laying before them the naked State of things) to give them at one view, a Prospect, both of the subject matter of their Apprehensions, and of the Vigilence, Zeal, and needful Severity of the Government on their behalf. To which end he hath here drawn up an *Historical Abstract* of the whole matter of Fact concerning those Persons who have hitherto been Tryed for their Lives, either upon the *Plot* it self, or in Relation to it: opposing Authentick Records to wandring Rumors, and delivering the *Truth* in all Simplicity. He hath not omitted any one material Point: There is not so much as one *Partial Stroke* in it; not a Flourish, nor any thing but a bare and plain *Collection*, without any Tincture, either of Credulity or Passion. And it is brought into so narrow a Compass too, that it will ease the Readers *Head*, as well as his *Purse*, by clearing him of the puzzle of *Forms* and *Interlocutories*, that serve only to amuse and mislead a man by breaking the Order and confounding the Relative parts of the *Proceeding*.

Having this in Contemplation, and being at the same time possest of a most exact *Summary* of all Persons here in Question; this Reporter was only to cast an Extract of these Notes into a Method: especially finding, that upon comparing the substance of his own Papers, with the most warrantable Prints that have been published; his own *Abstract* proved to be not only every jot as Correct, but much more Intelligible; which being *short* and *full*, he thought might be useful, and find Credit in the World upon its own account, without need of a *Voucher*.

L'Eſtranges Narrative juſtified.

Tru. You have now the whole matter before you; the *Epiſtle*, ye ſee, juſtifies it ſelf: And then for the *Narrative*, I dare undertake he ſhall yield up the Cauſe, if you can but produce any *One Material Point*, which he hath either *falſifi'd*, *palliated*, or *omitted*, in the whole *Proceeding*. But to be plain with you,

His Adverſary detected.

Citt, one of the *Authors* of *your Preface* is a *Common Setter*, *a Forger of Hands*, *a little Spy* upon the *Swan* in *Fiſh-ſtreet*; *a Hackny Sollicitor* againſt both *Church* and *State:* You know this to be true, *Citt*, and that I do not ſpeak upon gueſs: So that *Calumny* and *Falſe Witneſſing* is the beſt part of that *Author's Trade*. And then the *pretended Hiſtory* is a direct *Arraignment* of the *Government*.

A bold and ſenceleſs Libel.

He takes up the *King* and *Council*, *p.* 381. reflects upon the *Judges* in the very contents, and elſewhere; he deſcants upon the *Duke* of *York*, in oppoſition to the expreſs ſenſe and declaration of the *Bench*, p. 145. and has the confidence yet to Dedicate this *Galmaufry* of audacious *Slanders* to the *Two Houſes of Parliament*. There is little more in the whole, than what has been eaten and ſpew'd up again Thirty times over: and the entire work is only a *Medly* of *Rags* and *Solœciſms*, pick'd up out of *Rubbiſh*, and moſt ſutably put together.

L'Eſtrange charg'd as a *Papiſt*, by a certain Lecturer.

Citt. You may take his part as you pleaſe, but there's a Famous *Lecturer* charg'd him publickly for *Popery*, in his Anſwer to the *Appeal*; and for falling upon Dr. *Lloyd*.

Tru. He did ſo; but at the ſame time that *Lecturer* found no fault with the *Appeal it ſelf*; and the beſt on't is, his *Tongue's* no more a Slander then his *Pen*: and whoever reads what he has written concerning the *Late King*, and the *Epiſcopal Church*, will think never the worſe of *L'Eſtrange* for what he ſays. Now for the *Reverend Dean* of *Bangor*, I dare ſay, he never *ſpake*, or *thought* of him but with *Veneration*. Let me ſee the Book.

The Ground of his Accuſation.

Look ye here, 'tis *p.* 118. in *L'Eſtranges Impreſſion*, and 'tis *p.* 15. in *this*; and here's the Point [*Their Loyalty and good Service paid to the King* (ſays the *Appealer*, ſpeaking of the *Papiſts*) *was meerly in their own Defence.*] Now ſee *L'Eſtrange's Reply* upon it; *If it lies* (ſays he) *as a* Reproach *upon them that they did not Serve the King out of* Loyalty, *that which they* did, *was yet better than* not Serving *him at all*; *and better in a higher degree* ſtill, *than* Fighting againſt *him*. And a little after; *It is worth the Obſervation, That not a man drew his Sword in the oppoſite Cauſe, who was*

not

not a Known Separatist; and *that on the other side, not one* Schismatick *ever struck Stroke in the* Kings Quarrel.

And now for your Notes upon his Answer, they are so silly that it were Ridiculous to Reply upon 'um [*who knows* (saies he) *but the Regicides were Papists in disguise, p.* 19.] And a deal of such sensless stuff; enough to turn a Bodies Stomach. And if you'd inform your self of his Malice; look ye here, *p.* 4. *p.* 9. and *p.* 33. how he Palliates, if not Justifies the late Rebellion, the Murther of the Arch-Bishop of St. *Andrews*, and the drawing of the Sword against the King.

Briefly, 'tis an *Insipid, Bawling* piece of *Foolery*, from one end to the other. And it is not but that I highly approve of your *Zeal* for the Discovery of the *Plot*, and Suppressing of *Popery*; but we are not yet to trample upon *Laws*, and *Publick Orders*; for the attaining even of those Glorious Ends.

But now I think on't; deal freely with me; did you really go to the *Registers* ye spake of, to furnish *Names* for your *Subscriptions*?

Citt. No; That was but a *Flourish*; but all the Rest we *Literally* did.

Tru. Are not you Conscious to your selves of your Iniquities? Who made *You* a *Commissioner* for the *Town*, or *You* for the *Countrey*? But we are like to have a fine business of it, when the *Dregs* of the *People* set up for the *Representatives* of the *Nation*; to the Dishonour of the most *Considerable*, and Sober Part of the *Kingdom*. Pre'thee *Bumpkin*, with thy *Poles* and *Baltricks*, how shouldst thou come to understand the *Ballance* of *Empires*? who are *Delinquents*, and who *not*? the Right of *Bishops Votes*? And *You* (forsooth) are to teach the *King* when to call a *Parliament*, and when to let it alone. And are not you a fine Fool i'th mean time, to drudge for the Faction that sets ye on, to be afterwards made a Slave for your pains? A gros Cheat upon the Nation.

And then for you *Citt*, with your *Mould*, *Records*, your *Co-ordinate Estates*, and your *Sovereign Power of the People*. Do not I know all your Fallacies, your Shifts, and Sliding Holes? There's not one step you set, but I can trace you in: You have your *Spies* upon all *Libraries*, as well as *Conversations*; your *Agents for the procuring* of old *Manuscripts*, and *Records*, and for the *Falsifying* of *New Ones*, to make them look like *Old Ones*. Nay, the *Papers* of *State* themselves had much ado to scape ye. Lewd Practices of the Faction.

Those

Thoſe that aſſert the juſt *Rights* of the *Crown*, you either *Bury* or *Conceal*; only Publiſhing the *Precedents* of *Seditious Times*, in Vindication of ſuch Principles.

Againſt Co-ordination.

Citt. I muſt confeſs I take the *Government* to be *Co-ordinate*, and the *King One* of the *Three Eſtates*, with ſubmiſſion to be better inform'd.

Tru. If it be ſo, how comes it that that the Houſe of *Commons* even in their moſt Popular Seaſons, have ſtill own'd the Crown of *England* to be *Imperial*? How comes it that all our *Laws* are call'd the *Kings Laws*: all our *Courts of Juſtice*, his *Majeſties Courts*, and all *Publick Cauſes* try'd in the *Kings Name*, and by the *Authority* of his *Majeſty*?

Citt. But have not the *two Houſes* their ſhare in the *Legiſlative Power*?

It is the Sanction makes the Law, not the Conſent.

Tru. You muſt diſtinguiſh betwixt the *Conſent* and the *Sanction*; the *Preparatory* Part is *theirs*, the Stamp is the *King*'s: The Two Houſes conſent to a *Bill*, It is only a *Bill*, when it is *preſented*, and it remains yet a *Bill*, even when the King has *conſented* to it; and in this *common Conſent*, in order to a *Law*, the *Two Houſes* may be ſaid to ſhare with his *Majeſty*: but then the *Fiat*, that ſuperinduces an *Authority*, and is only and properly the Act of *Legiſlation*, is ſingly in the *King*. So that though they *ſhare* in the *Conſent*, they have no pretence at all to the *Sanction*: which is an Act of *Authority*, the other but of *Agreement*.

The Inconveniences of a Co-ordination ſuppoſed.

And yet again, admitting your *Co-ordination*; Firſt, every Kings runs the hazard of his Crown upon every Parliament he calls: For that *third Eſtate* lies at the Mercy of the *other two*: And further, 'tis a kind of Ringing the Changes with the Government, the *King* and *Lords* ſhall be uppermoſt *One day*, the *King* and *Commons Another*, and the *Lords* and *Commons* the *Third*: For in this Scale of Conſtitution, whatſoever the *One* will *not*, the *other Two may*.

Citt. Well; but Ours is a MIXT Government, and we are a *Free People*.

Of a Mixt Government and a Qualifi'd.

Tru. If ours be a *Mixt Government*, ſo as to any *Popular Participation* of *Power* with the *King*; then it is not a *Monarchy*: (which is the *Government only of one*) but if you'll call it a *Qualifi'd Government*, ſo as to diſtinguiſh it from an *Abſolute* and *Unlimited Government*, I'll agree with you. But let the *Government* be *what* it will, and *where* it will, let it do *Right* or *Wrong*, it is *Equally*

Unaccoun-

Unaccountable; for there lies no *Appeal* but to a *Superiour*; and the Supream has none but *God himself*.

Citt. But if we be a *Free People*, have not *We* as much *Right* to *our Liberties*, as the King has to *his Crown*?

Tru. Yes, we have, but the King has this advantage of us, that *we* may forfeit our *Liberties*, but *he* cannot forfeit his *Crown*.

Citt. What if a *King* will Transgress all the Laws of *God* and *Man*, may not the *People* resume their *Trust*?

Tru. No, not unless you can produce an express *stipulation to that very purpose*. But let me shew you, First, the Error of taking that to be a *Trust* from the *People*, which in truth, is an *Ordinance* of *Providence*: For *All Power is from God*. And Secondly, the *Absurdity* of the very *Supposition*, even in the Case of a Trust conferred by the People: If the *King breaks his Trust*, the *People Resume* it: but who are these *People*? If a *Representative*, they are but *Trustees Themselves*, and may incur a *Forfeiture* too, by the same Argument. Where are we next then? For if it devolves to the *Loose Multitude* of *Individuals*, (which you will have to be the Fountain of *Power*) you are then in an *Anarchy*, without any Government at all; and there you must either continue in a *Dissociated State*, or else agree upon *Uniting* into some Form of *Regiment* or other; and whether it be *Monarchy*, *Aristocracy* or *Democracy*; It comes all to a Point: If you make the *Government accountable* upon every Humour of the People, it lapses again into a *Confusion*. To say nothing of the Ridiculous Phancy of a *Sovereignty* in the *People* upon this Account, that they can never be so brought together, either to *Establish*, or to *Dissolve* a *Government*, as to authorize it to be the *Peoples Act*. For there must be, *First an Agreement* to *Meet* and *Consult*. *Secondly*, an *Agreement* upon the *Result* of that *Debate*; and any *one Dissenter* spoils all, where every *Individual* has an *Equal Right*: So that unless the People be all of the same mind, this Supposition will be found wholly Impracticable and Idle.

Power is from God, not from the People.

Sovereignty of the People most Ridiculous.

Citt. But is there no Fence then against *Tyranny*?

Tru. Only Patience, unless you run into *Anarchy*, and then into that which you call *Tyranny* again; and so tread Eternally that Circle of *Rigour* and *Confusion*. *In fine*, the Question is this, whether People had better run *certainly* into *Confusion* to avoid a *possible Tyranny*, or venture a *possible Tyranny* to avoid a *certain Confusion*?

Citt.

Citt. But where we find *Positive Laws* and *Provisions* to *fail us*, may we not in those Cases betake our selves to the *Laws* of *Nature* and *Self-Preservation*?

Self-preservation is no Plea for the People

Tru. No, ye may not; for many Reasons. First, It makes you *Judges*; not only *when* those Laws take place, but also *what* they *are*. Secondly, the *Government* is *dissolv'd*, if Subjects may go off or on at pleasure. Thirdly, *Self-Preservation* is the Plea only of *Individuals*; and there can be no colour for the exposing of the *Publick* in favour of *Particulars*. What would ye think of a *Common Seaman* that in a *Storm* should throw the *Steersman over-board*, and set himself at the *Helm*? Or of a *Souldier* that should refuse a *Dangerous Post* for fear of being knock'd on the Head, when the *whole Army* depends upon the Maintaining of *That Pass*.

Citt. Pray'e tell me what it is that you call *Government*; and how far it extends; for you were saying even now, that the *Reason* of *all Government* is *alike*.

What Government is.

Tru. Government is the *Will* and *Power* of a *Multitude*, *united in some One Person, or More, for the Good and Safety of the Whole*. You must not take it that *all Governments* are *alike*; but the *Ratio* of *all Governments* is the *same* in some Cases. As in the Instance of *Self-Preservation*; which is only Pleadable by the *Supream Magistrate*, in Bar to all *General Exceptions*; for he is First, presumed in Reason, to be vested with all *Powers necessary* for the *Defence* and *Protection* of the *Community*: without which, his Authority is vain. He is, Secondly, Obliged in *Duty* to *exert* those *Powers* for the *Common God*: And he is, Thirdly, entrusted with the Judgment of all *Exigences* of *State*, be they *greater* or *less*, wherein the Publick Good may be concern'd. Now put the Case that the Magistrate should make a wrong *Judgment* of matters, and mis-imploy those *Powers*, it were an infelicity in the *Administration*; but the *Sacredness* of *Authority* is still the same: And he is a Mad-man that plucks down his *House* because it rains in at the *Window*. And in case of the *Magistrate*, it is not so much *He* as *They*; for the *King* is (as I said before) the *United Power* and *Will* of the *People*. And so fare ye well.

Certain Priledges essential to Government.

THE END.

CITT
AND
BUMPKIN,
THE SECOND PART.

OR,

A Learned Discourse upon

SWEARING
AND
LYING.

And other Laudable Qualities tending

TO A

Thorow Reformation.

The Fourth Edition.

LONDON,
Printed for *Joanna Brome*, at the *Gun* in St. *Paul's* Church-yard, 1681.

To the READER.

IT *is a great deal of* Time, Pains *and* Good-Will, *that I have employ'd upon my* Duty, *in the Vindication of the* Church *and* State, *from the Malice of* Bold *and* Petulant Libels: *And not one word of* Reply, *ſave only from the pitiful* Expounder *of my* Anſwer *to the* Appeal (*mentioned elſewhere*) *which was,* (*in truth*) *ſo* clamorouſly ſilly, *that inſtead of an* Abuſe, *is proved a* Complement. *But to ſee the Luck on't: Juſt as I was about to take out my* Quietus; *the* Cauſe *cold i'th' mouth; and to every Bodies thinking, without either* Breath *or* Pulſe; *Behold* Two unanſwerable Confutations; *the* One *in* Manuſcript, *by way of a* Familiar Epiſtle; *and the* Other *in* Print. *The Letter was a* Prologue *to the* Book, *as the* Book *may* (*in good time*) *be a* Prologue *to the Pillory*; if *making the* King *One of the* Three Eſtates, *may recommend the Author of it to that Preferment. This Epiſtle of his crept in the dark one Night into my* Book-ſellers Shop; *as* Naturally *as if his Mother had been a* Bulker, *and yet the Man's no* Baſtard *neither, at leaſt by the* Mothers *ſide; as you will find by his* Stile *and* Logick; *which ſpeaks him as True a Son of the* Kirk, *as if the Pamphlet had been written with the very Milk of his* Dam. *It is drawn out into* Two Large Folio's; *and truly too much, and too beaſtly, to recite at length; ſo that I ſhall only preſent ye with here and there a* Taſt, *of his* Vein *and* Humour, *and ſome ſhort Notes upon it, by the* By. *He begins*, Monſieur CRACK. *Now there may ariſe ſome Controverſie perhaps, among the* Criticks, *about the Word* Crack, *and ſo I ſhall Expound it to ye: But you'le find the* Reſt *to be exceeding plain.*

One Griffith *wrote a ſmart Paper of Verſes upon Dr.* Wild, *wherein he call'd him the* Presbyterians Jack Pudding. *This was an Alluſion proper enough; for why ſhould not* Mountebanks *in* Religion *have their* Jack Puddings *as well as* Mountebanks *in* Phyſick? *But however, the Dr. took* me *to be the Author of the Copy; and in Revenge, (the* News-Book *being at that time in my hand) was pleas'd to* Chriſten *me the* Crack-fart *of the* Nation, *as it may be many an honeſt mans Fortune to have a Wag to his* God-father. *This Secret I have told the Reader in* Confidence; *and I hope it ſhall go no further: and upon that aſſurance I'le proceed.*

['Tis no new thing (*ſaies the Letter-Man*) for *Pimping* to raiſe a *Villain* to preferment; and that has been of late your daily Bread: For what is all your *Impudent Scribling*, but the Act of *Procuring* for *Popery* and *Tyanny?*] *So that writing for the* King *and the* Church *it ſeems, is writing for* Popery *and* Tyranny.

And again, Dr. *Oates* is as much above your *Malicious Raillery:* as you are below common *Honeſty*; and even *CARE*, I am confident can beſtow time better, than in minding the Yelps of ſuch a *Cerberus*, ſuch a *Proſtituted Raſcal, a Sycophant* to *Cromwel, Betrayer then of Cavaliers.*]

Now if it be Malicious Raillery, *to magnifie* Dr. Oate's ſervices; *to improve his* Diſcoveries; *to elevate his* Abilities; *to ſet forth his* Hazards (*on* both *Sides*) *as well from the* Fanaticks, *as the* Jeſuits; *to maintain him for a* Canonical Aſſertor *of the Church of* England, *againſt all Gainſayers*; *to Enumerate the* Good Offices *he has render'd to the* poor Proteſtants, *and to pray that he may be rewarded according to his* Deſerts, *for all the good he has done us: If this, I ſay, be* Malicious Raillery, *then am I* Guilty *of it: But if all this be* good, *where's the* Malice?

Or

Or if it be True, *where's the* Raillery? *And this is not all neither; the purging of my* Self: *But whosoever calls this* Deference *and* Justice *to the* Doctor, *by the Name of* Raillery, *does manifestly imply the* Ground *of it to be* False; *to the wounding of the* Dr's. Testimony, *and to the blasting of him in the Reputation of his* Literature, Probity, *and* Manners.

There's the same hand again in Tom *and* Dick; (*for I'le publish his Pamphlet for him*) pag. 28. L'Estrange (*he says*) has Serenaded *D. Oates* of late most notably; and caress'd him, just as *Joab* did *Abner*. *In which Case I shall Appeal to* Authority *for* Justice *upon the* Defamer *of the* Kings Evidence, *and a* Loyal Subject *both in* One. *In the same Page he makes a Proffer at an Argument.* He that is not *against* us (*he says*) is with us: But L'Estrange *never wrote against* Papists, *and therefore he's a* Papist: *by which Rule, if the* Author *never wrote* against Lame Giles in Holbourn, *or a* Little Lowsie Monky in the Old-Bayly; *then the* Author *is a* Lame Giles in Holbourn, *or a* Little Lowsie Monky *in the* Old-Bayly. *The man* Swears *ye see, on the behalf of the* Dr. *but when he comes to* his Friend *CARE, he's* stark mad, (*the Lord bless us*) *and fails into* Fits; Cerberus, Rascal, Sycophant, Traytor; *for there's a wonderful Sympathy, you must know, betwixt the* Author *and this same* CARE. *But these are the* Ornaments *and* Idioms *of his Profession*; *I must not call them* Lies, *but* Presbyterianisms.

Yet again, [Really *Roger*, Thy Fiddle is as Damnably out of Tune, and Thy Credit as much out at Elbows, as when thou didst *prostitute Body and Soul* to *Noll's High Nose*; and thou wilt look shortly worse by half than *Harris* in the *Pillory*, &c.] *And yet once more*, Prethee get *S*— (that *Quintessence* of *Knavery*) or any of the *St. Omer-Rogues*, thy Common Companions; I see *thee, and* some *Irish Cut-Throats* every Night with thee, at *Man's*, &c.

Here's

Here's Another Flower *of his* Rhetorick, *and the Blaſpheming of a* Proteſtant Martyr, *over and above; with two or three* Presbyterianiſms *more into the bargain.*

Here's Wit at will *ye ſee, in the* Dialect, *directly of a* Weſtern Barge: *But the Man's in a Courſe of* Phyſick, *and there's no more contending with him, than with the* Governour *of a* Night-Cart, *that carries his* Arguments *in his* Tubs. *It is ſaid to be the work of one* Harry Langly-Samuel: *But whoever it is, by my Troth, I do e'en pity the Wretch, for he's ſet on, and only* Barks *for a* Cruſt. *But upon the whole matter there went more Heads than One, I'le aſſure ye, to this Learned Piece; and (as* Lacies Wench (*in* Monſieur Ragou) *ſaid of her* Baſtard, *'tis the* Troops-Child; *and a very* Unmannerly Brat *it is; I'le be judge by the* Third Merchant *elſe.*

Now to conclude in a grave Word or two, this way of Fooling is neither my Talent, *nor my* Inclination; *but I have great Authorities yet, for the taking up of This Humour, in regard not only of the* Subject, *but of the* Age *we Live in, which runs ſo much upon the* Droll, *that hardly any thing elſe will down with it. Give me leave to ſay further, that in this Dreſs of* Levity, *I have not only avoided the* Scurrility *of a* Buffon, *and the* Hyperbole *of an* Extravagant, *and* Unnatural Satyr, *but I have endeavour'd to paint* Truth it ſelf *to the* Life, *without any* Prepoſſeſſions *of* Malevolence *againſt either* Parties *or* Perſons. *The* King *and the* Church *have been already deſtroy'd (even within Our Memories) under the* Diſguiſes *of* Loyalty, *and* Holineſs. *And theſe* Dialogues *are only preſented to the* Publick, *as a kind of* Hiſtorical Map *of our* Late Miſeries; *that by* laying open *the* Rocks *and* Sands *that we periſht upon before, the People may be* Caution'd *againſt the* Danger, *and* Deſign *of a* Second Miſcarriage.

CITT and BUMPKIN.

The Second Part.

Citt. LEt's e'en jogg on to *Hampſtead* then; and talk it out, where we may look about us.

Bum. Trueman's a *meddling*-Coxcomb, *and there's an end on't. An* Eves-dropping-Cur, *to bolt in upon us out of a Cloſet ſo.*

Citt. 'Tis as I told ye, *Bumpkin*, and ye may lay it down for a *Maxim*; that SWEARING and LYING *Governs the World.*

Swearing and Lying Governs the World.

Bum. Why *what do ye think of* Canting, Couſening, Plotting, Poyſoning, Supplanting, Suborning.

Citt. 'Tis all from the *ſame Root*, and the Conning of *this Leſſon* makes ye maſter of your *Trade.*

Bum. *Of what* Trade, *as thou lov'ſt me?*

Citt. The *Trade* of *Mankind*, *Bumpkin*; the *Trade* of *Knavery*: The *Trade* of turning *Dirt into Gold*: The *Trade* of *Advancing Raſcals*, and *Overturning Governments*; The *Trade* of taking the *Covenant* with *One hand*, and Cutting a *Throat* with the *Other*; The *Trade* of the *Temple-walks*; The *honeſt Affidavit-Trade.*

Bum. *But doſt thou call this an* Honeſt *Trade, Citt?*

Citt. Yes, yes, *Bumpkin*, it is a very *Honeſt* Trade that a man's the better for; and he's a very *Honeſt* Man too that lives by his *Calling.* Why it brings *Power* and *Reputation* along with it; nay, and it brings money too, that brings every thing.

Bum. Reputation *ſay'ſt thou? why they're two of the* Damn'deſt Qualities in Nature.

Citt. And yet *theſe two damn'd Qualities*, as thou cal'ſt them, got the better of the *Late King*; and afterwards of the *Commons*; and after that of the *Protector*; and to be plain with ye, *Bumpkin*, 'tis all that we our ſelves have to truſt to.

Bum. *I cannot imagine what kind of* Swearing *and* Lying *it is that ye ſpeak of.*

Citt. I do not ſpeak of the way of the *Bulleys*; the *Dam-me-Boys*,

Boys, or the *Iriſh Cut-Throats*: I hate that *Confounding*, *Damning*, *Sinking*, *Rotting* humour of *Swearing*. I am for the Swearing *Seldome*, and to *purpoſe*: That is to ſay, for the Engaging of a *Party*: or for the making out of a *Stabbing Evidence*. or ſo.

Swear ſeldom but to Purpoſe.

Bum. *Oh ho, I underſtand ye now; and the* Scrupling *of a* Small Oath, *gives a man* Credit in a Great One.

Citt. There's a great difference betwixt Swearing in a *Religious* way and in a *Prophane*; though the ſubſtance of the *Thing Sworn* come all to the ſame Paſs: for there's *Heaven* and *Hell* in the caſe, on both ſides. As in the inſtance now of the Late *Proteſtations*, *Vows*, *Oaths* and *Covenants* that were Sworn in the Preſence of the *Almighty* and *Everliving God*; and as the Lords and Commons ſhould *Anſwer for't at the laſt day*: In aſſertion of their *Zeal*, and *Affection* for His *Majeſties Honour* and *Authority*; and the Eſtabliſhment of our *Religion*, *Laws* and *Liberties*. What a *Dignity*, what a *Majeſty* is here in the very *Stile* and *Number*! Though in the *Concluſion* let me tell ye, the Project went quite to another Tune.

Religious Swearing, and Profane.

Bum. *Ay, ay*, the Dam-me *of the* Covenant *in the* Church *ſtrike a man with ſuch a* Reverence *methinks over the* Hectors Scandalous Dam-me *in a* Tavern.

Citt. Moſt acuteiy obſerv'd; for the *Scandal* lies in the *Condition* of the *Place*, and in the *Sound* of the *Words*, not in the *Meaning of them.*

Bum. *I had terrible Qualms at firſt*, Citt. about the *Swallowing of* Oaths, *and other* Puntillos *of* Scruple; *but they are nothing ſo* Frequent *of* Late, *nor ſo* Troubleſome *as they were wont to be.*

Conſciences harden by degrees.

Citt. That will all over, *Bumpkin*, in time. Where's the *Good Fellow* that did not *Puke* upon his *Firſt Debauch!* And a *Baud* is never the leſs *Reverend*, becauſe ſhe *whimper'd* perhaps ſome five and fifty years ago, for the Loſs of her Maidenhead. Nay, it was a good while before our *Hero*'s *Themſelves* could bring their *Oaths* of *Allegiance*, and their *Covenants* to *Conjobble* together.

Bum. *Why for that matter, All's but* Uſe Citt; *All's but* Uſe.

Citt. Nothing in the World elſe: And when a man has got the Trick on't, if he has taken *Twenty Oaths*, hee'le fetch ye up *any One* of them again, that you'le *call* for, with as much eaſe, as the *Water-drinker* at *Bartholomew-Fair* does his Several *Liquors*.

The tye of an Oath.

Bum. *It is certain, that an* Oath, *or the calling of* God *to* Witneſs, *is the moſt* Solemn- *and* Univerſal Tye *in Nature, and ſo Accompted among People of all* Nations *and* Opinions.

Citt.

Citt. And there's no doubt, but the Influence that it has upon Men's minds, is the moſt Powerful of all Impreſſions; and of the greateſt effect in the Manage of our moſt Important Affairs. So that it is no wonder to ſee all Matters of the higheſt moment, as well *Private*, as *Publick*, as well *Warrantable*, as *Not*, committed to this way of *Caution* and *Teſt*.

Bum. *'Tis very true, as in the Caſe of* Teſtimony, Civil Duty, *and* Canonical Obedience.

Cite. Now as the Wit of Man could never invent a more Competent Expedient, than *Theſe Oaths*, well apply'd for the *Maintenance* of the *Government*, and the *Support* of *Publick Juſtice*: So whoſoever would *Diſſolve* this Frame, muſt find a way to introduce *OTHER OATHS* in *Oppoſition* to *Theſe*; and to turn the Edg of the *Law*, and of the *Goſpel* againſt it ſelf, by drawing the moſt *Popular Lawyers* and *Divines* into the *Party*. This is the naked Truth of the buſineſs; and to deal plainly with ye, unleſs you give me your *Solemn Oath*, that you'l be *True* to me, and *Firm* to the *Cauſe in hand*, I muſt not move one Inch further. The Uſe and danger of Oaths.

Bum. *Why then, by all that was ever ſworn by before, I will* be Both.

Citt. The League is now ſtruck, and the ſooner we unmask the *better*; for it begets *Freedom*, and *Confidence* in each other.

Bum. *Here are two difficulties in the way, which I would fain have remov'd; the One is, how to get the People to take ſuch an Oath of* Oppoſition *as is here imagin'd; and the* Other *is how to* Countenance *and* Palliate the keeping *of that Oath when they have* taken it.

Citt. It was the Maſter-piece of our Late Reformers, to contrive ſuch an *Oath*, as in the *Senſe* and *Grammar* of it carry'd the face of a Proviſion for the *Common Benefit* and *Security*, both of *King* and *People*, upon pretence that the *Government Civil*, and *Eccleſiaſtical*, and the *Proteſtant Religion it ſelf* were all in *danger*. This plauſible Impoſture went down with the Common People, without much Examination; eſpecially under the Colour of a *Parliamentary Authority* to back it: And it was ſo far from appearing at firſt Bluſh, to thwart the *Regular Oaths* of the *Government*; that it ſeemed to the *Multitude* rather to *Second* and *Enforce* them. But when they came to find that they had ſworn to they knew not what, and that this *Covenant* being Originally deſign'd for an Engine to *Unhinge* the *Government*, the *Takers* of it were ty'd up to the Senſe of the *Impoſers*: They had but this Choice before 'um; either to comply with the Ends of the *Cabal* that The Project and Myſtery of the Covenant.

set it afoot; or to deliver up their *Lives* and *Fortunes* at *Mercy*.

Bum. *So that the Letter of the Oath was* for *the Government, and the Intent against it. But what Arguments did they use for the* supporting *of it, after the Discovery of the* Fraud?

The Covenant had all the following Oaths in the Belly of it.

Citt. Only the Common Arguments of Exorbitant Power; *Jayls, Plunders, Confiscations, Axes, Gibbets*, &c. for breach of *Covenant*.

Bum. *Well, but there was a Train of* Contradictory Oaths *afterward one upon the Heel of another, thorough I know not how many changes of State; what became of the* Covenant in those Revolutions?

Citt. The *Single Covenant* had all those *Oaths* in the Belly of it; and as many more, as it is possible to find Cases within the Compass of Humane Apprehension: for it imported an absolute and implicit *Resignation to the Will and Pleasure* of whoever was *Uppermost*, so that the Submissions of those times were only look'd upon as *Passive, and Temporary Yieldings* to the *Present Power*, still as *one Interest* justled out another.

Bum. *And there were some too, it may be, that when they were once Fool'd out of the way, made it a Matter of* Conscience *not to be set Right again.*

Citt. Oh, there were a great many that thought themselves *bound* by the Latter Oath, and *Discharg'd* of the *Former*; especially when they had got the better end of the Staff, and *all Power is from God*, in *Their Favour*. But to be short, what out of *Fear, Shame, Weakness, Obstinacy* and the like; they stuck to the *Combination*, and made themselves Masters of the Government.

Bum. *You have here set forth in the famous Instance of the* Covenant, how easily, *and by what* Means *the Multitude may be inveagled into* Engagements; *and you have laid open the* Consequences *of such* Leagues, *and the* Difficulty *of* Retriving *them: But how shall we apply* This Model *now to* our Purpose?

Citt. Why just as they apply'd the *Holy League* of *France* to *Theirs*: for the Common People have the very same *Passions*, the same *Weaknesses, Now*, that they had *then*; and if some of our *Cock-brain'd Zealots* had not *out-run the Constable*, we might have been half way to our Journeys end by this time.

The Good Old Cause cools of late.

Bum. *Nay, the truth of it is* Citt; *the Nation is nothing near so hot upon the business now, as they were some Ten or Twelve* Months ago: *and they grow still cooler and cooler methinks, every day more than other.*

Citt.

Citt. And what's the Reason of all This, now? We play our Game too open, and the Plot's Discover'd.

Bum. *Well, well* Citt; *some Body will smoak for this one day.*

Citt. If we could have contented our selves with an orderly Improvement of the *Popish Conspiracy*, and gone thorow the work of *Religion*, before we medled with Matter of *State*; we had done the *Job*, but the *Republicans* hurry'd us on so fast, (Ay and *Great ones* too) I should be loth (as thou sayst) to be in some of their Jackets for't.

Bum. *Nay, really I was sensible of it my self, that they did things* hand over head; *and ran on many times without either* Fear *or* Wit. *But however, I should be glad to be particularly instructed how far they did* Well *or* Ill, what they should *have done* instead *on't*; *where they did* amiss, *and what we our* selves are *to do, as the Case stands with us at present.*

Citt. This is a Contemplation well digested, and I'l speak by and by to thy four Questions in course as they lye.

We have been hammering (thou knowest) at *Popery, Ceremonies, Subscriptions, Oaths, and Tests, Liberty of Conscience*, and now and then a snap at *Arbitrary Power*, ever since the King came in without gaining any ground upon the *Government*, more than what we bought with our *hard Mony*; that is to say, so many flowers of the *Crown*, for so many *Taxes* and *Supplies*. (The Nation being divided upon these points, and the *Crown* and *Church-Party* standing in Opposition to the other), at length broke out this accursed Design upon the *Life* of our *Sovereign*, and our *Establish'd Religion*, Which Providence united *Both Interests* in *One common Cause*, though with *differing Ends.*

The Fanaticks gain'd little ground of late.

Bum. *This you'l say, was a fair Foundation laid, as to the Total destruction of the* Papists, *but when* That's done, Citt, *where are we to be* Next?

Citt. Why that will *never* be done man; while there's a *Surplice* or a *Blew Garter* in the Three Kingdoms, For there's your *Church-Papist*, your *Pensioner-Papist*, your *Papist in Masquerade*, your *Concealed-Papist*; These are all of 'um forty times worse than your *Known, Jesuited*, and *Barefac'd Papist:* And in one word, 'tis as easie a thing to give any man the mark of the Beast that stands in *our way*, as for a *Horse-Courser* to make a *Star* in a *Jades Forehead.*

No end of Papists.

Bum. *Without all doubt* Citt. *and whosoever doth not* Petition, Protest, Associate, Covenant, Act *and* Believe *as* We *do, is a Rank* Papist.

How to know a Papist.

Citt. Nay, I'l go further with ye *Bumpkin*; I'l tell ye by a Mans *Evidence*, his *Furniture*, his *Trunk*, his *Brains*, or his *Estate*, without ever examining his *Faith*, whether he be a *Protestant* or a *Papist*. I have led ye a little out of the way, to shew ye this secret, and assure your self, *whenever this Cloak fails ye, y'are left naked.* But now to the Question of *managing* this Occasion.

How far the Fashion acted Prudently.

So far as the *Court*, the *Church*, and *Bench* went along with us, in the *Opening*, the *Exposing*, the *Discountenancing*, and passing *Sentence* upon this *Hellish Plot*, we could not do amiss. And then it was well follow'd, in getting the *Popish Lords* out of the *House*; in dividing the Order of *Bishops* into *Three Protestants*, *and the Rest Papists*, as it has been since, in feeding the Peoples *Jealousies* all over the Kingdom, with daily Intelligences of *New Fires*, *New Plots*, *New Discoveries*, to keep their *Fears waking*, though in most Cases without any Ground whatsoever.

Bum. *'Twas a plain thing there, in some of the* Penmen *of the* Narrative *to bring the King into the* Plot against himself, *was't not?*

Citt. Well, and was it not a notable Push: to charge it so home upon the *Council, that They would clap up no body for't?*

Bum, *And really to give the* Intelligences *their* Due, *they ha'n't spar'd telling his* Majesty, *the* Judges, *and the* Bishops *their own neither.*

Citt. It has been well enough done too, to Brand Those for *Publick Enemies*, that would not go along with Us; and for *Popishly affected*, that but so much as open their Mouths for *Moderation*; to ply his *Majesty* with *Petitions*, the *City* and *Countrey*, with *Speeches*, *Remonstrances*, and *Appeals*. The Starting the Case of the *Succession* was not *amiss* neither, nor the *President* of *Queen* Elizabeths *Association*.

Bum. *But I have heard my Old Master speak of that* Association, *as a Trick of* State, *with a special regard to the Queen of* Scots, *and that though* Cambden *makes the Queen say that* she had no knowledge of it before it was presented, *he does not say so yet* himself.

Citt. There have been several Deliberations also upon Entring into *Publick Protestations* of *joyning as one man against Popery*, that have been very favourable to our purpose: and it was no ill Contrivance, the burning of the *Pope* with that Solemnity in *Fleet-street.*

Bum. *And what do ye think of the* List *of the* Unanimous Club *of* Voters? *(That about the Court-Pensioners I mean) That was a notable device, let me tell ye; for hardly any of them got into the* House *after.*

after. But ſtill if all this has been ſo much to our Advantage, *how comes it that we looſe* Ground, *and that any thing elſe ſhould take place* againſt *Us.*

Citt. We may e'en thank a Company of *Hot-headed Fools* in our *own Party*, for taking off the *Mask too* ſoon; *and for* Writing *and* Printing ſo unſeaſonably againſt the *Civil Government* whatever came uppermoſt: which they have done to that degree of *Inconſiderable Raſhneſs*, that the *Long Parliament* had an *Army* in the *Field*, before they ventur'd half ſo far. They have already ſet the *Lords and Commons* above the *King*, plac'd the *Government* in the *People*, nay, they have been Nibling already at the *Militia*, the Power of *Life* and *Death*, and of *Calling*, and *Diſſolving Parliaments*: They have Reviv'd the *19 Old Propoſitions*; tearing his Majeſties *Servants* and *Miniſters* out of the very Arms of their *Maſter*; and they have as good as told the King in plain Terms before-hand, what he is to truſt to; I do not ſpeak here of any of our *Parliamentary Proceedings*; but of the Licence of *Private Libertines* that *write* and *talk* at *random.*

The overſight of the Fanaticks.

Bum. *Nay 'tis but too True*, Citt; *For't has been caſt in* my *Teeth Twenty times*: Matters are come to a fine paſs, *They cry*, when the Kings *Life* is to be preſerv'd by thoſe that would take the *Crown* off on's head; and *the Proteſtant Religion by the Profeſt Enemies* of the Church of *England. But you have told me wherein they did well and ill*, let me hear in the next place what they ſhould have done if you had been their *Adviſer.*

Citt. They ſhould have perpetuated the *Apprehenſions* of *Popery* by good *Husbandry* and *Manage*, without running the whole Party down at a Heat, till there was hardly a *Papiſt* left in a Country for a man to through his Cap at.

Bum. *Why That's the thing, man*; *They have deſtroy'd the Game to that degree that we are e'en ready to eat up one another.*

Citt. Ay; ay; ſo many *Preachers*, they have ſpoyl'd all: we ſhould have kept a ſtock of Prieſts and Jeſuits in *Reſerve*, and play'd 'um off now and then, one after another at Leiſure. This would have entertain'd the *Multitude* well enough; and kept the *Humour* in a *Ferment*, and *Diſpoſition* for *greater Matters.*

Preachers have deſtroyed the Game.

Bum. *Very Right*, Citt; *we ſhould have* hang'd to day *as we may* hang *to* morrow; *for an* Execution *is an* Execution; *if it be but of* One, *as well as of* Twenty.

Citt. Yes, and we ſee beſides, that *much Blood*, aud *Numerous Executions* turn the *Holy Rage* of a People many times into a *Fooliſh*

Much Blood turns Rage into Pity.

Fooliſh, and *Degenerate Pity*, over and above, that at the other Thrifty Rate, we could never have wanted matter to work upon.

Raſh Informers ſcandalize better Evidence.

Bum. *There's hardly any thing*, Citt; *that has done us more Miſchief, than the accuſing of This* Lord, *That* Commoner, *This* Biſhop, *That* Alderman; *This* Citizen, *That* Country-Gentleman, *for* Popiſhly affected; *when the whole world knows 'um to be* Church-of-England-Proteſtants. *One crys 'tis* Spite to the Perſon, *Another will have it to be* Malice *to the* Government; a *Third calls the Informers a Company of Rogues*, that care not what they ſay, *and brings a* Scandal upon better Evidence; *Nay, and who knows at laſt, but theſe pittiful Fellows may be ſet on by the* Papiſts, *to diſparage the* Plot?

Citt. Not unlikely *Bumpkin*; for there's nothing makes men more *Secure* and *Careleſs*, in the Caſe of *Real Dangers*, than the Frequent Trifling of them with falſe *Alarms*. But yet let me tell ye, as to the other point; that it is not *Simply* the *Charging* of men, (according to your Inſtances) for *Popiſhly-affected*, but the Charging of them *Unreaſonably*, that does Us the great *Miſchief*. For our work will never go *on* without *Popery*; and rather than *Want Papiſts*, we muſt *Create* them. But this is not a Project to be perfected at a *Heat*.

Bum. *And we are not in Condition*, Citt; *to wait the doing of it by* Degrees. *What becomes of us now then?*

More haſt then ſpeed.

Citt. Oh, ſet your heart at eaſe for That, *Bumpkin*; we have Twenty Irons in the Fire; and if thoſe fail, we'l have Twenty Fires more, and Twenty times as many Irons again in every Fire. We ſhould have gone on fair and ſoftly, in the very ſteps of our *Predeceſſors*: But if Men will leave the plain *Road*, and be trying Experiments upon their own Heads, over *Hedge and Ditch*, to find out a nearer way to their Journeys End; who can help it, if they break a Leg or an Arm by the way, and ſo fall ſhort at laſt?

Bum. *Why then 'tis but ſo much time loſt, and going back into the Road again.*

Citt. Juſt as if when a man has ſhewed himſelf, and frighted up the *Fowl*, you ſhould ſend him back again to his *Stalking-horſe*, and make his *Shoot*. But as it is, however, we muſt make the beſt of a Bad Game, and take our meaſures as we ſee Occaſion.

Bum. *As how*, take our Meaſures, *I prethee*?

Citt.

Citt. As thus *Bumkin*, We muſt ſhape our Courſe, according to the Circumſtances before us, with a reſpect to the *Power*, and *Intereſt* of *Parties*, *Change* of *Counſels*, and to the *State*, the *Humour*, and the *Inſtruments* of *Government*: So that what's beneficial to *day*, may be dangerous to *morrow*, and perhaps *Profitable* again the *Next*.

Rules of Policy vary with the Matters they are to work upon.

Bum. *But how ſhall the* Common People *judge of theſe* Niceties?

Citt. Why they are not to *Judge* at all, ye Fool: but to be menag'd, with *Inviſible Wires* like *Puppets*: and not to know either the *Why*, or the *What*, of things, but to *do* as they are *bid*.

Bum. *I have been expecting a good while that ye ſhould ſay ſomething concerning* Swearing.

Citt. Why ſo I *Have*, and ſo I *Will*. But I'le firſt give ye the whole *Scheme* of the buſineſs in ſhort. The *Government* can never be *Undermin'd*, but by a *Confederacy*: there can be no *Confederacy* without an *Oath*: Nor any thought of a *Popular Oath*, without a *Colour* of ſome *Authority* to *Countenance* it: Nor any *Colourable Authority*, but in a *Well-affected Houſe of Commons*; and *that Qualification* depends wholly upon a Right Choice of the *Members*, as *that Choice* again depends upon the *good Inclination* of thoſe that *Chooſe* them.

Bum. *So that the good will of the People is the* Key *of the Work*; *and we have gain'd that point already.*

Citt. We HAD gain'd it *Bumpkin*; but they fall off moſt confoundedly. The next ſtep, is a *Well-principled Houſe of Commons*. (and the *Reſt* follows in courſe,) How this will prove I know not; but the Nation has been warn'd ſufficiently againſt your *Eccleſiaſtical Officers*, *Prelatical Men*, *Courtiers*, *Penſioners*, *Debauchees*, and the like.

Practices in Elections.

Bum. *Nay, we made the verieſt Rogues of 'um in the* Countreys *too*, *As* Papiſts, Atheiſts, *and the Devil and all. And yet let me tell ye, the* Court *and* Country-Party *carry'd it in many places in ſpight of the Hearts of us*; *but that's no fault of* Ours, *you'l ſay. Hold a little, did not you tell me t'other day, that we ſhould bring our* Petitions *about again.*

Citt. Yes, I did, but the Committee has taken up other Reſolutions ſince; for it made ſuch a Noiſe ye ſee, that People were taken Notice of, and undone by't. This Phancy of *Proroguing* and *Diſſolving* has daſht all.

Bum. *So that* Petitioning is quite out of *Doors then.*

Citt.

Citt. No, not so neither, *Bumpkin*; but we must look hereafter to the *Timing*, and to the matter of our Petitions. Our *Cockbrain'd Linnen-Draper* there made a filthy stir; I would his Tongue had been in a Cleft-stick.

Bum. *Well; but there are Swinging Petitions afoot yet; for all this.*

Citt. Nay we may live to see some of the Lords *Spiritual* and *Temporal* upon their *Mary-Bones* yet, before we have done with 'um. But not a word of this, till we see how the Parliament's in Tune for't.

Bum. *And that's but reason*, Citt; for *fear* We *should be for* One *Thing, and They for* Another.

The Wisdom of the Long Parliament.

Citt. Wherefore 'twas wisely done of the *Long Parliament*, to have a *Private Cabal* of their *own:* For so long as they draw the Petitions *Themselves*, the *House* and the *Petitioners* would be sure to agree upon the matter.

Bum. *So much for the* Timing, *and the* Matter *of Petitions. But when shall we come to the point of* Swearing, Citt?

Citt. I'l lead you to't in a Trice; First we *Petition*, for one thing after another, till we come at last to be *Deny'd*; The *next* Advance is to *associate*, and then to *Swear.*

Bum. *Well! but this must be under the Banner of the* Peoples Representative.

Citt. No doubt on't; and that's the easiest thing in the World to compass, if we can but, *First*, get a *Right House of Commons*; and then Liberty for them to *Sitt* till all Grievances be *Redrest*: which was the very end of putting in a Clause for't in the *Late Petition.*

Bum. *If we could bring it to That once, we should be just in the Old Track again. But what kind of* Oath *must it be at last?*

The Composition of a Popular Oath.

Citt. It must be an *Oath* made up of *Ambiguities*, and *Holy Words*; not a half-penny matter for the *Sense* on't; for you must know, that though it looks like an Oath of *Religion*, on the *One side*, 'tis an Oath of *Allegiance*, on the *Other*; and a *Disclaimer* of the *King's*, in Submission to the *Sovereignty* of the *Commons.*

Bum. *There's no great Question to be made of the Effect of such an* Oath, *and such a* Conjuncture, *as is here suppos'd; but how shall we come at it I pre'thee?*

Citt. Time, and *Patience* overcom all things, *Bumpkin.* We have *Friends*, *Brains*, *Money*, and the grace of making the best of our *Opportunities.* One man is wrought upon by *Ambition*, Another

Another by *Avarice*; a Third by *Revenge*; and we have our ways of *Acceſs* to all *Humours*, and *Perſons*. How many *Favorites* do we read of, that for fear of *Impeachments*, have Sacrific'd their *Maſters*, to ſave *their own skins*. For *Princes themſelves* are not without their *Tractable*, and *Eaſie Seaſons*, of being Prevail'd upon.

Change of accidents produce change of Reſolutions.

Bum. *From what you have here deliver'd, I draw this* General Concluſion; *that* Change *of* Accidents *muſt of Neceſſity produce* Change *of* Methods, *and* Reſolutions: (*Provided always, That there be ſtill maintain'd a Tendency, though by* Several ways, *to the* Same End) *and that in all Caſes, the* Oath *is the* Sanction *of the* Confederacy.

Citt. You have it Right thus farr *Bumpkin*; and you ſee what *Power* an *Oath* has as well upon the *Bodies*, as the *Minds* of men; even to the blowing up of the Soundeſt *Foundations*, and to the drawing *Order* afterward out of That *Confuſion*. You ſee, in ſhort, the *Effects* of it in a *Political* way; and the Ordinary *Means* of gaining it. You would not think now, what an Advantage He has above Other People, in the Common Affairs and Buſ'neſs of the World (even betwixt Man and Man (that has been train'd up in This School of *Popular Confederacies*, and *Contracts*.

Natural Faculties in Swearing.

Bum. *Nay*, Practice, *and* Experience, *are* Mighty Helps, *beyond all peradventure: But yet I have ſeen ſome People go a great way in* Swearing, *by the meer-ſtrength of* Nature.

Citt. Yes, yes; *for a Down-right Dunſtable, Through-pac'd* way of *Swearing*; a *Ready Tongue*, with a *good Memory*; and a Competent ſtock of *Aſſurance* will do very Pretty things.

Bum. *Why I had a Friend t'other day that was at a loſs for a* Releaſe, *he made no more ado, but away into* Alſatia, *where he told his Story in the Hearing of two Competent Witneſſes; and* whip Sir Jethro, *they had him in a Twinkling, and ſo brought him off with Honour.*

Citt. This Old *Faſhion'd way* did well enough in *Strafford*'s days and *Laud*'s: But we are now infinitely Refin'd. And yet I cannot but allow that a *Happy Genius* may do a great deal that way; but when you come to *Caſuiſtical Points* that require *Reading, Conference*, and *Invention*; what will become of your *Thorow-pac'd Alſatia-man*, do ye think, with his *Natural Talent?*

Why thou art in the Altitudes, Citt; *a* Caſuiſtical Oath *ſayſt? What is the knack of that ſame* Caſuiſtical Oath, *I pre'thee.*

A Casuistical Oath.

Citt. A *Casuistical Oath*, *Bumpkin*; is an *Oath* with a *Nicety* in it: which *Nicety* may be solv'd *Two ways:* either by bringing the *Oath* to the *Conscience*, or the *Conscience* to the *Oath*. As for Example; The *Covenant* was a *Casuistical Oath*, wherein the *Words* were First brought to the *Conscience*, and then the *Conscience* to the *Intent*.

Cases of Conscience.

Bum. *Let me put some Cases to ye*; *suppose a Man sworn* out *of his Right by* One False Oath: *Whether or no may a Body swear him* into't *again by* Another?

Citt. Without dispute you may: (See the Holy *Commonwealth*) For it becomes an Oath of *Providence*, when it is apply'd to the maintenance, and support of *Truth* and *Justice*. And this holds too in swearing against the *Enemies of the Gospel*; when the *Excellency* of the *End* atones for the *Iniquity* of the *Means*. Or at worst, 'tis but venturing to become a *Cast-away* (after a *Scripture-Example*) for a *General Good*.

The Saints shew a Text for all they do.

Bum. *Ay, that's a sure way* Citt, *for a man to shew a* Text *for all he does. As how should the* Saints *have warranted their* Violence *against the* Late King, *and his* Loyal Nobility; *if it had not been for* that Text *in their favour*, they shall bind their Kings in Chains, and their *Nobles* in Links of Iron.

Citt. Or let us imagine that a Man has a *Wife* and *Children*, and not a bit of bread to put into their Heads: what do you think of a *False Oath*, in *such* a Case for a *Livelihood?*

Bum. *Nothing Plainer*, *for* he's worse than an Infidel that does not provide for his Family.

A Nice Point.

Citt. But then here's *Another subtlety* for ye: *One* man *swears* what he *thinks*, and it proves *False*: *Another swears* what he does *Not think*, and it proves *True*. As thus, I see a person walking in his Formalities, and swear, *there goes such a Doctor*; and it proves to be a *Baboon*; I see somebody in the *Chair*, and take him for a man of *Quality*, and he proves to be a *Knight of the Post*.

Bum. *This is only swearing* to the best of a mans knowledge.

Citt. But what if I should swear that Gentleman in the *Gown*, to be a *Baboon*, and the other resemblance of a man of *Quality*, to be a *Knight of the Post*: And yet, without my believing either the One or the Other, they prove to be *such*, How goes That point.

Bum. *Such an averment* (*I conceive*) *is to be taken rather for an* Inspiration, *then an* Oath.

Citt. Now there's *Another* way of *ſwearing* too: And that is, with a *Salvo* or *Reſerve*; which the *Doctors* of the *Separation* have in great Perfection (the *Jeſuits* call it a *Mental Reſervation*) as *the King's JUST Priviledges:* ——— *According to the BEST-REFORMED Churches.* ——— *As far as LAWFULLY I may*—— and the like. Swearing with a Salvo.

Bum. *What do ye think of* Him *that parting from a* good Fellow *with a* Pot *at's Head, made* Affidavit *in Court* (*to excuſe his* Non-appearing) *that* he left him in ſuch a Condition that he believ'd he could not live a quarter of an hour in't? Vulgar ſhifts.

Citt. Ay ay, and the guiding of a *Dead mans hand* to the ſigning of a *Deed*, and then ſwearing to the *Hand*, theſe are Vulgar ſhifts.

Bum. *But pray'e what's the meaning of that Text that ſays*, ſwear not at all? *For we muſt live up to our Rule.*

Citt. If we had not *Other Texts* to *Juſtifie* ſwearing, we muſt have underſtood it according to the *Letter.* This is only meant of *Profane, Cuſtomary, Vain*, and *Incenſiderate Swearing*, without either *Provocation*, or *Profit.* And it is better certainly for a man to *make* his Fortune by *One Pertinent Oath*, ſecuring his *Future State*, by a matter of twenty pound a year, to a *Lecture*, when he dyes; then to go to the *Devil*, out at the *Elbows*, for a *Million* of *Idle ones.* Aganſt ſwearing without Profit.

Bum. *But what did ye mean, e'en now by* Conference, *and* Invention *about ſwearing?*

Citt. Conference is nothing in the World but putting of your Fiddle in *Tune*: And *Invention* helps every man in the *Gracing* of his *Part.* But then there's the *Invention WHAT*, and the *Invention HOW*; the *Invention* of the *Matter*, and the *Invention of the Manner?* 'Tis enough, as to the *Matter*, that it be fitted to the ſtreſs of the *Queſtion:* But the Regulating of the *Manner* requires great Skill, Care, and Judgment. There's nothing that more recommends an *Evidence*, either to the *Bench*, or *Jury*, than *Modeſty* of *Behaviour*, (even to the degree of *Baſhfulneſs*) *Mildneſs* of *Speech*; a ſeeming *Scruple* of being *Poſitive*, where the point is nothing to the *purpoſe:* But a Diſcovery of *Paſſion, Fierceneſs*, and *Prepoſſeſſion* in a Cauſe, ſpoils all, and makes the *Teſtimony* look like *Malice* or *Revenge.* Of Conference and Invention in Swearing.

Bum. *I'm Inſtructed thus far. But where's the* Advantage *all this while, that an* Old Covenanter *has of a* Novice, *as you were ſaying e'en now?*

The advantage an old Covenanter has of a Novice.

Citt. Oh, they are *Many*, and *Great*. *First*, he has gotten the *Command* of his *Conscience*, and brought it to *Stop*, and *Turn*, at pleasure. *Secondly*, He's true to his Mark, spring him what Game ye will, he flies it *Home*: *Thirdly*, He has the *Digestion* of an *Estrich*; for after the Swallowing of the *Crown*, and the *Mitre*, there's nothing rises in his Stomach. *Fourthly*, there's no fear of *him*, for *sniv'ling*, or *repenting*, and telling of *Tales*; for he's above the Common Fooleries of *Counsel*, *Argument*, or *Remorse*.

Bum. *Nay*, *'tis with our Consciences as with our* Jades; *a* Phancy, *or a* Wind-mill, *put them out of their Wits*, *till they're us'd to it*. *And there's no fear of his* Flinching *neither*, *I'le grant ye*: *For a* Conscience *that has stood firm under the* Ruine *of* Three Kingdoms, *will never* Boggle *sure in the Case of* Single Persons. *And yet I find many of our* Old Stagers *come about too*. *How shall I distinguish now which of them are* Sound, *and which* Rotten at Heart?

Citt. There were *Some*, ye must know, that swore either in *Simplicity*, or to save a *Stake*: And *Others* in *Design*. Now those that were Noos'd *Before*, may be hamper'd *Again*, and those that comply'd for *Advantage*, *Then*, will do so *Still*. And for the *Designers*, they may be known by the favour they shew to their *Old Principles*, and *Friends*; which is an *Infallible sign* of the *Old Leaven* in them *still*.

Bum. *I'm of thy Opinion*, Citt; *and that they'l do us the Service still*, *of* Honourable spies *in an* Enemies Quarter.

True and false, only matter of opinion.

Citt. But what do we talk of *True*, and *False*; which, in this Fallible world, is little more than Matter of *Opinion?* A *True Oath Out-sworn*, passes for a *False* one; and a *False Oath*, not *detected*, passes for a *True* one: So that the *Scandal* of the *One*, and the *Reputation* of the *Other* is a thing of *Meer Chance*. Nay, in the practice of the World, 'tis rather the *Folly*, than the *Crime* of the *Falshood* that marks a man for a *Rascal*: For why should *Perjury* be more *Venial* in *One* Case, than 'tis in *Another?* *Damme, Sarrah*, (says a *Huff* to his *Lacquay*) *if I don't beat your brains out*; and yet he does not so much as Touch him. A young Fellow says a thousand times more to his *Mistress*, or to his *Creditor*, and makes not one word of it good. A *Bully* will do as much to an Unbelieving *Taylor* for a Suit of *Clothes*, though he never intends to pay him. And yet here's no Talk of *Inditements*, *Pillories*, or Loss of *Luggs* in the Case.

Bum.

Bum. *The Reason holds, I must confess; though the* Instances *do not perfectly* Agree: *For the* One *is an* Oath Originally False *in the* Matter *of it; and the* Other *is an* Oath, made False *by a* Subsequent breach *of it.*

Citt. Well, but all is *For-swearing* still. And why a *Perjury* in *Choler*, in *Love*, for a Paultry Sum of *Money*, or a pair of pitiful *Trowzes*, should pass only as words of Course, and yet so much Load he laid upon a *stretch* for the Relief of a *Necessitous Family*, the gaining of an *Estate*, the Preserving of *Religion*; and perhaps the Conversion of a *Kingdom:* This is a thing, I say, that I do not Comprehend.

Bum. *This is the* Law, *the* Law, Citt; *the* damn'd Law! *that's the Ruine of us all. And what is this* Law *at last?*

Citt. It is just throwing up of *Cross or Pile* in a *Vote. We* took *Cross*, and it happen'd to be *Pile*; and so we *lost* it. In short, and in earnest, we are guilty of Breach of Faith in the most solemn duties of our Christian Profession.

Bum. *Thou hast spoken more for the* Power, *the* Mystery, *and the* Benefits *of swearing, then the whole* Assembly *of* Divines, *the blessed* Synod themselves. *I prethee try thy skill now upon the Faculty of* LYING: *which as it* Naturally *goes before the Other; so I think it should have preceded too in the Order of place.*

Citt. So it does, and it should have so preceded; but that *Swearing* and *Lying* comes better off the Tongue, methinks, than *Lying* and *Swearing.*

Bum. *This* Lying *is but a* Course word; *the precise folk in the Country call it* Fibbing; *but That will not do so Well neither: For* Fibbing *and* Lying, *differ just as* Tripping, *and* Stumbling, *or in some sense, as* Jest *and* Earnest. *So that I find it must be* Lying *at last.*

The Laudable Faculty of *LYING.*

Citt. To handle the point Methodically, *Bumpkin*, there are *Lyes*, *Tacit*, and *Expres.* *Tacit*, as by *Looks*, *Signs*, *Actions*, *Gestures*, *Inarticulate Tones*, *Expres*, as *Words* at *Length*; and those are *Lyes* either of *Creation*, *Composition*, *Substraction*, *Amplification*, or *Addition*: I might carry it farther to *Lyes Ecclesiastical*, and *Civil*, but I'm loth to spin the Thred too Fine. Lyes Tacit, and Expres.

Bum.

Bum. *These are high points*, Citt; *how shall a man tell a* Lye *I pre'thee, without Opening his* Mouth?

Citt. Why? did'st thou never hear of the Language of the *Fingers?* But the Question is here upon *Hinting One thing*, and *Meaning Another*; and especially in *Politicks*, and *Religion*, in order to a *Thorough Reformation.*

A Thorough Reformation.

Bum. *I have heard a world of Talk of that same* Thorough Reformation; *all our* Meetings ring *on't*; *and there's such a deal of Clutter about the* Babylonish Garmen; *the* not leaving of a Hoof behind; Root and Branch, *and the Like*: *But I could never reach the bottom on't yet.*

A Partial and a Thorough Reformation.

Citt. Take notice then that there is a *Simple*, or *Partial Reformation*, and there is a *Thorough Reformation*; the *First*, in the Language of the *Reformers*, is only *Pruning of some Exorbitancies in Church and State*; As the Regulating of the *Kings Court*, paring the Nails of the *Prerogative*; the Lopping off here and there a *Rotten Lord*, or a *Popish Bishop*; the Removal of an *Evil Councellor*, the purging of a *Disaffected House of Commons*, or so: The *Other* leaves *no King*, *no Lord*, *no Bishop*, *no Hrnse of Commons at all*; and briefly, it signifies the turning of a *Monarchy* into a *Commonwealth*, an *Episcopacy* into a *Presbytery*, and our *Great Charter* into *our Will and Pleasure.* In One word; it is *Dismounting* of our *Superiors*, and getting our selves into the *Saddle.*

The End of this Reformation.

Bum. *Well, but This must be done by degrees.*

Citt. Ay marry must it, *Bumpkin*; and many a good morrow too, before we come to the point. There must be *Petition* upon *Petition*, *Remonstrances*, *Grievances*, *Popery*, *Tender Consciences*, *Fastings*, *Seeking of the Lord*, *Religion*, *Liberty*, and *Protestations* without End.

Bum. *Yes, yes, ye told me somewhat of this before, but it lies in a little compass*; *We must* Get *what we can by* Begging, *and then* Take *the* Rest.

The Reformers Two Topiques.

Citt. But now let me shew ye in *General*, how this is to be done. Whatsoever *Lessens* the *Government*, and *Exalts* the *Dissenters* in the Eyes of the People, we are to consider as a *proper Medium* toward a *Thorough Reformation*; and this must be done by Hook or by Crook; but provided the thing be *done*, no matter *how.*

Bum. *But however* Citt; *we had better do't upon the* Square, *as far as the Matter will bear it, and make out the* Rest *by* Fibbing.

Their Act and diligence.

Citt. That's a thing of course *Bumpkin*, to uncover the *Nakedness* of the *Government*, and rip up the *Errours*, and *Distempers* of *Church*

Church and *State*. Why we have a *Committee* for the *Regiſtring* of *Male-Adminiſtrations*; we have our *Spies* up and down from the *Bed-Chamber* to the *Meal-Tub*: There's not a *Tennis Court*, not a *Bawdy-Houſe*, not an *Eating*, or *Drinking-Houſe* about the Town that *ſcapes us*; not a *Glaſs*, not a *Word*, not a *Frolick*, in any Conſiderable Family, but we have it upon *Record*, and we have thoſe that will make it all good too upon *Oath*.

Bum. *And this goes a great a way, let me tell ye*, Citt; *for the People never conſider that* Rulers *are* Fleſh and Blood, *as well as* Other men: *and if any thing goes* amiſs, *they think there's no ſetting it* Right *again, without taking the whole Frame to* Pieces.

Citt. True *Bumpkin*, and that's the thing that muſt do our Work, but then if *Truth*, and matter of *Fact* will not hold out, we muſt have Recourſe to *Invention*. And now I come to my Text. You remember the *two Topiques* I gave ye, of *leſſening* the *Government*, and *Advancing* our *ſelves*.

Bum. *Yes, yes, but a Government may be* Leſſen'd ſeveral ways; *Leſſen'd in* Authority, *Leſſen'd in* Power, *Leſſen'd in* Reputation; *that is to ſay, in the* Eſteem, *and* Affections *of the* People, *either by* Hatred, *or* Contempt.

Several ways of leſſening Authority.

Citt. Very well, and ſo have we our ſeveral ways of making our ſelves *Popular*: All which muſt be done by improving Opportunities before us, toward theſe two Ends.

Bum. *But prethee tell me what advantage can we make of* Signs, *or how ſhall a man tell a* Fib, *without a word* ſpeaking.

The language of Nature above that of Compact.

Citt. Why doſt not thou know (*Bumpkin*) that the Language of *Nature* is infinitely more *Powerful* and *Significant*, than that of *Compact*? 'Tis impoſſible to put the force of *Looks*, *Groans*, *Actions* and *Geſtures* into *Words*: Is it not a *Lye* to *look* as if we *pray'd*, and yet *Curſe* in our *Hearts*; Or under Colour of a *Charity*, to put a *ſhilling* into the *Baſon*, and take *half a Crown* out? *Lord turn the Kings Heart*; (ſays the man above) which draws ſo ſorrowful a Countenance after it, from one end of the Tabernacle to the Other, that you'd ſwear we were either falling into the *'leventh Perſecution*, or that the *Pope* were already on this ſide *Highgate*.

A Lie without a word ſpeaking.

Bum. *'Tis a ſtrange thing* Citt, *the Agreement that we find in many things, betwixt* Reaſonable Creatures, *and* brute Animals, One Grone *runs quite through the* Meeting, *juſt as* One Note, *ſets a whole pack of* Beagles *a yelling*.

Citt. This way of *Jugling*, and *Diſſembling* by *Signs* is certainly

ly very *Artificial*, and of *Incredible Effect*; but a man may bette *understand*, than *express* it: And *Our People* are the most dextrou of all men living at that way of Address.

Of Fibbing in words at length.

Bum. *But what say you now to the business of* Lying, *or* Fibbing, *in words at length? Pray'e take your* Heads *in* Order, *and read upon them: And let me see some Instances how to apply them to the purposes of drawing the Affections of the People* from *the Government*, to our selves.

Citt. There is, First, a *Lye*, or (let it be rather) a *Figment* of *Creation*, which Imports the raising of *Something* out of *Nothing*, and is a Figure not to be employ'd, but with Infinite Caution.

Bum. *Prethee go on* Citt (*for my Brain Clarifies strangely upon't*) *and make me understand where I* may *make use of it*; *and where* not.

A Lye, or Figment of Creation.

Citt. It may be useful, where the *present Belief* of a thing may be of greater *Benefit*, and *Service*, then the *Future Discovery* of it, can be a *Detriment*: As the Figment of the *Late King's* being Confederate with the *Irish Rebels*, the *Cavaliers* cruelty at *Branford*, &c. Now though these Impostures had no Foundation at all, they serv'd the present turn yet, for the moving of the *City*, and the drawing of men together upon that Occasion: and when the Truth came afterwards to Light, the Forgery was only taken notice of as a Cheat, and that was all.

Bum. *Ay, and I have hear'd of the* Fobb'd Letters, *and the* Plague-plaisters, *and the Tricks they had in those days, still as* One Plot cool'd, *for the bolting of* Another. *These Devices stood 'um in great stead; and we have seen something on't of* Late, *in the Rumours of the* King's raising an Army to aw the *City*, and the Parliament; *and the Forty Thousand* French *upon the Isle of* Purbeck, *These Stories let me assure you* Citt, *keep the Humour stirring.*

Citt. But what do you think of the Invention of the *Protestant Martyrs Domestick?* Where he tells ye of *one of his Royal Highnesses Servants at* Edenburgh, *that was worse than* Malcus'd, *for he had both his Ears cut off*; and then of *the throwing Stones at the Windows of his Oratory?*

Bum. *Why* Citt, *was this a* Lye (*as thou calst it*) *of* Creation *then?*

The Protestant Domesticks Mistake.

Citt. Without the least Colour for't in the World. Now 'tis not the *Fiction*, but the *Imprudence* of it, that Vexes me: For as to the *Former*, it is certain that the *Duke* was treated both in *Himself*, and in his *Train*, with the Highest Instances of Welcome and Respect *imaginable*: And then for the *Other*, the

Scots

Scots were so far from *discountenancing* the Office of the *Church*, that a great many of the Nobility, and persons of Quality have taken up the *Use* of it in their *Own Families*. Now for him to impose this *Fiction* upon the World, without any pressing *Necessity*, and to *no purpose at all*, when he might be sure of a *Contradiction* by the *next Post*; This I say was a great slip of a wise man.

Bum. *Come, come,* Citt, *The good man is not so much to be blam'd neither; for his* Intention *was to render the Duke Low in the Opinion of the* People, *and to discredit the* Common-Prayer. *Pray'e call to mind the account he gave of the famous Motion in the* City, *for the doubling of their* Guards, *and then set the* One *against the* Other.

Citt. No, no, *Bumpkin*; This is not to reflect upon Him; but only to shew thee how to apply this Figure. There is *another*, and a more *Profitable Fiction*, in regard that it is hard to be detected, as being grounded upon *Thought* and *Intention*; as the Late Kings Design of setting up *Arbitrary Power* and *Popery*; his purpose of coming into *London* one night with his *Papists*, and *Cavaleers*, to *burn*, *kill*, and *ravish* all before him. Now this was an Invention of *great Force:* For though in my Conscience his Majesty never *intended* it, yet the story past for current with the Multitude; only by the Vigilance of some active and zealous Patriots it was prevented. These *Figments* you may apply to the Head of *Lessening* the *Credit* of the *Government*. Intentions not liable to proof.

Bum. *And in some degree, I hope, of* advancing *our* selves; *for such a deliverance works Both ways.*

Citt. Oh, *greatly*, *Bumpkin*; For as the People were possest One way *against the King*, for Designing upon their *Liberties*, *Properties*, and *Religion*, so were they as much persuaded on the Other hand, in favour of those that put themselves in the *gap*, to withstand That Oppression: whereas by the sequel it appear'd that the *Kings* Design was only to *defend* the *Government*, and the *Others*, to *Invade* it.

Bum. *We have run much of late upon This Vein of* Intention, *and it has done notably well with us too; for we have shook the very Foundation of the Government with it.*

Citt. O, *Bumpkin*, thou dost not know the Charm of those Four Syllables, *Intention*; the irresistible *power* and *virtue* of that little word *AFFECTED: Popishly-Affected*, *Tyrannically-Affected*; This was it that blew up Three Kingdoms but the Other day; *Faux's Powder* under the Parliament-House was *nothing* to't. We have no *Windows* into our *Breasts*, and there's no *proving* or *dis-* The Force of the word *Affected.*

proving of a *Thought*; only to those *Goblins*, *Fears*, and *Jealousies*, every thing they look upon appears *Double*, even to the *discovery* of things that have no *Being*.

Bum. *Stay a little: May not a Man suppose a Third Contrivance now, as Groundless as any of the rest? 'Tis but laying it remote enough, and the thing's Forgotten before ever the Truth can come to be Known.*

Citt. This is very well hinted, *Bumpkin*, and we have found it a very *Commodious Expedient*, even in This very Juncture. How many Bruits have been rais'd concerning *Leagues*, and *Intelligences Abroad*, *Designs*, and *Intrigues* at *Home*; that for a Month or Six weeks it may be, have set the People a madding from one end o'th Town to the Other; and at last not one syllable True, but all past over as if no such thing had ever been. Take me aright, *Bumpkin*; I do not speak This as condemning the *Practice*, but to set forth the Effect of this way of *Fibbing*.

No matter by what means, so we gain the End.

Bum. *That's understood*, Citt; *for 'tis not our part to Examine the* Means, *whether they be* Good, *or* Bad; *but to pursue the* End, *and bring* That *about*, *by* any means *whatever*. *But what do ye say now to the* Lye *of* Composition, *as you call it?*

Composition.

Citt. It is a *Figment*, that's made up of *Truth*, and *Falshood*: but so enterwoven with *Colours*, and *Disguises*, that 'tis hard to say *which* is *which*.

Bum. As if ye should put Rats-bane *into a Mess of* Porridge: *'tis* Porridge *still, though it be* Poyson.

Citt. Very well Alluded *Bumpkin*, and the *Truth*, or the *Porridge*, is only (as the Doctors call it) the *Vehicle* to convey the *Poyson*. The *Art*, and *Mystery* of *this Fibb*, lies in gaining credit on the *Fiction*, by acknowledging those *Notorious Truths* that cannot be *Conceal'd*.

Bum. *Ay, ay man; for that's but* telling *what every body* knows. *As for the purpose. The* Presbyterians *took up* Arms *'tis true, but alas! They never meant any hurt to his* Majesty: *and yet they took his* Royal Authority *to* themselves, *and seiz'd his* Shipping, *his* Forts, *and his* Revenue.

Citt. Ay, but for *that Bumpkin*, they say learnedly that the *King* was in the *Two Houses*, when *Charles Stuart* was in the Head of an *Army*.

Bum. *But they say again, that they never meant any hurt to his* Person *neither; and yet they* Revil'd *him, and* Shot *at him.*

Citt.

Citt. The *Arch-Bishop* of St. *Andrews* was *Kill'd*, but then he was an *Ill, Harsh Man*, they say: 'twas done in *Revenge*, and no Act of the *Kirk Party*: We were mightily divided about the *Scotch Rising*. At first, there was no more in't than a *Tumultuary Rabble* that were got together to deliver themselves from an *Illegal Oppression*: And this past for current, till it was found to be a *form'd Rebellion*, and that the *Covenant* was the *Foundation* of it.

Bum. *The Doctrine's this*; *Not to own any thing more than needs must, and to palliate what's amiss the best we can. And so proceed I pray'e to the point of* Substraction.

Citt. The Rule of *Swearing*, *Bumpkin*, that is to say, *the Truth, the whole Truth, and nothing but the Truth*, does not hold in *Lying*; so that in this Case of *Substraction*, we tell the *Truth*, but not the *whole Truth*. A Lye of Substraction.

Bum. *Our* Common Intelligences *are singularly good at this* Figure: *for they tell ye just as much of the Story as serves their turn, and no more.*

Citt. They do so. Oh they are very well instructed: As in the Story of the *Officer* that broke a Fellows head, as they were going to *Brainford* to chuse *Parliament Men*: He tells ye of the *Head-broken*, but not a word of the *Provocation*; as the disordering of his men in the *March*, and their bauling out, no *Courtiers*, no *Pensioners*, no *Whitehall-men*. The artificial Improvement of Substaaction.

Bum. *That's a Plaguy way though* Citt; *and so far* Satterthwait, *about firing* De-la-Noys *House! He had the cleerest proofs in the World of his Innocence*; *the Acquittal of the Court, and the Wench put to Death that accused him. But Honest* Benjamin *waves that Point, and tells ye only that* ever since the Maids Condemnation, she continues firm in what she first asserted, as to her being hir'd to Commit that horrid Fact.

Citt. These things are of infinite use *Bumpkin*, and if ye mark it, there passes not a Week without scandalous Reflections upon some of the *Guards*, to make the People sick of 'um. And 'tis very good Policy this, for if they were out of the way, our business were done.

Bum. *These* Papers *are the true* Fireballs, *Forty times beyond the Compositions of* Powder, *and* Aquavitæ. Papers the true Fireballs.

Citt. They are so *Bumpkin*. There's no need of *Poking* them into *Hay-Lofts* with *Long Poles*; *Untiling of Houses*, *Breaking of Windows*, *Creeping into Cellars*, &c. 'Tis but one *Tugg* at the *Press*, here in *London*, and in *Eight and Forty hours* ye shall see

the *whole Kingdom* in a *Flame*. And let me tell ye, this *Fib* of Substraction does a great deal towards it.

Bum. *And so it does in the Report these Pamphlets give ye upon all* Tryals, *where a* Popish Cur *has the good luck to come* off. *Don't ye see how they whip the* Bench, *and the* Jury *about the* Pig-Market? *Sir* Thomas Gascoin *was return'd* Not Guilty: *but it was by a* Jury *of his* Country-men. *And so ye are told the* Charge, *with a very slender, or no Account at all of the* Defence.

Citt. Why this is by the Virtue of *Substraction*: it is a kind of a *Negative Lye*, the *Concealing* any *Substantial part* of the *Truth*. They talk as if there were a Design afoot for the *Suppressing* of these *Intelligences*: and by my Soul, I believe it would be the *Undoing* of the *Cause*.

Pamphlets govern the Land.

Bum. *Why they Govern the Land, man. Do they not* make *and* Dissolve *what* Alliances *they please*, Arraign Judges, Condemn Innocents, *Put* out, *and put* in, *what* Privy Counsellors *they think fit*, Place, *and* Displace Secretaries of State, *Publish the Privacies of the* Cabinet; *And in all Cases, tell the People what they are to trust to?*

Citt. Right, and all this passes for *Gospel* in the *Country*, though the Devil a word on't that's known at *White-Hall*. But then they have the cruellest way of Nicking a man when they have a mind to't. Such a one has got such or such a Place at Court, though so and so: and to'ther must be Committed *Close Prisoner*, though the *Lords in the Tower* may have People come *to* them, and play at *Nine-pins*.

Kissing goes by favour.

Bum. *Ay, And then let the Bravest things Imaginable be done by* One man, *either ye have the bare* Abstract *in General, of such a thing done, or nothing at all: But if Another man does but let a* Fart *upon a Fit of* Belly-ake, *there's a* Thanksgiving *presently all over* England *and* Wales, proclaim'd *for his* Recovery.

Citt. These are Great helps *Bumpkin*, that we can *Raise* and *Depress* whom *we* please. Beside that, the Multitude from *these Liberties* draw *this Conclusion*, either they would *Contradict* these things, if they *could*, Or *Hinder* them if they *Durst*. We'll go now to the *Figment* of *Addition*.

Bum. *A* Substraction *is the* Truth, *but not the* Whole Truth; *so* Addition, *I presume, is somewhat* more than the Truth: *But pray'e let me distinguish betwixt* Composition *and* Addition.

The Figment of Addition.

Citt. The Former, is the *Blending* and *Confounding* of the *Truth* with *Fictitious Matter*: The other is the piecing out of a *Truth* with a *Falshood*, when the *bare Truth* would not do the Work. As thus,

it

It is true, that the Army rais'd for some Attempt upon the *Netherlands*, in 1673. was drawn up on *Black Heath*: But all the rest of the Story, for the Advance of the *French Government*, the Promoting of the *Irish Religion*, and the threatning of a *Storm* to fall upon *London*, is an *Additional Figment*. It is *True*, that there were Fire-works found in the *Savoy*, but the *Addition* is *false* of being *design'd* according to the *Story*.

Bum. *What's the difference now betwixt* Addition, *and* Amplification.

Citt. Addition is a *Supplement* of new *Fact*: *Amplification* is only an *Aggravation* of the *Matter* in *Question*: Or in a short, the setting a flourish or a glass upon the business. And it holds as well in the making of our *Adversaries Odious*, as our *selves Considerable*. Amplification

Bum. *I have many times observed that Gods* Judgments *and* Blessings *have been still either Imputed to the* Wickedness *of the* Episcopal Party, *or ascribed to the* Sanctity *of the* Non-Conformists.

Citt. But if you will see a *Master-piece*, Read the *Preamble* to the Relation of the *Kings Army* at *Branford*. And take this with you before-hand, that there was no cruelty exercised at all, beyond the common effects of *Hot blood* upon so *Obstinate* a dispute.

Unnatural, Inhumane, and strange Cruelties, send forth a Voice, and the Voice which they send forth is so loud, that it awakes even secure and sleepy Man-kind, and stirs up their Bowels to an enflamed and united Indignation. The divided pieces of a Woman abused to death, needed not Eloquence or Voice of an Orator; they spake themselves, and they spake so loud, that they were heard by a whole Nation, and drew forth this Answer, there was no such deed done nor seen from the day that the Children of Israel *came out of* Egypt. *Neither did they fetch only an Answer of Word, but of Deeds: All the Men of* Israel *gather'd together as One Man, against the Authors and Abetters of that abominable wickedness.* A wonderful aggravation.

It is a Lamentation, and to be taken up for a Lamentation, that in England *such horrid Acts should be done, that yield forth this high crying and affrighting Voice — No such thing hath been done since* England *came out of the* Egypt *of* Rome, *&c. Exact Collections*, Pag. 758.

Bum. *Why this Exclamation was as much as the whole Cause was worth. Ah,* Citt, *if we were no better at Oaths and Fibbs, than we are at Arguments, we should e'en bring our Hogs to a fair Market.* Better at Oaths and Fibbs than Arguments.

Citt.

Swearing and Lying the best Arguments.

Citt. Alack for thee *Bumpkin*, thou doſt not *know* an *Argument* when thou *ſeeſt* it. Why this knack of Swearing and Lying is our way of Arguing; and whoever carries the Cauſe (let him carry it right or wrong) is the beſt Diſputant. Prethee tell me; what would'ſt thou think of any man that ſhould go to convert the *Chineſes* in *Welch*, or talk *Hebrew* to a *Laplander*? 'Tis the ſame thing man, to talk *Reaſon* to the *Rabble*. 'Tis little leſs than *Popery* ye Fool; 'tis *ſpeaking in an unknown Tongue*; what were all your *Cavalier-Doctors*, and *Stateſmen* the better for their *Syllogiſms*, their *Politicks*, and their *Caſes of Conſcience*; when the very noiſe of *TYRANNY*, and *POPERY* beat 'um all out of the *Field?*

Bum. *Nay, I muſt confeſs*, Citt; *that* Our Caſe *is to be decided by the* Multitude; *and That way muſt needs ſucceed beſt, that is moſt accommodate to the Humour and Capacity of the* Controverſie. *But yet I could wiſh that thou had'ſt born up a little t'other day, to* True-man, *upon the points of* Religion *and* Government.

Two ways of Reply, Reaſon, and Clamour.

Citt. Why you muſt know, *Bumpkin*, that there are Two ways of *Reply* upon Diſputes of That Quality, the *One* is by *Reaſon*, (which ſounds the ſame thing with the Apoſtles *Vain Philoſophy*;) and the *Other* is by *Clamour*: The *former* is for your *Speculators*. or *Pedants*; and the other is for men of *Zeal*, and *Buſineſs*. But there's One has mawl'd *him* ſince, to ſome purpoſe i'faith, I believe he'l have little Joy of his *Diſputations*.

Little *Pugg's* witty fellow.

Bum. *Oh, I have heard of two or three that have had a Fling at him. There's One of 'um they ſay that's a* Deviliſh Witty Little Fellow, *but I can't for my Blood call his Name to mind; but I think 'twas* Pugg; *or thereabouts.*

Citt. By my Troth like enough, for one was a telling me to'ther day, that the *Drill* in *Bartlemew-Fair*, with a *Leaguer Pipe* in's mouth, was the very *Picture* of him. But didſt not thou ſee *Romes Hunting-match?*

Another ſhrewd Head-piece.

Bum. *Yes, yes*; *'tis a* Broad ſide *with a* Wooden Cutt; *They have put him in the Head there of the* Popes Beagles, *with a* Pen *in One* Paw, *and a* Fire-ball *in the* Other. *They call the whole* Pack *the* Antichriſtian Crew: *The Fellow has a woundy Head-piece that Contriv'd it.*

Citt. Ay, but the *to'ther* girds him confoundedly, and then there's a *Letter* worſe than *That* too. But this is all by way of *Anſwer*: If thou coul d'ſt but *Recite his Poſitions* now, you and I might bang it out, hand to fiſt, in *Mood* and *Figure* (as they ſay.)

Bum.

Bum. *Nay, let* me *alone for a* Reciter, *if* That *will do't.* The Crown of *England* is allow'd on all hands to be *Imperial*; *and* That *I lay down for my* First Position.

Citt. Why then y'are a *Crack-fart*, and a *Pensioner.* Now go on, without any Demur. *Pugg's* Logick.

Bum. The King is *Unaccountable*, and not One of the *Three Estates*, as *Lame Giles* would have him.

Citt. Y'are a *Sawce box*, and a *Yorkist.*

Bum. I will maintain that *England* is not a *Mixt*, but only a *Qualifi'd Monarchy.*

Citt. Y'are an idle *Fellow*, *Sirrah*; and I have seen ye at *Masse* at the *Protestant-Coffee-house.*

Bum. *I say again, that there is but the* Governing, *and the* Governed; *and that They are no longer the* Governed, *that* Govern, *nor the* Governing *that are* Governed. *And in Little, That* Subjection *and* Dominion *are Inconsistent, in One and the same* time, *and* Subject. Of Subjection & Dominion.

Citt. Y'are an *Idle, Impudent Fellow*, and I'le be be hang'd if I don't catch ye in the *Sham-Plot.* What do ye think of *This* now? And tell me without Complement, if I have not run this Puppy up to the Wall.

Bum. *I cannot for my Life* Citt. *understand this way of* Answering *yet.*

Citt. Why prethee *Bumpkin, calling of Names*, is *speaking* to the *people* in a *Language* that they do both *Understand*, and *Believe*,

Bum. *Oh, there's no Question to be made on't, a man had better be suspected for a* Spirit, *than for a* Papist: *Nay, if it were but* Popishly Affected, *it would go hard with him. But what will ye say* Citt.; *if I tell ye of a man that saw the* deviliſh Letter *that ye spoke of?*

Citt. I have heard somewhat on't my self. But prethee let's confer Notes upon't. Is there not something in't, that he would have been Fribling with a *Printers Wife once*; and that he promis'd to bring off her *Husband* if she'd have done him the good Office? I had it from *Barefoot*, and yon same *Bacon-of-Government-man*, what a Devil do ye call him? the *Case-Porter* at the *Swan* in *Fish-street*; he that swell'd so at the Name of the Duke of *York*: Pox on't, that I should forget him now; *Did ye never hear of the Thumb?* as *Aristippus* says. A secret. Some body help me out.

Bum. *Why Faith* Citt. *I have heard as much: But I have been told too by one of the* Journey-men, *that she was always a good Game-some* Wench, *and that the* Gentleman (*being* well bred) *might perhaps offer her the* Civility *to* Oblige *her.*

Citt.

The Lady no blabb.

Citt. I can ſay nothing to her *Gameſomeneſs*; but ſhe was no *Blab*, I can aſſure ye; For though ſhe was in *Court* when her Husband was *Fin'd* and *Sentenc'd* upon that *Gentlemans Proſecution*, ſhe made no words on't.

Bum. *That's well obſerv'd*, Citt; *For ſhe ſhould have told the* Bench *me-thinks*; *that* if ſhe would have done ſo and ſo, 'thad never come to This.

Have a care of the Thread-Merchant.

Citt. Ay, but Yonder's a *Broken Thread-merchant*, *Bumpkin*, (and he had it from *his own Brother*) told a Friend of mine, that *Trueman*, (when *Licenſing* was in faſhion) would never *Licenſe* any thing againſt the *Papiſts*; and that he took *money* for *Licenſing*; and laid a *Tax* upon *his Majeſties Liege People*, (as *Pugg* the *Notarius* has it) without the conſent of their *Repreſentatives* in *Parliament*.

Bum. *Theſe are bloody things*, Citt; *and they reſolve to ſcour him as bright as ſilver, before they have done with him.*

Citt. Nay, if we don't make him either a *Papiſt*, or *Popiſhly Affected*, I'le dye for't: Yes, or any man living, that has either *a good Eſtate*, *good Furniture* in's houſe, *Money* in his *Pocket*, or *Brains* in his *Head*.

Bum. *Well, but to my knowledge*, Citt, Trueman *does not value himſelf upon any of* theſe Qualifications. *But prethee let's leave this Noddy a little, and talk of ſomething elſe; what doſt think was the reaſon that our* Parliaments *have been put off ſo* of Late?

Matters of State.

Citt. The very Queſtion that I put t'other day my ſelf; and 'twas anſwer'd Thus. That the *Nation* could not be *Happy*, but in the Preſervation of the *Government*, as it is eſtab'liſht by *Law*: for the tearing of the *Law* to pieces, muſt needs diſtract the *People*, when they have no Rule to walk by: That a great many worthy Perſons were diſappointed in the Elections, by being *miſ-repreſented* to the People: That by theſe Practices, divers Perſons were obtruded upon the Nation, of *remarkable Diſaffections* both to *Church* and *State*: And that therefore, I ſuppoſe, they might be put off, to the end that ſome *Other Diſtempers* might be *compoſed*, before their *Meeting*.

Bum. *Well! and what Return did'ſt thou make him?*

Citt. I told him, he Smelt of the *Court*; and that he had a *Pope* in's belly: and ſo I would have no more to do with him.

The old Topique.

Bum. *Theſe People are grown Strangely* bold *of Late*. *But* Perſeverance *is a* Grace, Citt; *that will carry us on, thorough* Thick and Thin.

Several ſorts of graces.

Citt. Now thou talk'ſt of a *Grace*, *Bumpkin*; there is not any

Action,

Action, or *Profession*, in Humane Life, without its *peculiar Graces*. There are the *Graces* of the *Tubb*, and of the *Pulpit*; the *Quack*, and the *Doctor*; Nay, the *Academy*, and the *Padd*, as the *Scotchman* said of *Du-Vall*, that was Truss'd up for the *High-way*. *By my Saule Sir*, (says he) *It would have done your Heart good to have seen That Gentleman upon Action.* *One* man becomes the *Bench*; *Another* the *Stage*: And ye shall see *One* man *Robb* a *Church* with a better Grace than *Another* Erects an *Hospital*.

Bum. *And then we call a* Well-affected Brother, *a Babe of* Grace.

Citt. That's somewhat near the matter, *Bumpkin*; for the *Grace* that we have to do withal, is only a certain Gift of *Impulse*, that disposes a man to the *Exercise* of his *Trade*, and *Calling*. As for Example; What's a *Pick-pocket* the better for his skill in *Diving*, if he has not the Grace to keep his hands in Ure? But now for thy *Perseverance* thorow *Thick and Thin*, there's more in *That*, perhaps, than thou art aware of; for there's a difference betwixt *Staring*, and *Stark-mad*.

Bum. *I prethee be clear*, Citt; *that we may understand one another.*

Of Perseverance.

Citt. The *Dutch* have a very good *Proverb*, *Heaven helps the strongest*; (they say) So long as *Providence* is on Our side *Bumpkin*, all's *Well*; but I'm not for Running my Head against *Stone-Walls*.

Bum. *But how* far *must we go then*, Citt; *and whither* Next?

Citt. Take me for thy Guide, *Bumpkin*, and my life for thine thou shalt never *Miscarry*. The Game *we* have to play is a kind of *Trick-Track*: (but what do I talk of *Trick-Track* to a *Bumpkin*) the great Nicety is to know when to go *Off*.

Bum. *So that in some Cases I find we may go off*: *But why must I swear so damnably against* Flinching *then?*

Citt. Because we are bound in Honour, *Bumpkin*, not to *Flinch*: But if the *Cause it self Flinches*, who can help it?

Bum. *What do you think then of the* Five Scottish Martyrs, *who maintain'd it to the Death that the* Killing *of the* Arch-Bishop *was no* Murther; *and the* Rising, *no* Rebellion. *And yet* (*as I take it*) Their *Cause had* Flinch'd *to some* tune, *when the whole Party was either* Cut off, Routed, or *taken* Prisoners.

Citt. As a friend, *Bumpkin*, the world is made up of *Fools*, and *Knaves*; *Some* are to *Act*, and *Others* to *Contrive*; the *Fools* are to keep up the *Claim*, and the *Knaves*, when time serves, are to take *Possession*.

Bum. *Well, but what must become of* Us *in the* Interim *then?*

Absolution from Oaths and Promises.

Citt. The *Interim* (as thou call'st it) is a kind of *Inter-regnum*; wherein we are *Absolv'd* (as it were) by a certain *Extraordinary Dispensation*, from all *Bonds*, *Civil*, and *Moral*, till we can get Uppermost *again*.

Bum. *So that here are* Two Providences, *One upon the heel of the Other: The* One *in turning all our* Oaths, *and* Promises, *in the* Interval, *into* Nullities; *And the* Other *is an allowance of us to make the best of the* First Opportunity.

Citt. That's well Collected: For *all Oaths*, and *Promises* are *Void*, when the thing promised ceases to be in *our Own Power*: And an Oath that was *made* in the *Flesh*, may be *broken* in the *Spirit*.

Bum. *Deliver me! Here's* Trueman *just upon us. If he talks again, stand to him*, Citt.

Citt. The Rogue has us in's Eye; and there's no slipping into the Wood; but let *me* alone with him.

Enter Trueman.

True. Well met Gentlemen. What? you're for a Mornings Draught at *Hamstead* (I suppose,) I'le e'en back again and keep ye Company.

Citt. If you please, Sir, 'tis a fine Walk.

True. So; and how go Squares since the crash we had yonder at ——— *What do ye call the Place?*

Tom and *Dick.*

Citt. Oh, very well; there's a Book come out that proves a man may talk of *Religion*, and *Government* as learnedly over a Dish of *Coffee*, as over a Pot of *Ale*——There's a *Bob*, *Bumpkin*, by the way of *Tom* and *Dick*.-----(aside.)

Tru. Look ye, Here's the Book. I ha' just read it over.

A High-flight of Wit.

Bum. *Pray let me see't a little.-----Ay, here 'tis; I wonder in my heart what the man means by putting* Strange, *and* Strangely; *and* Strange *and* Stranger *again, in the* 5th. *and* 6th. *Pages here, in the great* Black English Letter, *so different from the rest of the Book.*

True. Nothing in the world but a high-flight of Wit; as if a man that is in *Trouble*, should cry, *O this Villanous, Rascally* Care! Or tell a *Glavering Cur* that *Fawns* upon ye to your *Face*, and *Bawls* at ye behind your *back*, *O y'are* Curtis, *Sir.*

Bum. *Well, but I'm with you once again, What do you think of your* University-Dul-man *there*, Pag. 12. *with his*, O Lord, make these

Young

Young Willows to grow up to be *Old Oaks*, that they may become *Timber*, fit to *Wanſcote* thy *New Jeruſalem.*

True. Upon my Credit, this *Dulman* was a *Presbyterian* (For *your Divines* have, here and there, an *Univerſity-man* among them) And it was another of the *Same ſtamp*, that told God Almighty in his Prayer; *Lord, if thou didſt but know what our Friends Suffer now in* Ireland, *&c.*

Citt. Pray'e let *me* have a word now; How will ye juſtifie the *calling to mind, relating, and Printing, (notwithſtanding the Acts of Oblivion) all the Evils of our Late Rebellion?* as we find it charg'd, *pag.* 22.

True. Nay, rather, *Citt*, how will *You* acquit your ſelves, either to God, or Man, for *doing* the ſame things over again; if it be ſo heinous for Other people to *Remember* them? As if a *Pardon* for *One Rebellion*, were an *Authority* for *Another.*

Citt. Pray'e let me read This Paſſage to ye Here, Pag. 28. *He that is not* againſt *us*, *is* with *us. And I never heard he* (ſpeaking of *L'Eſtrange*) *ever wrote againſt* Catholiques; *except it were a* Proteſtant Catholique; *(and that (he ſays) is a Solœciſm.) But he has pepper'd the* Presbyterians. *A* Proteſtant *(he ſays) is a* Lutheran; *and a* Catholique *the* Characteriſtical Note *of a* Chriſtian; *And it ſeems, he would have the Church of* England *ſtick up her briſtles, and diſown all Fellowſhip with* Proteſtants abroad, *and knock out all* Nonconformiſts brains *at* Home; *as the only way to prevent* Popery: What do ye think on't? A Learned Piece.

True. Why I'le tell ye *Citt*; you never writ againſt *Inceſt*; are ye *for it* therefore? *L'Eſtrange* never writ againſt the *Alcoran*; is he therefore a *Mahumetan?* Neither do I find any thing you have Cited of him, but what is *True*, and *Warrantable.* You ſay he *has pepper'd the Presbyterians*; and the world knows they have need of *Seaſoning.* But why the *Briſtles* of the Church of *England?* For the *Beaſts*, ye know, are all in the *Purlews.* Nor does he ſpeak One word of *dividing* from *Proteſtants abroad*: Only upon Dr. *Oates's Teſtimony*, that the Prieſts lye lurking among the *Non conformiſts*, he very Honeſtly adviſes the Ferretting of the *Conventicles:* And this your Author calls forſooth, *The beating out the brains of the Non-conformiſts.*

Bleſs me Gentlemen! is This the *Pillar* of your *Profeſſion?* the *Mouth*, and *Advocate* of your *Cauſe?* Why there's not one grain of *Common Senſe, Honeſty*, or *Good Manners* in't; Not a *Ragg* that would not bring a *Scandal* upon a *Duſt-Cart.* *Pugg* the mouth of the Cauſe.

Puggs Narratives.

Citt. You may value't as you pleaſe; but he has done as much in his *Narratives* for the *Proteſtant Religion*, it may be, as any man, and with as good applauſe too, though they paſs in other peoples Names.

Bum. *'Tis an admirable Piece, That of his about the* Fires, *and ſeveral Other things too, really that would make a mans heart ake.*

True. If thou mean'ſt by way of *Compunction*, *Bumpkin*, I cann't Imagine how *One* man can *repent* of *Another* mans *Sins*. But I ſuppoſe thou Speak'ſt of *Earth-quakes*, and *Signs* in the *Ayr*; which are enough to make a mans heart Ake indeed.

Puggs Faculties.

Citt. And then for his *Stile*, *Trueman*, He has a *Copia Verborum*, for all *Sorts* and *Sizes*, of *Matters*, and *Men*; as *Rogue*, *Raſcal*, *Knave*, *Villain*, *Traytor*, *Traſh*, *Trumpery*, *Trinkets*, and ſo forth, till this time *Twelve-month*. I'le undertake he ſhall Pelt ye a *Cathedral-man Four and Twenty Hours* by *Shrewsbury Clock*, and not call him Twice by the ſame Name. And then on the Other ſide, If he has the hap (in the heat of his *Carier*) to ſtumble upon a poor *Diſſenting Brother*, he licks his lips upon't; and pours forth nothing but *Milk* and *Honey*: Oh the *Precious Ones*, *The Choſen of the Lord*, and more Heavenly *Epithetes* then would lie betwixt *This* and *Highgate*.

True. But has he any *Languages* too?

Citt. If you had him but one half-hour upon the *Talking-Pin*, you'd ſwear that he had ſwallow'd *Calepines Dictionary* whole, and ſpew'd it *up* again; And ſuch a *Memory* —

True. Theſe are wonderful Faculties Gentlemen, to qualifie a man to be the Advocate of a Party.

Citt. But what if the Gentleman were as deſpicable as you make him? what's that to our *Profeſſion?*

True. Oh very much; for if he be *Your Repreſentative*, *You* Speak in *Him*; and he does but *Blunder*, *Rail*, *Falſifie*, and *Cobble* in *your Name*, and by *Your Commiſſion*: If it be otherwiſe, diſown him. But what is your Profeſſion Firſt?

Citt. We do *profeſs* our ſelves to be *Loyal Subjects* to his Majeſty in his *Juſt Authority*; and *True Proteſtants*, according to the Pattern and Practice of the *beſt Reformed Churches*.

True. That is to ſay, in *Plain Engliſh*, you are *Covenanters*.

Citt. Well, but I hope a man may be both a *Good Subject*, and a *Good Chriſtian*; and yet a *Covenanter*.

The Covenanting Chriſtian and Subject.

True. Can *he* be a *Good Chriſtian* that reviles the *Mother* of our *Bleſſed Saviour*, that Stabs the *Babe* in her *Arms*, in *Effigie*: that

Decryes

Decryes the *Lords Prayer*, as *Apocryphal*, that *Robs Cæsar* of his *Due*, and *Consecrates* his *Profession*, with *Violence*, and *Blood*? Or can *He* be a *Good Subject*, that gives *Laws* to his *Sovereign*; Nay, that takes away his *Crown*, and his Life, and Tramples upon his *Fellows* as his *Slaves*?

Citt. Why what's all this to the *Covenant*?

True. Yes, by *That Covenant*, all this was done: And by *That Covenant*, *Unrenounced:* All this must be done again, whenever it is in your Power. Nay you are *Covenant-Breakers* in the *Not* doing of it, if you were *Covenant-keepers* in the doing on't.

Citt. Well; but the business of the *Covenant* was only to deliver the King out of the Hands of the *Papists*, to demolish all Monuments of *Superstition* and *Idolatry*, and to settle a *Thorow Reformation.* All the mischief fell in by the *By.*

True. Very good; and you took him out of the hands of *Papists*, to deliver him into the hands of the *Executioner*; Did ye not? Truly a high Obligation! And then for your zeal against *Idolatry*, a Rich *Crucifix*, that was an *Idol* in a *Papists* hand, became a *Moveable* in yours; for commonly what ye *Took*, ye *Sold:* and your *Thorow Reformation* ended in a *Sacrilegious Rapine* and *Confusion.* And so you're welcome to your Journeys End.

THE END.

A

Further Discovery

OF THE

PLOT:

Dedicated to

Dr. *TITUS OATES*,

BY

ROGER L'ESTRANGE.

The Fourth Edition.

LONDON,

Printed for *Henry Brome* at the *Gun* in

St. *Pauls* Church-yard. 1681.

A Further Discovery of the PLOT.

SIR,

YOu have been told (you say) that *L' Estrange* is a *Papist*, and reports *You* for a *Fanatique*: And these two Calumnies have been lately improved into a Couple of *Nonsensical* and *Seditious Libels*. They do really so much partake of Both, that Ignorance, and nothing else excuses the *Authors* from a *Pillory*. The *One* is entituled, *The Answer to the Appeal, Expounded*; where (under the Rose) he makes a *Jesuite*, a *Papist*, a *Plotter*, a *Clod-Pate*, a *Fidler* of me; and almost as many *Rascals* as ever *Pryn* and *his Disciples* called our *Protestant-Martyr*, LAUD, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, of Glorious Memory. The *Other* bears the Title of *The History of the Damnable Popish Plot*; where he takes *L' Estrange* to task in the *Preface*, and the *King* and *Council*, the *Duke of York*, the Court of *Kings-Bench*, and the *Government* it self, in the *Book*. The Writer (they say) is a *Small Thred-bare Solicitor* in the *Old-Baily*; one that values himself upon his Faculty in Drawing up *Articles*, *Impeachments*, *Narratives*; and upon his Interest in *Clubs* and *Coffee-houses*, &c. I tell you this, the rather Doctor, because this man hath *your name* often in his mouth; and (in truth) makes bolder with it than stands with the *Dignity* of *your Figure* in the *Government*.

This is the very truth of the Case, Sir, and it is not for any man to hear himself Reviled at this rate, and stand with his Finger in his Mouth. A *Papist!* A *Lessener* of the *Plot!* A *Disparager* of the Kings *Evidence!* A body had better be half-hang'd than barely to be reputed so. Wherefore I must either frankly *acquit* my self, or *sink* under the *Accusation*.

Now to discharge my Soul to you, Doctor, as in *Confession*: I am (by my hopes of Heaven) a *True Son* of the

Church of England; but not without Bowels of *Humanity* yet to men of *other Perſuaſions*. And to tell you as a Friend, I have more *Charity* for one *Moral Pagan*, than for twenty *Hypocritical Chriſtians*. I have naturally a Veneration for the *Government*, and all that *love* it: For the Kings *Loyal Witneſſes*, and the Preſervers of his *Sacred Life*, in the firſt place; with an equal *Horrour* and *Deteſtation* for all his *Enemies*, under what *Maſque* or *Form* ſoever. I believe the *Plot*; and as *much* of it as every *good Subject ought* to *believe*, or as any man in his *right Wits can believe*: Nay, I do ſo *abſolutely believe* it, that, in my Conſcience, *you your ſelf*, Doctor, do not *believe more* of it than *I do*. But yet the whole Earth can never bring me to *Believe* or to *ſay* that I *Believe*, that which I neither *do*, nor *can Believe*: as the buſineſs of *Bedingfields* being *alive again*; or, in a word, that *I my ſelf* am in the *Conſpiracy*. And in ſome Caſes, I would wait a little for *Confirmation*, without ſwallowing every thing *whole* as it comes. Suppoſe my Boy ſhould come in and tell me that it rains *Butter'd Turnips*, I ſhould go near to open the Window to ſee whether it be ſo or no: and you would not blame me for doubting neither. For *That* is the *firmeſt Faith* that is *introduced* by *Reaſon*, and *eſtabliſhed* by *Experience*. It is the *buſineſs* of ſome People to *impoſe* upon *Others*; and the *misfortune* of *Other People* to be *impoſed upon*; which is unhappy and dangerous both ways: But *Truth* (as in *Mythology*) is the *Daughter* of *Time*. I will not deny, but a man that believes *Lightly*, may be in the *Right* too; but 'tis by chance then. *One* man is both *Honeſt* and *Wiſe*; *Another* may be *Honeſt* too, and yet perhaps but *Simple*: and ſo we have our *Crafty Knaves*, and our *Fooliſh*. *Some* have the *Will* without the *Faculty*, and *Others* are indued with *Both*. Now in this Mixture of *Humane Abilities* and *Inclinations*, a man can hardly be too *Cautious*: Be it always underſtood, that *where* **Authority** *hath paſſed a Sentence, there is no longer any place for Heſitation or Demurre.*

Before I enter any further into my Vindication, it would become me to ſay ſomething that may be civil to your ſelf:

But

But it it was never my Humour, (as a *French Droll* has it) to commend an *Orator* for an *Excellent Head of Hair*; or a man of *State* and *Buſineſs*, for the Government of his *Beard*; or to ſpend three or four Pages upon ſuch an Occaſion as this, in *Flattery*, and *Panegyrick*. I have (in few words) as great a Value for your *Function*, your *Imployment*, and your *Character*, as I ought to have; I am a Friend to *Downright*, *Open Dealing*, to *Liberty* of *Speech*, and to the Freedoms of an Eaſie *Glaſs*, and *Companion*, as much as any man. I never took *Religion* to conſiſt in a *Set Form* of *Caps*, *Broad Bangling Hats*, or a *Sour Look*, enough to turn the very Stream of *Humane Comforts* into *Vinegar*. And yet, I know, after all, this, that you have called me *Twenty Rogues*, for which I heartily *thank* you, and *forgive* you. Nay, you had been little leſs than One your ſelf, if you had ſpared me under ſuch a Notion as you might poſſibly underſtand me. But Time, I hope, may bring us to be better acquainted.

In the mean while, let me aſſure you, Sir, that there is no Deſign in This Paper to beſpeak your Favour in caſe of any *Imputation* upon *me*, either for my *Words*, *Actions*, or *Writings*: For I defie *Malice it ſelf* to charge me with any ſort of *Malevolence* toward *The Church* or *State*, which even a *Packt Jury* would dare to give *Credit* to. This Defiance would be extremely impertinent, if I were not privy to the Train of a Pack of little Curs that are hunting for ſome ſuch advantage. The pitiful *Cauſe-Jobber*, that I told you of in the *Old-Baily*, did not ſtick a little while ago, to *Declare* as much, only he was reſolved to have a *Touch* at his *Royal Highneſs firſt*, and then to file his *Articles* againſt *my Lord Chief Juſtice*, and *after that*, *L' Eſtrange* was to go to Pot, upon the meeting of the Parliament at furtheſt. And rather than fail, he would be the man himſelf ſhould bring in the *Articles*. In purſuance of this Doughty Reſolution, he publiſhed the *Libel* above-mentioned, where he hath a fling at the *King* and *Council* (about Sir *Robert Peiton*, P. 381.) over and above. And this came out Piping Hot upon the preciſe 26, of *January*, when the Parliament was to have met; under a *Dedication* to the *Lords* and *Commons* too;

which

which Preſumption made it a *worſe Libel* upon *That Auguſt Aſſembly*, than any of the *reſt*, by entituling *Them* to the *Protection* of ſuch a *Hotch-Potch* of *Calumny* and *Sedition*. If you will ſee my *Crime* at *length*. you will find it in his *Preface*. But the *ſhort* of it is *this*:

He charges my *Hiſtory of the Plot* with terrible *Shuffles* and *Omiſſions*; as in Mr. *Bedloes Evidence* againſt Sir *George Wakeman* (*Pag.* 46. of the Trial) and in *Pag.* 77. and elſewhere: whereas in *my Abſtract*, *Pag.* 79, 80. there's every *Particular* of *that Evidence*, and not the *One Half* of it in *his Damnable Hiſtory*, *pag.* 295. And then for his Cavil againſt *pag.* 77. the very *words* of my *Abridgment* are *theſe*, *pag.* 88. [*The Lord Chief Juſtice, after ſome ſhort Remarques upon the* Romiſh Principles, *ſummed up the Evidence, and gave directions to the Jury.*] And this was, effectually, the whole buſineſs of that *Page*. He ſpends the Remainder of his Diſpleaſure upon my *Epiſtle*, for *Drowning the Popiſh Plot*, with ſuggeſtions of an *Imaginary one* of the *Proteſtants*; ſaying that *the amuſing People with ſuch Stories is Notoriouſly a part of the Grand Popiſh Deſign*; and then he reflects upon me for ſaying, that there were many *Groſs Incoherences*, and very *Material Miſtakes* in the *Printed Trials*; enough to *diſcredit* the *Plot* to *Poſterity*. I ſhall leave the *Epiſtle* to juſtifie it ſelf, and only inform you as to the *reſt*, that the *Judicial Proceedings* are *fully* and *particularly Reported* and *Juſtified* all along; and only SEVERAL Errours of the Preſs pointed at; not MANY as he hath falſified it: nor any Diminution to the *Proofs*, as he would ſeem to *Imply*. Now I conceive this to be a *Material Miſtake*, to Expoſe a *Proteſtant Gentleman* for a *Papiſt*, *nine times in two pages*. And there is another yet more *Material*, *pag.* 45. of *Irelands Trial*, which I have marked in *Mine*, *pag.* 18. to ſay nothing of the reſt. You may find this matter ſomewhat more particularly handled in a late *Dialogue*, Entituled, *Cit and Bumkin*; from *pag.* 30. to 34. with the *Preface* to *my Hiſtorical Abſtract* at *length*; which I ſhall rather give you in this place *over again*, than ſend you out of your way to look it.

To

To the READER.

THere has not been any Point, perhaps, in the whole Tract of English Story, either ſo dangerous to be miſtaken, or ſo difficult, and yet ſo neceſſary to be underſtood, as the Myſtery of this deteſtable Plot now in Agitation. (A Judgment for our Sins, augmented by our Follies !) But the World is ſo miſerably divided betwixt ſome that will believe every thing, and others nothing, that not only Truth, but Chriſtianity it ſelf is almoſt loſt between them; and no place left for Sobriety and Moderation. We are come to govern our ſelves by Dreams and Imaginations; We make every Coffee-Houſe Tale an Article of our Faith; and from Incredible Fables we raiſe Invincible Arguments. A man muſt be fierce and violent, to get the Reputation of being Well-Affected; as if the calling of one another Damned Heretique, and Popiſh Dog were the whole Sum of the Controverſie. And what is all this, but the effect of a Popular Licenſe and Appeal? When every Mercenary Scribler ſhall take upon him to handle matters of Faith, and State, give Laws to Princes; and every Mechanique ſit Judge upon the Government. Were not theſe the very Circumſtances of the late Times? When the Religious Jugglers from all Quarters fell in with the Rabble, and manag'd them, as it were, by a certain ſleight of hand: The Rods were turned into Serpents on both ſides, and the multitude not able to ſay, which was Aaron, and which the Enchanter. Let us have a Care of the ſame Incantation over again. Are we not under the protection of a Lawful Authority? Nor was there ever any thing more narrowly Sifted, or more vigorouſly Diſcouraged, than this Conſpiracy. Reformation is the proper buſineſs of Government and Council; but when it comes to work once at the wrong End, there is nothing to be expected from it, but Tumult and Convulſion. A Legal and Effectual proviſion againſt the Danger of Romiſh Practices and Errours, will never ſerve their turn, whoſe Quarrel is barely to the Name of Popery, without underſtanding the Thing it ſelf. And if there were not a Roman Catholick left in the three Kingdoms, they would be never the better ſatisfied, for where they cannot find Popery, they will make it: nay, and be troubled too that they could not find it. It is no new thing for a Popular Out-cry, in the matter of Religion, to have a State-Faction in the belly of it. The firſt late Clamour was againſt Downright Popery; and then came on Popiſhly Affected: (That ſweeps all) The Order of Biſhops, and the Diſcipline of the Church took their Turns next; and the next blow was at the Crown it ſelf: when every man was made a Papiſt that would not play the Knave and the Fool, for Company, with the Common People.

Theſe things duly weighed, and conſidering the Ground of our preſent Diſtempers; the Compiler of this Abridgment reckoned that he could not do his Country-men a better Office, than (by laying before them the naked ſtate of things) to give them at one view, a Proſpect both

of

of the subject matter of their Apprehensions, and of the Vigilance, Zeal, and needful Severity of the Government on their behalf. To which end, he hath here drawn up an Historical Abstract *of the whole matter of Fact concerning those Persons who have been hitherto Tried for their Lives, either upon the* Plot *it self, or in Relation to it: opposing Authentick Records to wandring Rumours; and delivering the* Truth *in all Simplicity. He hath not omitted any one material Point: There is not so much as one* Partial Stroke *in it; not a flourish, nor any thing but a bare and plain* Collection, *without any Tincture either of Credulity, or Passion. And it is brought into so narrow a compass too, that it will ease the Readers* head, *as well as his* purse; *by clearing him of the puzzle of* Forms, *and* Interlocutories, *that serve only to amuse and mislead a man, by breaking the Order, and confounding the Relative parts of the* Proceeding.

Having this in Contemplation, and being at the same time possest of a most exact Summary *of all passages here in Question: This Reporter was only to cast an Extract of these Notes into a Method: especially finding, that upon comparing the substance of his own Papers, with the most warrantable Prints that have been published; his own* Abstract *proved to be not only every jot as Correct, but much more Intelligible, which being* short *and* full, *he thought might be useful, and find Credit in the World upon its own account, without need of a* Voucher.

Having engaged your Patience thus far, toward a right understanding in the Case; I must take a little more pains yet to expound my self in another Point, that I may stand fair in your Opinion. you may imagine, perhaps, that my restless Course of *Writing still on* and *on*, proceeds purely out of an Implacable *Gall*, and *Itch* of *Scribling*. But let me assure you, Doctor, that I am as sick of it my self, as any body else can be; only whereſoever my *Genius* tells me that my pen may be any way useful to the *Publique*, I can no longer forbear: (and in This You will the rather excuse and credit me, from the Effects, and as it were, the Incontinence of a Publique Spirit, which you find in your self.) Beside that I have not, as yet, set Pen to Paper, but upon the *Defensive*; and without receiving any other Reply, than the General Reproach of *Popishly Affected*, or a Vilifier of the *Kings Evidence*. Nay, it was averred the other day (as I am very well assured) in a *publique Coffee-house*, that upon *L'Estrange* his declaring himself to be no *Papist*, a Lady told him point blank, that *she could prove him one*. These malicious

malicious Rumors put me upon bethinking my ſelf which way I might kill two Birds with one Stone, by proving Dr. *Oates* and *L' Eſtrange* to be neither *Fanatical*, nor *Popiſh*: but both of them perfectly *well-affected* to the Religion of the Church of *England*, as it is eſtabliſhed by Law.

With theſe Conſiderations about me, I took all your *Works* to pieces, Examining and Comparing them *One* by *One*: Your *Narrative* and *Depoſitions*, your *Exact Diſcovery*; your *Popes Ware-houſe*; your *Witch of Endor*; your *Exact and Faithful Narrative*: and furniſhed my ſelf out of your own Writings with Materials for your Defence. And now, thought I, if I can but ſignalize my Zeal toward the Suppreſſing of *Popery*, by the opening of ſome Extraordinary way for the gaining of That End, my Work is done.

Upon the Putting of theſe Thoughts together, by the aſſiſtance of your *Clue*, I entred into the almoſt inextricable *Labyrinth* of the *Plot*; and traced the Myſtery of it thorough all its Turnings and Windings, till at laſt I came to Diſcover the *Prieſts* you pointed at, lurking like *Foxes* in their *Holes*, and this I preſently made known to the Nation, in a Pamphlet, under the Title of *A further Diſcovery of the Plot*. In this Pamphlet, I ſet forth the matter as I found it: with the Safe and Certain way of *Retrieving* and *Unkennelling* theſe Creatures: and in all this I ſupported my ſelf upon Dr. *Oates his Credit*, as will appear in the *Second Impreſſion* of that *Further Diſcovery*, here at the end of this tedious Letter.

But what *Innocence* can warrant any man againſt *Envy*, or what *Authority protect* him? When *L' Eſtrange* comes to be arraigned as a *Papiſt*, for ſhewing the moſt likely way in the World for the Extirpation of *Popery*: and when the *Name* of Dr. *Oates* is not ſufficient to *protect* him, in ſo *profitable* and *neceſſary* a *Deſign*? Nay, and it is well, Doctor, if you can uphold your ſelf either, if this goes on: For no man can fall foul upon *That Diſcovery*, without wounding *your Evidence*.

The *Fanatical Party*, in ſhort, will have it to be a *Jeſuitical Pamphlet*; ſo that of a *Fanatique* on the *One* hand, you

are now become a *Papiſt* on the *Other*. For there is not One Syllable in the Foundation of that Diſcourſe, but I have your *Word* and *Oath* for it. You ſwear *poſitively* that the *Prieſts* and *Jeſuites Herd* themſelves among the *Non-Conformiſts*; and *They*, on the *Other* ſide, as *poſitively Deny* it. But yet they *prove* it too, with the very Breath that *denies* it; and betray themſelves alſo to be in the *Plot*, over and above. For it is the *Known Marque* and *Deſign* of the *Jeſuited Party*, to *diſcredit* the *Kings Evidence*, which theſe People endeavour totally to *overthrow*. If the *Papiſts* do not ſhelter themſelves in the *Conventicles*, and *Field-Meetings*, to ſtir up Broils in the Government, what becomes of your *Teſtimony?* And admitting them to be there, none but a *Papiſt* ſure will oppoſe the *Ferreting* them out. Let them be once allowed *this Sanctuary*, and a *Prieſt* has no more to do, than to put on the Cloak of a *Diſſenting Proteſtant:* and under *that Diſguiſe* to execute his Deſign upon our *Prince*, our *Government*, and our *Religion*.

What can be clearer than, according to the *firſt Article* of your *Depoſitions*, that Matthew Wright, William Morgan, *and* Mr. Ireland, *were Ordered to go and preach under the Notion of* Preſbyterians, *and give the* diſaffected Scots *a True underſtanding of their State and Condition, in which they were, by reaſon of the* Epiſcopal Tyranny, *exerciſed over them; and withal, to tell them they had now a fair opportunity to Vindicate their* Liberty, *and* Religion, *and that it could be done no other way, but by the Sword.* And ſo, *Article* 22. how they endeavoured *by Themſelves, their Agents, and their Purſes, to provoke the* Scots *againſt the* Engliſh. In your 34. *Article*, we find them tampering with the *Fifth-Monarchy-Men*. And yet all this will not ſerve to convince ſome People of the *Prieſts* mingling with the *Fanatiques*, till the *Pilgrims* and the *Forty Thouſand Black Bills* ſhall come to open their Eyes in the Concluſion. If theſe *Infidels* have any *Privilege* for the *Defaming of Publique Juſtice*, and *blaſting the Kings Witneſſes*, above other People, they ſhould do well to *produce* it.

And

And I am not ſo *Sanguin* neither, as to take up my *Creed* upon the *High-way*, and venture an *Affidavit* upon every *Phantôme* in the *Domeſtique*. But, Sir, I have *Read* you, I have *Conſider'd* you, and made you no little part of my *Study*. You have *Lighted* me into the *Vault*, where all our *Miſchief* is a *Brewing*. You have ſhewed me not only the *Train*, but *Faux himſelf* alſo, (the *Maſter-Engineer*) *Creeping* with his *Dark Lanthorn* to give *fire* to it; and to *my Eyes*, things are as *plain*, as the *Sun* at *Noon-day*. To ſay nothing of the *Offices* you have already rendered to the *Publique*, with the Expoſure of your ſelf, *almoſt* all manner of ways: I do look upon you at this Inſtant, with a reſpect to the Future, to be a Perſon at leaſt as Capable of Contributing to the Peace and Happineſs of this diſtracted Nation, as any Subject of the three Kingdoms. I am not inſenſible of the *Roundneſs* of your *Periods*, the *Luxuriancy* of your *Invention*, (where there is any Scope for it) the *Frankneſs* of your *Stile*, and the Harmony of all your *Conceptions*. But theſe are Stories for thoſe People only that have nothing elſe to do, but to *Claw one another*.

This *Over-grown Epiſtle* would have been *Monſtrous* in any *other Age*; and the *Quality* of it no leſs *Extraordinary*: but *Cuſtom* authorizes all things, whether *Good* or *Evil*. There are certain *Modes* of *Stile*, *Figure*, *Addreſs*, *Motion*, *Garments*, nay, and of *Morals* too, that have their *proper* and *peculiar Seaſons*, *Impudence* prevails in *One Age*, *Modeſty* in *Another*; *Publique Juſtice* and *Oppreſſion* take their *turns*; *Knavery* and *Hypocriſie* were in faſhion *Thirty* or *Forty years ago*; and we are *Now*, for *Honeſty*, aud *Plain-dealing*. The *preſent Humour* of *France* runs much upon *Poyſoning*; the *Romans*, for one bout, made a great Trade of *Suborning* and *Trepanning*; and the *Enemies* of *this Government*, are at this day altogether upon the Vein of *Plotting*.

But I was about to ſpeak to the *Licenſe* of *Epiſtolizing*, which is *now* in *Vogue*, in excuſe of the *Freedom* I am to make uſe of in *this Letter*. That is to ſay, It was the *Old*, *dull way*, to tell a *Friend* his *Faults* in his *Ear*, and give him *Good Counſel* in a *Corner*: But it has been found out in *Our Times*,

to be more for the *Dignity* of the *Adviser*, to do it in a *Printed Letter*, that the whole World may bear witness to the *Frank Discharge* of a mans *Duty*.

After the acquittal of my self to be no *Papist*, give me leave to say something, Sir, to the Point charged upon me, both by *your Self*, and your *Father*, of *Reporting You* for a *Fanatique*. I never said that you were a *Fanatique*, in my Life; nor did I ever presume so much as to *Guess* at your *Religion*, any otherwise, than *Negatively*, that you are no *Presbyterian*: which I inferred from the Solemnity of your frequent Protestations that you could not in *Conscience Communicate* with men of *that Profession*. But to treat you with the Liberty of an *Epistolizer*. I must confess, that the *Words*, which you reminded me of upon *that Occasion*, and told me, *I should see suddenly in Print*, did, me thought, seem to incline a little *that way*. And then your *Natural Meekness*, aud *Affability* toward *all men*, and as well *Fanaticks* as *Others*, (to deal plainly with you) opened the Mouths of some Ignorant People to that Effect: Together with that *Exhortation* of yours, in the *Postscript* to your *Popes Ware-house*, *pag.*67. [*To the Encouragement of* all sorts *of* Protestants *whatsoever*, *that Fear* God; *Honour the* King; *and are willing to be Subject to the* Civil Magistrate, though *Dissenting* from the rest of *Christians*, in some *small matters*, and *Indifferent Things*.] Now, though I am too much a Servant to *Unity*, to encourage *Separations*, and *Divisions*, I cannot yet but highly esteem the Humane *Tenderness* of Easing *particular Persons*, in thematter of *Involuntary*, and *Invincible Dissent*: (that is to say, so far as stands with *Publique Order*.) And yet you must excuse me, Doctor, if I tell you, that your softness of Disposition may endanger the carrying of you too far too. For though a *Discreet* and *Practicable Indulgence* may do well; there may be such a *Remissness* yet, as by Loosening the *Sinews* of the *Government*, may bring the *Body* of the *Community* into a Habit of *Weakness*, and *Trepidation*. But there is a *Persecuting Spirit*, on the other hand, that cannot certainly but be *Odious* both to *God* and *Man*: A *Spirit* that wreaks its Fury upon *Widows*

and

and *Orphans* without either *Diſtinction*, or *Remorſe*; that hunts *Blood* meerly for the *Blood ſake*, and makes men worſe than *Wolves*: for *They purſue*, and *ſeize* their *Prey*, only to ſatisfie their *Hunger*.

By this time, Sir, you ſee what a *Church-of-England-man* is to Truſt to; when the *One* ſide makes him a *Fanatique*, and the *Other* a *Papiſt*. But with what face ſhall any man dare to Charge *Him* for a *Papiſt*, that has done ſo much for the *Proteſtant Religion*: or for a *Fanatique*, that has done ſo much, That way again, for the *Church of England?*

The *Plot*, by the Unanimous Vogue of all the Kings Witneſſes, is a *Tripartite Plot*. 1. Upon the *Life* of his *Sacred Majeſty*. 2. The *Subverſion* of the *Government*. 3. The *Extirpation* of the *Proteſtant Religion*. So that the *Rooting out* of the *Proteſtant Religion*, is *One Capital Point* of the *Conſpiracy*. But what it is that is intended by the *Proteſtant Religion*, comes now to be Expounded; and the *Clearing* of *That Difficulty* ſets *All Right*.

Under the Word *Government* is Comprehended the *Regiment* both *Eccleſiaſtical* and *Civil*: and *Incluſively*, the Order of *Biſhops*, with the Eſtabliſhed *Doctrine* and *Diſcipline* of the *Church*. So that *This*, and no *Other*, is the *Proteſtant Religion* Deſigned upon in the *Plot*. *Secondly*, It would not have been **Religion**, but **Religions**, (for their Name is *Legion*) if the Blow had been Levell'd at the *Fanatiques*. *Thirdly*, There is no *finding*, no *fixing* of them: It is almoſt as hard to ſay *Where* they are, as *What*: for they are a kind of *Chriſtian Arab's* and *Wanderers* in their Stations, as well as in their *Opinions*. *Fourthly*, It does not ſtand with *Common Senſe*, for the *Papiſts* to *Plot* the *Ruine* of their Own *Auxiliaries*; nor with the Reaſon of your own *Depoſitions* that *they* ſhould contrive the *Deſtruction* of the *Fanatiques*, at *That very Time* when they are making uſe of Them to deſtroy *Us*. And it is all one to me, whether you call them *Fanatiques*, or *Separatiſts*, or *Non-Conformiſts*, or *Diſſenters*; for you may as well bring Heaven and Hell together, as reconcile thoſe People to any terms of *Piety*, or *Civil Order*, that corruptly ſtile themſelves *Proteſtants*, under any of

theſe

theſe *General Denominations*. This *Schiſm* is the very *Lake of Locuſts*; *Adamites*, *Familiſts*, *Socinians*, *Arrians*, with Swarms of *Impious*, *Beaſtly Hereſies*, not ſo much as to be *Thought of* without *Shame*, nor *Mentioned* but with *Trembling* and *Horrour*.

Now if the *Eſtabliſhed Religion* aimed at in the *Plot*, be the *Eſtabliſhed Religion* of the Church of *England*; you cannot be a Friend to the *State*, without being one to the *Church* too: For they are in ſuch a manner *Incorporate*, that they muſt either *ſtand* or *fall together*, by a neceſſary *Conſent*. So that whoſoever Phanſies you, Doctor, to be other than *Canonical* and *Orthodox*, implies a Lewd and a Dangerous Suppoſition; which is, that what you *Build* with *One* hand, you *pluck down* with the *Other*.

Or put the Caſe that the Deſign ſtrikes at *All* that call themſelves *Proteſtants*, in *General*, as well *Non-Conformiſts* as *Church-men*. The *Diſſenters* muſt yet range themſelves under the *Government* to *Oppoſe* it; and without intermeddling any Other way too, than by their *Prayers*, and *Good Wiſhes*, upon pain of *Sedition*: For they do not act in this Inſtance, as men of *ſuch* or *ſuch a Religion*; but as *Subjects*, under the Bond of *Civil Obedience*. So that we are ſtill but where we were before, and as ſure of *You this way*, as the *Other*: For they are no longer *Diſſenters*, when they Comply with *Authority*, and we do only Cloſe with them in their *Agreements*, not in their *Diſſents*.

But pray'e Sir, Let me Conſult you as a *Caſuiſt*: *Whether or no, and how far may* Proteſtants Unite, *and* joyn together, *to keep out and defend themſelves againſt* Popery?, As in the Caſe of the *preſent Plot*. This Queſtion is the very Hinge of the Controverſie. The Solution ſeems to me, as follows: and I beſeech you ſet me Right, if I miſtake it. I am of Opinion for the *Affirmative*, and that *Proteſtants may joyn* (*ut ſupra*:) that is to ſay, in their *Hearts* and *Affections*, but no farther, without the Warrant of *Authority*. And it muſt be the *Supreme Authority* too: For in reſpect of the *Supreme*, all *Subordinate Magiſtrates* are but as *Private Perſons*. In this Point, the *Law* is a ſure *Guide*, which expreſly forbids

ſuch

ſuch and ſuch *Meetings* and *Aſſemblies*, under the Name of *Riots* and *Rebellions*, without any Exceptions whatſoever, Now if all *Leagues* and *Aſſociates* whatſoever, of *Publique Intendment*, and without *Authority*, be no other than *Unlawful Confederacies*; Such a Conjunction in the matter of *Religion*, were a great *Folly* added to the *Iniquity*. For *Religion* is a *Spiritual Notion*, out of the Reach of *Violence*, and neither to be *Invaded*, nor to be *kept out* by *force*. It may be *Brought in*, 'tis true, by *Conſequences*; and we are allowed the uſe of all Lawful means to *Prevent it*, by *Conſequences* too; as if the *Pope* himſelf ſhould Invade us; though we cannot but apprehend what may follow upon it, we do not encounter his *Religion* yet, but his *Arms*. Nor is it ſo properly a War of *Conſcience*, as of *Civil Defence* and *Dominion*: *Our Profeſſion* was never Founded in *Bloud*. In one word, Sir, It is the Government that is at Stake, and he that is not *With* it, is *Againſt* it. The SUBVERSION of the *Government* is the Buſineſs; as I find it in the *Harmony* of all the *Evidences*: By which word SUBVERSION, is intended (I ſuppoſe) not the Extinction of the *Form*, either of *Monarchy*, or *Epiſcopacy*; but rather the Tranſlation of the *Power Eccleſiaſtical* and *Civil*, into Other Hands.

They are *Wonderful Things*, Doctor, which you have done *already*; and I am perſuaded that you are yet reſerved for *more wonderful Things to come*: which muſt be the Work of Time to Diſcloſe; when *Truth* ſhall deliver her ſelf from the Rubbiſh of *Oppreſſion* and *Slander*; and in deſpite of *Envy* and *Impoſture* render your *Name* as Famous to *Poſterity*, as your *Virtue* has made it to the *preſent Generation*. And This I write with little leſs than the *Genius* of a *Prophet*. Bleſs me! That any man in his Wits ſhould take you (upon Second Thoughts) to be no Friend to the Church of *England*; after ſo many *Oaths*, and *Proofs* to the *Contrary*: So many *Proofs* (I ſay) not only of *Depoſition*, and *Argument*; but of *Adventure* alſo, even to the hazard of your *Life*; for ought I know, as much from the *Fanatiques*, as the *Papiſts!* Who was it but *You*, that ſo effectually laid open the *Intrigues* of the *Prieſts*, and *Jeſuites*, with the *Schiſmatiques*, in the *Late Rebellion?*

Rebellion? That ſhewed his Majeſty ſo plainly, who they were that *Dethron'd* and *Murther'd* his *Father:* and painted the whole *Conſpiracy* ſo to the *Life*, that a Body might *wink* and ſee *thorough* it? Who but *You*, Sir, to Trace them down to this very Inſtant, through all their *Diſguiſes*, and *Cabals*; fomenting a *Rebellion* in *Scotland* with the *Presbyterians*; *Incendiaries* in *London*, with the *Millenaries*; and up and down tampering with the whole Crew of *Sectaries*: in which Diſcoveries you have given the greateſt Blow to the *Schiſm*, that ever it received ſince the *Reformation*: For you have left them nothing to ſay for themſelves, why they ſhould not be ſifted, and purg'd with all exactneſs imaginable? Who was it but *You*, that firſt found out the *Conſpiracy it ſelf*, and then the *Conſpirators?* Who but *You*, the Eminent Inſtrument in the Opening of the *Combination?* To paſs over your Indefatigable *Induſtry* in the *finding* and *making of all out*, to the extreme hazards both of your *Health* and *Perſon*. And now at laſt, after the Gleaning up of a matter of *Five and Thirty Prieſts*, in the *whole*, out of a great many *Hundreds* up and down; Who was it but *You*, that inform'd the *Government*, where (inſtead of picking up *one or two Prieſts* in a *Month*) they might find them in *Shoals?* Alas! We proceed as if a *Jeſuite* had not the Wit of a *Hunted Hare*, that, to puzzle the *Hounds*, and confound the Sent, will thruſt it ſelf into a Flock of *Sheep*; or of an *Emboſs'd Deer*, that ſtrikes into the *Herd*. Is it not *true*, Sir, that they have their *Haunts* among the *Schiſmaticks?* Is it not *true*, that the *Plot goes on ſtill?* Is it not *true*, that we are all *Undone*, if it be not *Diſappointed?* And is it not then a matter of *Abſolute Neceſſity* to fetch theſe Plotters out of their *Holds?* And, in fine, Is it not as *true*, that whoever *doubts*, either of the *Truth* of this matter of *Fact*, or of the *Neceſſity* of This way of *Proceeding*, is undeniably a *Blaſter* of the *Kings Evidence*, and a *Favourer* of the *Conſpiracy?* Lay all this to heart, I beſeech you, and caſt your Eye upon what follows. May *Heaven* and *Earth* reward you, for the Care you have taken of the *Poor Proteſtants*, and be as happy as I wiſh you.

Sir, I am Your Humble Servant,

ROGER L'ESTRANGE.

A Further Diſcovery of the

PLOT,

Drawn from the

Narrative and Depoſitions

OF

Dr. *TITUS OATES*; &c.

AS it cannot be denied, but that the Kings Witneſſes have ventured as far, and done as much as men could do, (under their Circumſtances) to make out the Truth of a *Damnable*, and *Helliſh Popiſh Plot* upon the *Life* of his *Sacred Majeſty*, our *Religion* and *Civil Government*: So neither muſt it be denied, on the other hand, but that the Juſtice and Wiſdom of this Nation have improved all Diſcoveries, by the ſtricteſt Inquiſition, and ſcrutiny imaginable; and done all that was poſſible alſo toward the ſuppreſſing of the Conſpiracy; by the higheſt Inſtances of Political Zeal and Rigour. Inſomuch, that after ſo many Prieſts and Jeſuites, and other Leading-men of that Party removed by the ſtroke of *Publique Juſtice*; ſo many of them under *Confinement*; ſo many more reduced to ſhift for themſelves *beyond the Seas*, beſide the ſevere Penalties of the *Law* upon the reſt, with all ſorts of Encouragement, both for their *detection* and *puniſhment*: After all this care taken (I ſay) to tear up the accurſed Plot by the *Root*, We are yet aſſured, that (all this notwithſtanding) the Plot is ſtill carried on with *Confidence* and *Vi-*

gour. And this we have, even from thoſe very Perſons themſelves that formerly wrought in the ſame Mine with the Conſpirators; till through the Grace of a better Light they came to govern themſelves by other Meaſures. *This* is a truth no more to be *doubted*, than that of the *Plot* it *ſelf*; which has ſtood the Trial of ſo many *Solemn* and *publique Teſts*: Beſide that we have the ſame Authority for the One as for the Other; only the Circumſtances not being brought into Proof, the matter of Fact lies a little more in the Dark.

Whether or no the Plot *goes on ſtill*, after all this Havock made of the *Papiſts*, is the Common ſubject of every *Coffee-houſe Diſcourſe*. They that muſt be preſumed to know beſt, are of opinion that it does: and thoſe that are upon the *Negative*, reaſon the Point after this manner: *What?* (ſay they) *Is it a* Plot *that will work without hands? Where are the* Papiſts, *the* Inſtruments *that ſhould drive it on*; *Are they in the* Air, *or* under Ground; *or are they* Inviſible? *For as they are now diſperſed, and broken, (beſide the Terrour that overawes them) there are at leaſt* three Thouſand Proteſtants, *in ſight, to* one Papiſt. But do they ask where they *are*, becauſe we cannot *ſee* them? Why do they not rather ask where they are *Not?* Becauſe they may be any where, and we not *know* them: For, as I have been told by perſons of Great quality, they will endure all *ſhapes*, and exerciſe all *Profeſſions*. They ſpeak of *one Jeſuit* that cried *work for a Cooper*; another that wrought upon the Trade of a *Shoomaker*; *Prieſts* in *Red coats* Innumerable: And it is obſerved that upon the bringing of the Late Plot to Light, all the little *French-men* with their *Marionets* or *Puppet-ſhows* vaniſhed in a trice: which gave a ſuſpition that they were only a kind of *Itinerant Agents* for the *Faction:* To ſay nothing of their skill and Induſtry, in the managing of all our Diviſions, and Diſcontents, to the advantage of their own Party. Theſe are Stories (I know) that are much more eaſily *Contradicted*, than *Proved:* and therefore without laying any ſtreſs at all upon *Common Fame*, or

Hear-ſay,

Hear-say, I shall now apply my self to *that farther Discovery of the Plot*, which I have promised in my Title; and support my undertaking, upon the Authority of Dr. *Oates* himself; with a respect both to the Validity of his *Testimony*, and to the weight of his *Observations*; being a Person that hath dived deeper into the Mystery of this Iniquity (with favour of the rest) than any other man.

As to the Hellish Design upon the Life of our Gracious Sovereign, by *Pistol*, *Sword*, or *Poyson*, we hope that the Neck of that *Particular Plot* is broken, to all Intents and purposes: But we are beholden also to Dr. *Oates* for the Discovery of *Other* and of *Farther Plots* that are still carried on by the same restless Party; tending to the *defaming* of his *Majesties Person*, and *Government*; the *Subversion* of our *Established Religion*, and the *Disturbance* of the *Publick Peace*. So that unless the remaining, and the still growing *Difficulties*, and *Hazards* be encountred with *Timely* and *Effectual Remedies*, the work of our Deliverance is but half done, and we shall yet run a Risque of being ruin'd at last even in the very Port.

Dr. *Oates* tells us in his *Narrative*, *Printed by Authority of Parliament*, that the Pope, Society of Jesus, *and their* Confederates *in this* Plot, have a Design to reduce *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, to the *Romish Religion* and *Obedience*, by the *Sword*: *Pag.* 63, which they hope to accomplish, among Other means, *by disaffecting the Kings best Friends at home and abroad, and Subjects, against his Person and Government; charging him with Tyranny, and Designs of Oppressing, Governing by the Sword, and without Parliaments*, Pag. 67.

By Asperſing, Deriding, Exposing, and declaiming against his Person, Councils, and Actions in Parliaments, and elsewhere, by Mis-reporting, and raising False News of his Affairs; by disaffecting his Majesties Allies, Holland, Spain, *the* German Emperour, *and* Princes *by False Intelligence. By* Seditious Preachers, *and* Catechists, *set up, sent out, maintained,*

and directed what to Preach in their Own, or other Private, or Publick Conventicles, and Field-Meetings. By setting up false pretended Titles to the Succession of the Crown; and Animating Different Parties, one against another, on this or such like False pretences, to Arm and put the People in bloud, upon the Kings Death.

We have found Dr. *Oates*'s *Observations* (as to these particulars,) so punctually true, that every syllable of what he has here deliver'd, is from point to point, the very matter now in Agitation. For there is not a day passes without a Libel upon his Majesties *Authority*, *Administration*, *Designs*, and solemn *Resolutions* of *State*, and *Council*; belying the Condition of his Affairs, and endeavouring to create *Distrusts*, and *Jelousies* among Forreign Princes, and States, by *False Intelligence*; *animating*, and *exciting* of *Turbulent Factions*, and *anticipating* of *Confederacies*, to involve us all in Bloud; upon a *Remote* and *Undutiful* SUPPOSITION of the KING'S DEATH. And finally, we have Sedition *Preached* as well as *written*, and our *Conventicles* both instructed themselves, and instructing Others, in the Methods and Principles of Rebellion, this may suffice for the Doctors Judgment upon the present State of things, which in truth looks liker a *Revelation*, than a *Conjecture*.

As to his Reflections upon the Interest which the *Papists* had in our Past troubles; these are his words in his Preface to the aforesaid *Narrative*.

Who beside these were the First Authors and Contrivers of the late Unnatural War, by their Known Diabolical Art of enflaming Parties, and Passions against each other? And (addressing to the King) *of your Royal Fathers Unspeakable sufferings, and Barbarous Usage? It was these that brought him to his End, and flourished Swords, and Trumpets over his dead Body, whom they durst not approach when Living. The* Putney Projectors (says he) *were in most, if not all the Councils, that contrived his Ruin. What broke the* Uxbridge Treaty, *but the* Romish Interest, *and* Policy?

Who

Who continued to baffle all designs of Peace, and Settlement to this Nation, and Prosperity to his Majesties Family, but Those Incendiaries? Milton *was a known frequenter of a* Popish Club; *Who more forward to set up* Cromwell, *and to put the Crown of our Kings upon his Head, than* Papists? *And his new fangled Government was contrived by a* Popish Priest; *and* Lambert *a* Papist, *for above these* Thirty years.

I have inserted these Passages as a Curiosity in the History of those times; which may perhaps have escaped other men as well as my self. For though I never made any Question, but that the Church of *England*, as it stands Established by Law, in the *Purity* of *Doctrine*, and the Venerable *Sobriety* of *Discipline*, was ever an *Eye-sore* to the Church of *Rome*; yet I was of Opinion too, that a Licentious Vein of *Ambition* and *Schism* among our selves, had carried a great stroke also in that *Fatal Revolution*. But however, this is a point wherein a man may without loss of Honour, or Credit, admit the possibility of his being in a Mistake. Wherefore we shall now (with the *Doctors* Leave) advance to plain matter of *Fact*, whereupon we have his *Deposition*; the only Case wherein a man may, without Vanity pronounce himself within a degree of *Infallible*.

We find Page 8. that Richard Nicholas Blundel *had every day in the Week his several places in the City of* London, *where he taught the Youth Treasonable, and Malicious Doctrine, against the Interest, and Person of his Sacred Majesty.*

Also (Pag. 25.) that Richard Ashby *had a Conference for the sending of New Messengers into* Scotland, *to promote the Commotions there; and to inform the People, of the great* Tyranny *they did lie under, by reason of their being denied the* Liberty *of their* Conscience; *and that not being to be procured but by the Sword, they must take that Course to purchase their Liberty: By which means (said the Fathers thus Assembled) we shall weaken both the* Presbyterian, *and the* Episcopal Faction. *At which Conference, the* DEPONENT *was* PRESENT, *and heard the Words.* And.

And again, *Two Messengers were sent into* Scotland, *One by the Name of* Father Moore, *and the Other by the Name of* Father Saunders *alias* Brown, *with Instructions to carry themselves like* NON-CONFORMIST MINISTERS; *and to* Preach *to the* Disaffected Scots, *the Necessity of taking up the Sword for the Defence of* Liberty *of* Conscience. These *the* DEPONENT *saw* Dispatched, *&c.*

Take notice, in the *First* place, that here is a Design carried on for the *Destruction* of the *King*, and the *Embroyling* of the *Government*. *Secondly*, The pretence of the Quarrel is to be matter of *Liberty* and *Conscience*. *Thirdly*, It is to be promoted by *Popish Emissaries*, in the *Councils*, and *Conventicles* of the *Non-Conformists*. *Fourthly*, The means by which the *Papists* propound to compass their Ends, are by making *Interests* with the *Separatists*, under the Disguise of *Ministers*, and *Teachers*, respectively of the several Parties they have to do withal. And *Fifthly*, Let me recommend this Particular to your *Special Remark*, that Dr. *Oates*, throughout the whole Course of his *Depositions*, charges no part of the *Popish Design* upon any *Intelligence*, or *Communication* with the Church of *England*; but makes it only to be a practice upon the *Dissenters* from the *English Communion*, to transport them into *Tumults*, and *Distempers* against both *Church* and *State*.

We have here in few words, a *Scheme* of the whole business; Here is the *Design*, the *Pretext*, the *Instruments*, and the *Methods*: and upon the whole matter, here is the Church of *England* acquitted, as to any point of *unwarrantable affinity* with the Principles or Practices of the Church of *Rome*; however that *Testy French-man* is pleased to speculate in his *Fanatical Reve'ries* upon our *approaches* to That *Communion*: Wherein it may be a Question, whether he is more out in his *History*, or in his *Morals*. We are, in short, very much obliged to the Doctor, for clearing our Church to all Gainsayers, from those Obloquies which by both the Extremes are indifferently cast upon us.

It

It must not be any longer a supposition, that which Dr. *Oates* has given us his *Oath* for; so that taking it for granted, that there is such a Project on foot, that the *Papists* are in the *bottom* of it; and that it is promoted by the Sectaries, only as *Passive Agents* that are blindly bringing about the others ends: the Question is now how the Government may fairly discriminate the *Protestants* from the *Papists*; being so blended in their *Interest*, as well as in their Councils; and masked under such *Resemblances*, the *One*, of the *Other*, that they are not easily to be distinguished. It cannot he expected that a pretending *Protestant* shall own himself to be a *Papist*; so that there is no believing any man in the Case. And then the *Epithete* of a *Reputed so or so*, is so slender an Evidence, that many a Reputed *Papist* is found to be a *True Protestant*, and many a *Reputed Protestant* as true a *Papist*. The known and Legal Expedient which has been hitherto found Competent enough to answer the Reason and Intent of State, is the *Test* of the *Two Oaths* of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy:* and yet this very provision will not reach all cases: For there are many *Papists* that will *Take* them without any difficulty; and there are several that call themseves *Protestants*, that will as obstinately *refuse* them. Now though the *Latter* (*Primo Eliz.*) was a *Provision for the abolishing of Foreign Power*, and the *Former* (*Tertio Jac.*) an Act for the discovering and repressing of *Popish Recusants*; the Scope and Equity yet of Both these Provisions has a regard to the securing of the Goverment against any sort of people, and against any Pretensions whatsoever: So that whoever Refuses, upon a *Lawful Tender*, to take these *Oaths*, he is a *Papist* in the eye of the *Law*, let his Persuasion be what it will: For it is the only Priviledge of Omniscience to read the Heart: or if (for discourse sake) we should suppose him to be no *Papist*, he is yet in the prospect of *Common Reason*, liable to that Imposition, because it is exacted as a Proof of his *Allegiance*, not of his Faith; and men of *Different Judgments* in *Religion* may yet *agree* in *Common Principles* of *Disloyalty*.

And

And then again, there is no appealing in this *Caſe* from the *Prudence* and *Caution* of the *Law* (which is always preſumed to intend the *Common Good*) to the Teſtimony of a *Friend* or *Neighbour* in favour of a *Recuſation.* For the *Law* is a *General Rule*, that takes no notice of any *Exceptions* to it. The *Law* requires me to *Take theſe Oaths* in proof of my *Allegiance* to the Government; and my anſwer is, *That I am a very Honeſt man, but I cannot take them.* What is this to the *Law*, that takes no Cognizance of my *Honeſty*, but of my *Obedience?* And this *Rule* holds in Common, as well to the *Papiſt* as to the *Proteſtant Recuſant*; They both vouch for their own *Loyalty*, and at the ſame time they do both of them Refuſe to comply with the *Law.* The Common way of Reply in this Caſe, is to caſt it in a mans Teeth; *But what? will you make no difference betwixt a* Papiſt *that refuſes and a* Proteſtant? Yes, I would, if you would but ſhew me how I may certainly know the One from the Other. Who knows not that *Intereſt governs the World?* And that for Reaſons beſt known to themſelves, he that is a *Proteſtant* in his heart may be induced rather to appear a *Papiſt*; and the Other, though a *Papiſt* in *his heart*, may find it his Intereſt yet to ſeem a Proteſtant? But we will yield that Point too; and put the Caſe, that the *Law* ſhould be relaxed, on the behalf of any man living, Does not This open a Gap (let him be never ſo Honeſt) to the admittance of ten Thouſand men that may plead *Honeſty* too, and yet betray their Duties? And is it not better then, that ſome few particulars ſhould ſuffer by keeping *firm* to the *Law*, than that the whole ſhould be endangered by Remitting it? So that there is neither *Reaſon*, nor *Safety*, nor *Equity*, in ſuch a *Relaxation*, nor any regard of *Common Juſtice* and *Duty* in demanding it.

But what if it be ſaid, that it is not the *Thing Sworn*, but the *Oath it ſelf*, that is *Scrupled?* And that there are ſeveral ſorts of Perſuaſions that will not bear any ſwearing at all? This, I muſt confeſs, is a Caſe ſomewhat nice, and unhappy, to thoſe people that are ſo ſtraight-

laced

laced in that *Particular*: But then, on the Other ſide, it is to the *Government* the moſt *dangerous* of all *Pretenſions*, and lets in all the *Prieſts* and *Jeſuits* in Nature, under That Colour. So that now take it both ways; If the *Law* be *partially* Executed, the *Jeſuits* and *Prieſts* will ſhelter themſelves under *That Indulgence*: Or, if the *Law* ſhould be ſuſpended, out of a repect to thoſe that would be thought to make a *Conſcience* of an *Oath*, the *Prieſts* would all flow into *Thoſe Parties* that ſhould be *exempted* from *this Teſt*, and carry on their *Deſigns* without either *Trial* or *danger*.

Now to wind up this Diſcourſe, in a plain and clear *Dilemma*. It muſt be granted, either that the *Papiſts have a* Deſign upon the *King*, *Religion*, and *Government*, and that they advance it by acting the Parts of *Quakers*, *Anabaptiſts*, *Presbyterians*, and *Other Sectaries*, *or not*. No man, I preſume, will dare to queſtion the Truth of the Doctors Depoſition; for in ſo doing he would imply a ſtrange abuſe impoſed upon the Nation. But on the other ſide, admitting it to be true; there can be no ſecurity to this Government, without either *diſſolving* all *ſeparate Meetings*, or bringing all *Diſſenters* to this *Legal Teſt*; for otherwiſe, the *Papiſts* have all ſorts of *Liberty*, and *Security* in herding themſelves among the *Conventicles*; where upon the beating of a Buſh, it will be an even wager whether you ſtart a *Jeſuit*, or a *Fanatick*. And in effect, in this caſe, there is not much difference betwixt them, where the *Jeſuit* plays the *Fanatick*, and the *Fanatick* the *Jeſuit*.

If the main Aſſertion be true, there is no way of finding out the *Papiſts*, but by *this Teſt*: and the *Diſſenters themſelves*, if they would have *Popery* ferretted out in good Earneſt, cannot chuſe but encourage the Propoſition. Either they have *Prieſts* among them, or they have *not*: If they *have*, why do they not do the beſt they can to find them out? If they have *not*, why do they ſay they *have*? And again, either the *Non-Conformiſts* are influenced by the *Jeſuits*, or they are *not*: If they *be*, why do they not do

all that is poſſible toward the *Purging* of their *Congregations?* If they be *not* ſo Influenced, why do they pretend that they *are*, and ſo *ſet the Saddle upon the wrong Horſe?* And yet again; either it is *poſſible* to clear their *Conventicles* of this dangerous Mixture, or it is *not:* If it be *Poſſible*, why do they ſtill *complain* of it, and *do nothing in it?* If it be *Impoſſible*, there is no way of *Extirpating Popery*, but by rooting out *Fanaticiſm.*

Let the World judge now, with what injuſtice, the *Order*, and the *Rituals* of the Church of *England* are charged with a Tincture of *Superſtition*, and *Popery*, when upon Manifeſt proof, *the Calumniators themſelves* of our *Eccleſiaſtical State* are, throughout the *whole Body* of them, tainted with this *Leaven.* We are now come to the *Bottom* of the *Popiſh Plot. This Liberty of wandering from the Rule, is the* Trojan Horſe, *which under* a Religious colour, *we have entertained within our* Walls; *with* Diſcord, *and* Deſtruction *in the Belly of him.*

An ADVERTISEMENT.

WHereas *the* Subjects Right *of* Petitioning *has been of Late in such manner Asserted, as if his* Majesty *had* no Right *of* Refusing, *this is to Advertise, that from the* 3*d of* Ed. III. *to* Hen. VIII. (*as appears upon the* Parliament Rolls) *it was constantly the First thing done, upon the opening of all Parliaments, after the Cause of* Summons declared, *to appoint out of the* Lords Spiritual, *and* Temporal, *certain* Receivers, *and* Tryers *of* Petitions; *and still as they found any* Petition *not fit to be admitted, it was* Rejected *with a* Non est Petitio Parliamenti, (*as we find it endorsed upon the* Rolls) *and there was an end on't.* Note, *that all* Petitions *were Dedicated to his* Majesty, *and that in many Cases, when the Parliament had not time to go thorough with them all, the King referred divers of them to the Chancery.*

Now, why the King *may not as well* Reject *a* Petition Out *of* Parliament, *as* In Parliament, *and why he may not as well* Reject *it by* Anticipation *and* Prevention *in a* Previous *and* Expres Prohibition *and* Exception *to the* Matter *of it, as* afterward, *is a point worthy of a Resolution: and when his* Majesty *ever* lost *the* One Right, *or the* Subject gain'd *the* Other: *This* Postscript *is* wholly *Forreign* to the *Subject* of this *Pamphlet*, but more *accommodate* to the *Season.*

THE END.

DISCOVERY
UPON
DISCOVERY,

In Defence of Doctor *OATES* against *B. W*'s Libellous Vindication of him, in his *Additional Discovery*; and in Justification of *L'Estrange* against the same Libell.

In a Letter to Doctor *TITUS OATES*,

By *ROGER L'ESTRANGE.*

The Second Edition.

Latrant, non Loquuntur.

LONDON,

Printed for *Henry Brome* at the Gun in *S. Pauls* Church-yard, 1680.

SIR,

THere is a horrible *Libell* come out againſt you, under Pretence of a *Vindication*; and it is ſo much the worſe, for endeavouring to turn *another Diſcourſe* written in *Vindication* of you into a *Libell*; and ſuch a *Libell* too, as will not allow any *Good* that is ſpoken of you, to be *True*, nor any man that *ſpeaks* it, to be *Honeſt*: But the moſt ſpitefull and audacious Circumſtance of *all*, is the *Dedicating* of the affront to your *ſelf*; and in ſuch a *ſtile* and *Way* too, that a man had better be *half-Gibbetted* then ſo *commended*; 'tis in ſuch an *Abject*, *Beaſtly*, *Dawbing* way of *Flattery*. He ſays, y'are *beſpatter'd*; and he goes ſuch a way to work, as if he ſhould waſh you with the Reverſion of a Gliſter, to make you clean again.

This Libell is Entitled, *An* Additional *Diſcovery of* Mr. Roger L'Eſtranges *his* Further Diſcovery *of the* Popiſh Plot; *Wherein* Dr. Titus Oates, *and the reſt of the Kings Evidences are Vindicated, from the aſperſions caſt upon them in that Pamphlet*, &c. *In a Letter to* Dr. Titus Oates, *by* B. W.

This Letter to a man in a Feaver might be pertinent enough, for it is ſo drowſy a piece, ſo arrant an *Opiate*, that if it had but come out time enough, the Old Poets ſhould never have needed a *Mercurial Rod* for the Charming of *Argus*: And who knows but that this ſame *B.W.* may be Hir'd to write the *Three Kingdoms aſleep*; and a *Foreign Enemy*, in the mean while, to come in, and catch us *Napping*. And yet *this very Pamphlet*, Doctor, has had the Honour of *Your Countenance*: I would you had *Read* it before you had *recommended* it: For, as the Caſe Stands, I have no other way of delivering either You or my Self from the Dint of this Venemous Paper but by expoſing Some Remarks upon it, in a *Second Dedication*, to the *Doctor*. You'l ſay perhaps, that I'm *a Sawce-Box, for Preſuming to Dedicate any thing to* You, *without* Your Leave. But 'tis all a caſe to Me, whether *With* it, or *Without* it; for I have a Common Right with my Adverſary, to the Liberty of this Application, as well the *One* way as the *Other*. Upon the Peruſall of it, you will finde it to be *Miſerably*

ſerably Weak, and *Silly*; and yet *Inſufferably Abuſive*; *Jeſuitically False*; *Scurrilouſly Rude*, and moſt *Diabolically Malicious*.

He tells you Sir, *Pag.* 3. *That you told* L'Eſtrange, *he was a* Papiſt *and that he reported* You *for a* Fanatick; whereas neither *is L'Eſtrange* a *Papiſt*, neither did *You Say* he *was* one but only by *Hear-ſay*, and that you had been *told* he was a Papiſt. So that he charges your wit ſpeaking a falſe thing, to the Diſadvantage of your Evidence in greater matters. But for This abuſe, he makes you amends in the ſame Page, by Comparing *L'Eſtrange* and the *Doctor* to the *Devill* and *our Saviour*.

I am ſure (ſays he a little after) *the* Unerring Rule *is*, *he that is not* With, *is* Againſt.

Now *This Gentleman*, (under favour) is *not Sure*; neither is *The Rule Unerring*; for there are *Deliberations*, *Suſpenſions*, *Neutralities*, in which Caſes, we are neither *With*, nor *Againſt*. If This hold for a *Maxim*, it is but a Natural Concluſion from *B.W's* premiſes that Thoſe that are not *For* the Legall Order of the Church and State, are *Enemyes* to it, and to be lookt upon as Cankers in the Bowells of the Government. And again.

He Cites this Paſſage out of *My further Diſcovery*, Pag. 2. *He tells you as a friend*; (ſays he) *I have more* Charity *for One Morall* Pagan, *then* twenty Hypocriticall Chriſtians. And in Reflection upon it (*Pag.* 4.) he has Theſe Words. *Indeed I have not learn'd this Diſtinction of a* Chriſtian *afore*; but *allways from the* Woes *pronounced againſt* Hypocrites, *in the* Scripture, *I took them not to be* Chriſtians. Now the meaning of it upon the whole, is This. That *L'Eſtrange* has more *Charity* for *Tully*, and *Seneca*, then for *Peters*, and *Bradſhaw*. But ſee his Goodly *Criticiſm* now upon *Hypocrite*: The *Scribes* and *Phariſees*, in *Propriety* of *Speech*, were *not* Hypocrites; and *Figuratively Speaking*, we have but too many *Chriſtians* that *are* Hypocrites; for *Hypocrites* in *Religion*, are only *Spirituall Stage-Players*. His next Citation is This: I have a Naturall *Veneration for the Government, and all that Love it*; *the Kings Loyall Witneſſes, and Preſervers of his Life*. Now he has thought fit to leave out theſe words [*in the Firſt place*; *with an Equall Horrour, and Deteſtation for all his Enemyes, under what Maſque or Form ſoever.*] And then he falls in again, *That I believe the Plot*; *as much of it as every Good Subject* ought; leaving out, [*or as any man in his Right* Wits can *believe.*] Nay (Says he again) and pawns his Conſcience (which doubtleſſe is Large) *You* do not believe *more* of it.

Obſerve

Observe, First, that whereas *L'Estrange* says, he has *Naturally* a Veneration for the Government, He makes it a *Natural Veneration*, which in Nicety of Acceptance differs from the Other, as a *Common Principle* differs from a *Particular Bent*, or *Inclination*: As I have *Naturally* a Love for Musick: This Sounds much stronger then I have a *Natural* Love for it. And so to say, I have *Naturally* a Veneration for the *Presbyterian Discipline*, is quite another thing, then to Say I have a *Natural Veneration* for't. He tells you a little after, that *the* Plot *is in a great measure one of the things of* God; *and not rightly to be understood by meer* Natural men: Which is the grosseſt Affront, perhaps, to the Kings Evidence, that has been yet Attempted. You will take notice, in his First Omission, that his Conscience flew in his face, upon that Latitude, of the *Kings Enemies, under what Masque soever*; And so he left it out. And then for the *Second Omission* of the Words, *As any man in his right Wits can believe*, he says nothing on't, for 'tis enough in all Conscience to believe so *much* of the Plot as none but a *Mad* man can believe *more*. Good Doctor observe him now in his Descant upon the *Quotation* abovementioned.

I am (says he) *of a quite Contrary Opinion; for I know you are of a sharper sight, Doctor, then to have your Judgment eclipsed with a Fogg.* So that *your sharpnesse of Sight*, is made the Cause of *his Contrary Opinion*. I do assure you, Sir, if you'l be so kind as to Read it, I'le put you up a Bill for him, when you preach next; for no Flesh is able to hold out long, at this Ridiculous rate. And yet when *Sense*, and *Grammer* fail, the *Malice* goes on still. Now here's *Another Jesuitism* for you Doctor. He tells you *that* L'Estrange *cannot believe what he does not, nor cannot*: which Expression, together with the *learned Instance* (as he calls it) *of Butter'd Turnips, he makes use of as a Reflexion upon* You; *because it plainly intimates your Evidence is as little to be credited, as that Assertion*: Now *L'Estranges* Words are these. *The whole Earth* (says he, *Pag.* 2. and 3:) *can never bring me to* believe, *or* to say *that I believe, That which I neither* do, *nor* can *believe*: *As the businesse of* Bedingfields *being alive again, or that I my Self am in the Conspiracy*. See, first, how he has *Falsify'd* the *Quotation* it self; and then let any body shew me the *Reflexion*. Why does he not *point* to it with his Fools finger, and say, *There 'tis*. But for a man to be hookt within the *Statute* of *dangerous Reflexions*, for not *believing* things *Incredible*, or for not *saying* that he *Does* believe that which he does *Not* believe; deal frankly with me, Doctor, Is it reasonable or not? But the Reader has the matter here before him, and let him try what he can make on't, beyond a Loyall Affection to the Govern-

ment,

ment, and the Inculcating of a Neceſſary Caution, in dubious, and Improbable Caſes, in order to a fuller Diſcovery, and Eviction of the Truth: For otherwiſe *B.W.* ſhall cram me with *Tennis-Balls* and make me Swear they're *Sugar-Plumbs*, under pain of being Arraign'd by every little *Schiſmaticall Setter*, as *a Blaſter of the Kings Evidence*; which is *L'Eſtranges* Caſe in this very Paragraph; where he's charg'd with *Affronting King, Lords, and Commons, the Lord Chancellor, the Bench, Jury, and Evidence, in his unworthy Reflexions, not to be* forgiven *or* forgotten. This is a Teizer, and probably of the Old ſtamp, he flies at the Throat ſo; and nothing but Bloud will Content him. You ſee here Doctor what a Deduction he has made, and the Ground of it: And your Candour cannot but acknowledge the Inference to be *Folly, Rudeneſſe*, and *Malignity* to a very High degree.

Mark now what *another fling* (as he calls it) *at the Doctor*, this *Wizzard* has found out. *L'Eſtrange has a Value for him, and believes him as far as he OUGHT*; now *R.W*'s Quarrell is; that *L'Eſtrange* has not a *higher Value* for him, and that he does not believe him *further* then he *ought*. He pretends to be Scandaliz'd at *L'Eſtranges Equivocall meaning*; but the thing that troubles Him in *Truth*, is, that *L'Eſtrange* has *Worded* the matter ſo *cautiouſly*, that a *Republican Spy* can lay no *hold* on't. But pray'e read the *Context* to *This Citation*, Pag.4. *It was never my Humour* (*as a* French-droll *has it*) *to commend an* Orator, *for an* Excellent Head of Hair; *or a man of* State, *and* Bus'neſs, *for the Government of his* Beard; *or to ſpend three or four Pages, upon ſuch an Occaſion as This, in* Flattery, *and* Panegyrick. So that *L'Eſtrange* (ye ſee) did *purpoſely* avoid the Temptation of falling into a Vein of *Servile Flattery*, by any pompous *Recitall* of your *Good Qualities*: And rather choſe to tell you, like a Gentleman, (Short and Round) that he valu'd ye as he *OUGHT*. But this is *Heathen Greek* now to Him that is not verſt in the true *Ayre* and *Stile* of *Good manners*. *L'Eſtrange* values the *Doctors Function* and *Character* too as he *ought*, as well as his *Employment*. Why does he not complain to the Biſhops, that he mocks the *Eccleſiaſtical Order*, as well as to the *Doctor*, that he Abuſes *Him*; for they are both equally concern'd in the ſame Period?

He Cites *L'Eſtrange*, Saying, Pag. 5. that *he's a Friend to Downright Dealing; to Liberty of Speech; an Eaſy Glaſſe, and an Eaſy Companion*. The *Firſt*, he does not *believe*, he ſays, but the *reſt* he *does*; (with a Bobb at the end on't.) And yet to many peoples thinking *L'Eſtrange* deals as *plainly* with *Himſelf*, and his *Brethren*, as a body would

would wish. And for the Rest, it is so far True, that *L'Estrange* had much rather drink his Majesties *Health* in a Glasse of *Wine*, then his *Confusion* in a Dish of *Association-Coffee*; and that he's a Profest Enemy to all sorts of Sniveling Formalities whatsoever.

B.W. Proceeds now to certain *Scholasticall Distinctions* betwixt *Rogue*, and *Rogue*; and has found out an Admirable Invention for the bringing of *You*, and *Mee*, Doctor, to call one another *Rogues* by *Consent*; and to shew you Sir, how far you may call any man *Rogue*, without danger of the *Law*. His words are These,

He tells you, Doctor, *of your calling him* Rogue *twenty times*; *for which he* thanks *you, and* Forgives *you*; *but this is but a Coppy of his Countenance, and used as a meer shooing-horn, to draw on the Like likewise, of calling* you Rogue. *I know its a word you often use, and its Twenty to one you were Right*, Nineteen *of the* Twenty, *if not* all: *But it's not to be taken in the* Common sense *of the* Vulgar Usage *to a man of* vile *and* base Actions; *but as a differing Character of an* Adversary *to* yours *and* Others Evidence *in the great matter in question*. So that he has here made *L'Estrange* to be precisely *Nineteen Rogues*, and *Nineteen Twentieth Parts* of another. But then to make me amends, they are *Rogues*, you see, of *Quality*; that is to say, they are *Plot-Rogues*, *Sham-Rogues*, or some other of the more *Creditable* sort of *Rogues*. This Fellow has no Commission, I hope, to treat men of our Condition at this Course rate.

And a little further, he says, that because *Currs* hunt *Me*, I take the Freedom to *reflect* upon *You*; *slighting your Favours, and setting you at Defiance* (Pag. 4. of my *Further Discovery*.) Pray'e mind the Shifting, and Shuffling of this *Fanatical Jesuit* My words are These. *There is no Design in this Paper, Sir, to bespeak your Favour, in case of any Imputation upon me, either for my* Words, *Actions, or* Writings; *for I defy Malice it self to charge me with any sort of Malevolence, toward the Church or* State. Now from my Defying of *Malice* in the *Abstract*, does he most abusively inferr my *defying* of the *Doctor* under that Notion: whereas any man that runs, may read my Intention to be This. *Here am I threaten'd*, Doctor, *with* Articles, *and* Impeachments, *by a Pack of Rascalls*; *and here am I at the same time*, making *Court to* You. *Do not imagine* Sir, *that This is to curry favour with you for your Protection against these Blood-hounds*; *for my Innocence will support me against the very Devil and his Angels*. Now this is so far from being a *Reflection* upon you, that it would imply a High Confidence in your Integrity, even if I should have so little Reverence as to *defy* you. For it would be as who should say; *The Doctor*

can

can do me no Hurt upon the Square, *and I'le trust his* Conſcience, *for ſetting* falſe Dice *upon me.* And now what's the ground of all This Exception? Nothing in the world but *L'Eſtranges* ſaying, that *he has a great value for your* Function, Imployment *and* Character.

He picks another Quarrel with me for calling *the Deteſtable Plot*, a *MYSTERY*; as if it were a denial of the *Fact:* whereas I ſpeak only of the *Project* or *Contrivance*, not of the *Fact*; tho' after all this Diſcovery there's a great deal in matter of *Fact*, that lies yet in the *Dark.* And then he has a Bout with me for ſaying, that *it is no New thing, for a Popular Outcry in the matter of* Religion, *to have a* State-Faction *in the belly on't.* Whereupon he modeſtly acknowledges that *he cannot underſtand how* Religion *is concerned in the leaſt: Eſpecially the difference betwixt the Church of* England, *and the* Diſſenters *from it.* Now as to the *Plot*, We are told that *Religion* is the very *Root* of it: and for the *Diſſenters*, they have almoſt all Sorts of *Hereſies* among them; which I take to be matter of *Religion.* Beſides that we have our *Agenda*, as well as our *Credenda*; and our *Practical Caſes* relating to *Civill Obedience*, *Brotherly Charity*, *Peace*, *Order*, &c. wherein the *Diſſenters* do exceedingly differ from the Church of *England* in matters alſo of *Religion.* He has Another Touch at me, for *arraigning the Judgments of the Repreſentatives of the Nation in Parliament*, in ſaying, that *nothing was ever more narrowly Sifted, or more vigorouſly Diſcourag'd then This Conſpiracy.* And yet (ſays he) the neglect of it was *one* part of the Earl of *Danby's* Charge, which was not (again) without due Conſideration of *Authentique Proofs*, to make it good. But *bare Charges* are no *Proofs*; and 'tis well for me that they are not; for if they were, *B.* W's Libell would have hang'd me Twenty times over. But I am glad to hear the Dignity, and Prudence of That Aſſembly, ſo well ſupported; for the world is well amended, ſince the Houſe of *Commons* was Libell'd for *an Unanimous Clubb of Voters*; an *Infernal Regiment* of *Penſioners*: Since they were call'd a *Treacherous*, and a *Lewd Parliament*; and ſince a Reverend Divine told ſome of the Members to their Teeth, that *they were a pack of as Arrant Raſcalls as ever layd their Heads together:* And every day ſome Pamphlet or other to the ſame Tune.

There's a long Paragraph (Pag. 6.) which is only a Huddle of words, and not three Lines in the whole, for a man to make either Earneſt, or Sport of. The man is willing, Sir. to do you a Civill Office; but then he goes ſo Awkwardly to work, and with ſuch a deal of *Nauſeous, Fulſom Flattery*, 'tis half a *Vomit* to *think* on't. But

at

at last, after mighty pains taken to no end, he passes sentence upon *Intents* and *purposes*; and has found it out at the long Run, that *the getting of a small Reward for my Pamphlet, the vindicating of the Papists, and crushing of the Fanatiques, are the three Ends of my Scribling.* All which (I do assure you Dr.) he speaks by *Revelation*; but gives you, in the Conclusion the hopes of making it out by *Demonstrations* to come: By my Troth, Sir, this is a strange Mortification for a man to be ty'd in good manners to bear all this Impertinence as if he were oblig'd to his *Persecutor.*

He begins his 7th *Page* with a *Flower*; and pray'e intend it. **But now Warmly clad With These Wonderfully Erroneous Considerations, that incumbered his Disturbed Brains, With the help of taking your Works to pieces; he had now fallen under such a Conception, from which the World might expect such a Product, as was expected from the Mountain; but you know that prov'd a Mouse.** This is nothing in the world but the water-Poets Nonsense turn'd into Prose: One Line more on't would make me call for a Bason.

In the next Paragraph, I am arraign'd over again, for a *Dishonourer* of the *Nation*, the *Governours* or *Government*, the *Protestant Religion*, and the *Kings Witnesses*: and all This for calling it the *allmost Inextricable Labyrinth of the Plot.* At the next word he makes half a *Jesuit* of me: and says *I vilifie the Doctor, under a Disguise of Friendship*: And *I think* (Says he) *he hath cause to rejoyce that he is not question'd for a Seditious Pamphleteer.* This Charge is founded, Doctor, upon my saying, that *none can fall foul upon my* Further Discovery, *without wounding* Your Evidence. This gives him occasion to deny your Swearing that the *Priests* and *Jesuits* herd with *Nonconformists*; and yet you tell us, how they contrived the late War, by inflaming Partyes; that they had their Instruments in *Scotland*, expresly to *Preach* to the *Disaffected*; and that *Blundel* did actually teach the Youth in the City of *London*, *Treasonable*, and *Seditious Doctrine.* He says, *I'm in Wrath*, and speaks as if I doubted your Evidence concerning the *Pilgrims*, and the *Forty thousand Black-bills*; when my

 busines

busineſs is to ſet before the People the Danger of that deſigne taking effect, if the *Prieſts* be ſtill ſuffer'd to lurk among the *Fanatiques*. And then when I ſpeak of *Infidells*, as of thoſe that will not *believe* this Mixture; he turns the word *Infidells*, into *Diſſenters*; and ſo makes a Slander of the *Propriety* only of the *Term*, Pag. 8.

Take notice, I beg of you *Sir*, how he poyſons all my Reſpects towards you; when I tell you that I have *Read*, *Conſider'd*, and *Study'd* you; and the Senſe I have of *the Roundneſſe of your Periods*, *the Luxuriancy of Your Invention*, (*where there is Scope for it*) *the Frankneſſe of your Stile*, *and the Harmony of Your Conceptions*. What is it that makes him call Theſe Expreſſions *Ironies*? but that he undervalues you, as if you were a perſon that had no ſort of Title to theſe Civilities. Nay, he will not ſo much as allow you the Common Faculty that Diſtinguiſhes *Men* from *Brutes*; that is to ſay, *CONCEPTIONS*: For *I know not* (ſays he) *of any Conceptions in all your Works*. He ſays, indeed, that *if you had made your Trade* of Living, *and getting Dinners by Scribling*; *or had you employ'd your Genius That way*, *if it had been in making a Play againſt your own Mother*, what work you'd have made with your *Syllogiſms* and *Coherences*, &c. This is ſome deviliſh Wipe, Doctor, if a body could but hit the drift on't: But for the Trade of *getting Dinners by Scribling*, 'tis the Honourable Trade of the Nation, from the *Prime Miniſter*, to the *Sub-Sizer*. And truly, *Doctor*, as the world goes, 'tis well if an Honeſt man can keep himſelf clear of the *Almes-basket*, or turning *Mendicant* from *door to door*.

Now he whips me up again for *Poyſonous Principles*, and *Frothy Strains of Wit*; with *Paper-Squibs*, audaciouſly *Traducing*, and *Flying in the Face* of *Governours*, and *Government*: and this is only for ſaying, that the preſent humour of *France* runs upon *Poyſoning*; the *Enemyes* of our *Government* altogether upon the Vein of *Plotting*. What's your Opinion, Sir, of theſe Inferences? To the buſineſs now of being a *Papiſt*.

I do not remember, (ſays he) Pag. 9. *one Authentique Proof*, *nor any other Rational Argument*, *yet produced by L'Eſtrange*, *that he is* not *a Papiſt*. Now *I* thought Sir, that *One* mans Oath might be as well taken for being *no Papiſt*, as *Anothers* for being a *Proteſtant*: And That Proof I have given for't. There was indeed a perjurious Race of men, that in deſpite of the *Late* Kings *Piety*, and *Practice*; *Declarations*, *Proteſtations*, and *Sacramentall Profeſſions* to the Contrary, brought him to the *Block*, under the *Same* Pretence, where at laſt he deliver'd himſelf up a *Martyr* for the *Engliſh Communion*. But it is

not

not with the *Sacraments* of men of *Consciences*, as it is with the *Oaths* of *Mercenaryes*, and the *Covenants* of *Conspirators*, that look one way and work another. But since my hand is *in*, Doctor, I'le go a little farther with you.

I had the Honour in the late times, (and being Then in Exile) to passe a matter of Eight months in the House of the Cardinal of *Hesse*; where I was as kindly receiv'd, as if I had been at my own Fathers. I wanted neither *Invitations*, nor *Arguments*, to carry me over to the Church of *Rome*; besides the Private Temptations of a *Hopelesse Interest* (as to the King) and a *Broken Fortune*. Now if I had been so easily disposed to Truck my *Religion*, for *Mony*; (as the whole *Litter* of the *Town-Scriblers* will have it) I do assure you Doctor, I could then have made my Market. But after this Assertion of the Faith I was brought up in, I do declare to you, that I reckon my self yet bound, as a *Christian*, to entertain a Tenderness for the whole Race of Mankinde. I abhor the thought of seeing men of any Perswasion *Worry'd*, for a bare *Appellation*: I should reckon my self a *Villain*, if *I* were not *Just*, and *Grateful*, even to many *Papists*; having in diverse Extremities, receiv'd Offices of great Honour, Piety, and Humanity, from People of That Perswasion. Beside that *Providence* was pleas'd to make *Some Loyall Papists* the *Instruments* of delivering my *Sovereign* out of the hands of Other *Protestant Rebells*. And yet after all This; *I* am not such a Noddy, as not to see the Plot; though You may look further perhaps into a Mill-Stone, then *Another man*: But still *I* discern enough on't, to make my heart ake. Pray'e forgive me this Digression.

He blunders, in the next Paragraph, at something, as if he would hint to the Reader that *L'Estrange* has plaid *Jack on both sides*: Now in good truth, Doctor, I never had that shifting Faculty; and I dare Appeal to my most malicious Enemies to say that ever I falter'd in my Duty to my Sovereign, in any kind, or degree whatsoever. And I can safely affirm, that in *Thought*, *Word*, or *Deed*, I did never so much as *Countenance* any *disloyal Pretext* toward his *Majesty*. From This, he passes into a Rapture concerning the *Christians* of *Antioch*; and for a matter of a Page and three quarters, *Doll Common* in her *Fits* was not half so wise as his Worship.

He takes me to task again (*Pag.* 11.) where I am commented upon, for saying *the Dissenters from the Church of* England *cannot any way be ayding in a Reformation, but by their Prayers, and good Wishes, upon pain of Sedition*. Now certainly (says he) *as men, and Subjects under his Majesties Obeysance, the* Dissenters *are as Capable, and Legal-*

ly, of serving his Majesty in any such Commands, as any other men, or Subjects whatsoever. Now my words are These. *Put the Case that the Design strikes at all that call themselves* Protestants *in* Generall ; *as well* Non-Conformists, *as* Church-men ; *The* Dissenters *must yet range themselves under the Government, to Oppose it ; and without intermedling any other way too, then by their Prayers and Good Wishes, upon pain of Sedition.* So that the *Dissenters* are not excluded any *Publique Service*, but subjected to the *Rules*, and *Orders* of *Authority*, and not to Act beyond That Sphere, any otherwise then by their *Prayers*, and *good wishes* ; and the word *REFORMATION* not so much as mention'd in the Case.

But now Sir let me look to my self, for I *think* (says he) *no man in his Right wits will conceive* L'Estrange *knows what he says* ; and he wonders exceedingly that I should dare to tell you Doctor, that *Religion is a Spirituall Notion* ; And for *this Notion* he would have me to be *reputed*, and *legally judg'd*, *SEDITIOUS*. I am affraid that this worthy Gentleman takes *Religion* for a *Manufacture* : You will now do me a kindnesse, Doctor, to give me a Hint, upon what *Statute* I am to be Indicted for *Notions*.

To see now this Envious Creature again. I never give you a *kind word*, but I'me sure to have a *Lash* for't. *They are wonderfull things* (say I) *that you have done already ; and I am perswaded that you are yet reserved for more wonderfull things.* And This does the Malevolent spleen of *B. W.* interpret only a *Jeer*, and *Scoff*, in contradiction to the *Sense* and *Proof* of the whole *Nation* : And so he calls it a *Flurt at your Name*, to presage that *Time shall render your* Name *as Famous to Posterity* (Pa. 21.) *as your Virtue has made it to the present Generation.* Yes, yes Sir ; I do predict it over again ; that your Name shall be so : For this grand Revolution, wherein you have supported so Eminent a part, will transmit your Name to future Ages so long as there shall be any Memorialls Extant of the present Government.

He is at me again for *wounding and unworthily traducing the Wisdome, and Justice of the Governours of this Nation, by turning their Transactions in this affair, into meer* Sophisticall Ridicule. And this I get for saying (as he has translated me *Pag.* 12.) that *none in his Right wits should take you for no Friend to the Church of* England. And now Dr. 'tis your turn to be abus'd, for he says that it was *forreign*, and *remote* from the *Scope*, and *drift* of *your Evidence*, to give the *Sectaries* so great a blow, as I affirm that Evidence to have done : Which truely I take, to be little lesse, then *Actionable* ; for if a man shall be condemn'd in *damages* only for saying of a *Taylor*, *He's but a Botcher*,

because

because of the Loss it may cause him in his *Trade*; of much greater Moment is it, to disparage a *Divine*, in so necessary a part of his *Qualification*; to the hindrance of him in his *Ecclesiastical Preferments*. For *Fanaticism*, and *Church-Dignities* will not stand together. Now see Sir, what work he makes with my saying that *It is a matter of absolute Necessity to fetch these Plotters out of their Holds*. From hence, he concludes, that I would have all the *Dissenters* from the Church of *England* to be *destroy'd*, as *Plotters*: which is none of my Proposition; but only to put them to the *Test*, that we may *distinguish*, and *Separate* the *Priests*, and *Jesuits* from *Other People*.

He comes now to passe Sentence upon me, as a *Blaster* of the *Kings Evidence*, and a *favourer* of the *Conspiracy*, for supporting the *Truth* of *Your Testimony*, and the *Necessity* of *Proceeding Congruously* upon it.

His next advance is to my *Further Discovery of the Plot, from your Narrative, and Depositions*: He denies it to be a *Further Discovery*; but how and how, I am not able to comprehend. His *Latin*, his *French*, and his *Greek*; his *Nonsequiturs*, *Sentiments* and *Katexochens*; I can make a shift withall; but I am plaguily gravell'd still at his *English*. Pray'e do me the favour to help me out with it; And here it is.

But whatever there is further in that Pamphlet, but in truth its no further Discovery of your Discover'd Plot, but of his own it is, and what that is, what I have by my Observations already made, to that of Which part of this is in matter but Repetition, and of that of which I shall make to that Which is New; I doubt not Doctor but will give you full and Evident Satisfaction.

I should be very glad, Sir, to see this Clause unriddled.

It will concern me now I perceive to look about me; for *R.W.* sticks close to me for *calling the just Proceedings of the Authority of the Nation a Havock*, and saying, *after all this* Havock *made of the Papists*. I pray'e take notice, Doctor, that I have Solemnly expounded my self upon this poynt (pag. 3.) *where Authority has past a Sentence there is no longer any place for Hesitation, or Demurre*. So that *His meaning*

is as

is out of doors. And now give me leave to tell you mine: When *Goods* are taken away from one man, and either *given*, or *sold* to *another*; when Books, good and bad, are swept away together; or disposed of contrary to the Direction of *Law*; This *I* call making *Hauock*, and *I* make use of this word too with all possible Veneration to the Sacredness of Publique Justice. *I* must needs rectify one mistake in the next Paragraph, wherein *B.W.*, (not for want of *Ignorance*) follows my *Printer*, and instead of *Indue* says that *the Priests will* Indure *all Shapes*: He gives me here a Lick by the *By*, for *Fiddling* to *Oliver*, and then prohounces that *without all peradventure* a *Discovery must and doth imply new Fact*; *otherwise it's no discovery*: and so infers that for want of *New Fact*, *mine* is not a *Further* Discovery. But by *B.W's* favour, *one Discovery* leads to *Another*; as several other Discoveries have been superinduc'd upon the *Circulation* of the Bloud; and yet the matter of *Fact* still the same; as This *Additional Discovery* in a *Pamphlet* has produc'd a *Further Discovery* of the *Authour*.

Now blesse your self *Doctor*, at *B.W's Amasement* (pag. 14.) *with what confidence* L'Estrange *dares write such things*: that is to say, *that That part of the Designe against his Majesties Life is broken to all intents and purposes, but we are beholden to you, for the Discovery of Other, and Further Plots, in defaming the King and Government, subversion of our establisht Religion, and Disturbance of the Peace, so that our Deliverance is but half done*. Observe now, how *Jesuitically* this *Fanatique* has guelt this Passage, by leaving out These Words; so that [*unless the remaining and the still growing Difficulties and Hazzards be encountred with Timely and Effectual Remedies,*] the work of our Deliverance is but half-done; Beside the maiming of the Period throughout. Now am I to be *question'd* and *punisht* over again, for my Dislike of that which I call (*pag.* 26.) *a remote and undutiful Supposition of the Kings Death*. But I adhere to that *Dislike*; for it is our part to do all we can to preserve his Sacred *Life*, and not by the supposal of his Majesties *Death* to set Parties and Factions a *Fermenting*. And for This, I'me fetch'd up again, for giving the *Lye* to the *Representative of the Commons of the Nation*: This Fellow calls for *Justice*, as if he went a snip with the *Hangman*, for an old Periwig.

You cannot imagine Doctor, how it comforts me that I am now entring upon the *16th* Page; where he takes it very ill to have the *Church-of-England-Members* clear'd of any hand, or Interest in This Plot; and to palliate the matter, *neither he, nor any man* (says he) *can say, that there was not members of the Church of* England, *on both sides*;

sides, in these unhappy Wars. Now, Doctor, I am Positive, that there was not *one Church-of-England-man* in the *Parliaments Army* (as they cal'd it:) For how should it be Otherwise? when the *Order*, the *Discipline*, and the *Service* of the Church were wholly *Extinguisht* among them; the use of the *Common-Prayer* made *Penall*; and the whole *Masse* of that Seditious Body was only a *Confederate Union* of so many *Schisms*, to oppose the *Eccleſiastical Government*. It will not yet down with *B. W.* Doctor, that you have altogether clear'd the Church of *England*, and her sons, from the calumny of being either mediately, or immediately guilty of this horrid Plot; and his *Reason* is, that you are *Impartiall*. It is not sayd that you have *Spar'd*, but *clear'd* them, and so you have; in not *accusing* them.

He reflects (Pag. 7.) upon my Contradicting my self in my Computation of the *Numbers* of Papists; One while not above *One* to *three Thousand*; *but now* (says he) *Tables must be turn'd upon Dissenters* to *the Church of* England; *Then because of some of the Dissenters Scrupleſomeneſs in swearing, his Opinion is chang'd*; *for now there is a great deal of Danger he says.* This man is no fair Dealer, Doctor; for my expreſſion is *three thousand* to *one* in *Sight*: and then, the fewer they are that appear, the greater is the number, and consequently the danger of them in their Retreats. This is not to presse a Totall Extinpation neither, as *B. W.* weakly and malitiously suggests; but some such means of distinction as may rationally secure the Peace of the Government. He values himself much upon one *Argument* out of my own mouth. *Because many of the Dissenters will not take Oaths* (says he) *therefore There, the* Jesuits *may hide themselves*: *And so also, many of the* Jesuits *will take the Oaths of Allegeance, and Supremacy, and so will the Members of the Church of* England. *If so, then what can hinder the* Jesuites *to herd, and hide There.* The Answer to This, Doctor, is Obvious; They have not the *Means*, in *one* Place, for the gaining their ends, that they have in the *Other*; the *Rule*, and the *Forms* of the Church are *Stated*, and *Certain*; and there's no *Preaching*, but under *due Circumstances* and *Qualifications*: Whereas in *Conventicles*, they can take all *Liberty*es, and vent what Doctrines they pleaſe: the People being already prepar'd by the humour of *Separation* to entertain *undutifull Impreſſions*. All the remainder now amounts to no more then the *Fagg-end* of a *Narrative*; and a great deal of pains taken, Doctor, to tell you so particular a Story of Your own Transactions, as no Mortal can honestly pretend to know, beyond himself.

You

You have had enough, Sir, I ſuppoſe, of the Stile, and Faculties of the Author of this Pamphlet, I ſhould be glad now to learn ſomething more particularly concerning the *man himſelf*: For this ſame *B.W.* may be *Cloven-Footed*, for ought I know; and the ſpirit of *ſlander* couch'd under thoſe two Letters. The beſt way to *underſtand* him, is to read him *backward*; as *Enemy* for *Friend*, and *Friend* for *Enemy*; *Truth* for *Falſhood*, and *Falſhood* for *Truth*: And This *Unciphers* him. One while I phanſy him to be a *Jeſuit*; for he's ſo damnably Cunning, that as he carries it, a body would think he had no more Brains then a Dormouſe. But then methinks, on the Other ſide, if he *were* one, You ſhould nave met him at *Madrid*, or *Salamanca*, Doctor, or ſomewhere elſe abroad in your Travels. I would you'd caſt a Figure for him, Sir, for *nothing but a Di-a-mond*, you know, *can cut a Di-a-mond*. And yet upon comparing this *Additionnl Diſcoverer*, with the *Marks*, and *Tokens* of a *Jeſuite*, as you have *deſcrib'd* him; I am half-perſwaded that *B.W.* may come to be found a *Jeſuite* yet at laſt. Do the *Jeſuites* change their *Shapes*? So does *he*: Are they *Cruel*, and *Sanguinary*? So is *he*. Have they their *Equivocations*, and *Mentall Reſervations*? So has *he*: And not only his *Own* neither, but he pronounces upon the Mentall Reſervations of *Other men*, and brings *Thought* againſt *Thought*, into *Evidence*. Are the *Jeſuites* given to *Scandalize*, and *Undermine Societies*? to *add*, and *Subſtract*, in the matter of *Truth*? Are they *Pragmaticall* in affairs out of their own Province? Are they *Officious* toward men of *Intereſt*, and *Power*? ſo is *He* you ſee. Are they men of *Addreſſe*, *plauſible Behaviour*, *Parts*, *Learning*? So is *Not* he. Now That's the difference, I conceive, betwixt *a Conventicle-Jeſuit*, and *Another*. He does all he can in the world to poſſeſſe you that he is *Your friend*, and *my Enemy*: And yet, upon the Iſſue, in deſpite of his Hearts blood, he proves himſelf to be *Your Enemy*, and *my Friend*. How can *That man* be *Your Friend*, that calls it *Abuſing* of you, to ſpeak *Well* of you? His very *Flatteryes*, are as *Childiſh*, and as *Cloying* as *Suger-plumbs*; there's no *Ayr*, no *Grace*, no *Vigour* in them; nay his very *Compliments* are *Scandalls*. He treats you with an *Old-faſhion'd Legg* to a *Queen-Elſabeth-Juſtice*; and he ſhall pay the ſame Homage to one of Your *Lacquays*, if you ſhould but ſend him to him of an Arrand. The poor wretch, in fine, is as *humble*, as the *Country fellow* that *aſkt my Lord Mayors Horſe Bleſſing*. What work Sir, does he make with the Reſpect I paid you in a *Former Letter*? he calls *That Letter* a *Mock*; but give me leave to tell you Doctor that *his calling* it ſo, is a *Libell*. I take upon me to affirm, that *Dr. Oates* is a *Canonicall*, *Orthodox* Perſon;

person; [illegible] and so makes you a *Fanatique*. I stand [illegible] *Authority* of Your *Evidence*, and to *Empeach* [illegible] *Discoveries*. Now This is all *Secret*, [illegible] he should say, upon the whole matter, [illegible] that the *Priests* and *Jesuits* [illegible] and &c. as audaciously on the *Other* side, *deny* it, and [illegible] to your *Testimony*. Pray e tell me, Sir, if you should say now that *L'Estrange* is a very *Honest, Loyall Fellow*; and *B.W.* cry out that *the Doctor* Abuses *him*; what Construction could any man make of it, but that he takes *L'Estrange* for a *Disaffected Knave*? Or suppose that any man should speak of *L'Estrange*, as a man of *Competent Sense*; Is it not a clear case, that he that thinks him *Abus'd* in it, takes him for a *Fool*? But the best way of finding *him* out is to let him expound *himself*.

Wherefore I beseech you, Doctor, do but observe, when the *smooth, Supple Humour* goes off with him, how *Magisterially* he behaves himself, and how he *Grows* upon you: Under the Colour of a *Friend*, how he takes *upon* him, and plays the part of a *Governour*. He tells you what you are to *Think*, in *This* case, and what you are to *Do* in *That*: *How* to understand *One* Point, and *how Another*: *Here* he *Spells* for you, and *There*, he *puts Together*: And all This, with the *Weakness* of a *School-boy*, and the *Arrogance* of a *Pedant*. And what's his End; but to have it thought in the World, that you are Rul'd, and Influenc'd by *His Dictate*? But This is not the First time that *other people* have layd Claim to the Reward of *Your Merits*. I lost a Friend I'm sure, my self once, because I would not License a Book for Another Person, as the *First Discoverer of the Plot*. And it cannot be expected, that a man in your *Post*, and *Station*, should live without *Envy*. But yet how far it may stand with your *Credit*, or *Good Liking* to suffer your self to be *Cokes'd*, and thus *Impos'd* upon by every Little *Sir-Politique Would-be*, is submitted to your Consideration. In One word Sir, can any man be *Your* (or indeed *any bodys*) *Friend*, that has neither *Brains*, nor *Shame*; nor *Good manners*, nor *Good Nature*, nor *Truth*, nor *Honour* in him? This, I do assure you, Doctor, is the *just Character* of *my Antagonist*, if a body may measure the *Man* by his *Discourses*.

It will be objected perhaps; *what does it concern* L'Estrange, *the* vanity *of this mans setting up for the* Doctors Friend, *and* Adviser; *or how he behaves himself, in the Execution of That Office? If what the* One Does, *the* Other *thinks fit to* permit, L'Estrange *is but a Coxcomb for meddling*. (Nay and 'tis well if he scape so too) for he has been call'd

Rogue,

Rogue, Rascall, Thief, Turnspit, for much Lesse.) It must needs be acknowledg'd, Doctor, that what *You Two* agree upon betwixt *your selves,* is nothing at all to *me*; but by my Faith, Sir, when I come once to be represented to you as a *Papist, Plotter,* or *Enemy* to the *Government*; and to the *Kings Witnesses*; *This touches my Copy-hold*; and 'tis well for me that I'm fallen into Good hands; for such an nformation, given to a man that would have ventur'd an *Oath* upon *Hearsay*, might have been as much as my Neck's worth.

But 'tis a double Happyness to me, *First*, that *You believe* nothing of all This; and *Secondly*, that *he proves* as little: for he cannot pitch upon any One Line in the whole Pamphlet, and say, *This is the point I'le Charge him with.* But when he has flutter'd, from *One Surmise*, to *Another*; *Falsify'd* my *Sentences*, taken up here and there a word by *Snaps*, and left the *Connexion*, *behind him*; he is yet forc'd at last to fly from the *plain*, and *Genuine Sense* of my *Expressions*, to the *Mysticall Possibility* of *Another Intention.* Make it your own case, Doctor: Suppose I should see you upon your knees at the Sacrament, and tell some body, *Look ye: now is that Damn'd Doctor making a contract with the Devil*: Or that you should see me (tho' with all the Devotion imaginable) poring upon the *Four Evangelists*, and cry out, *do ye see that dogg* L'Estrange? *Now is he turning the History of our Saviour into* Burlesque. Why where's *Christian Charity* at This rate? what becomes of the *Common Methods* of *Intercourse*, and the *Faith* of *Human Society*; If when a mans *Words* are *Open*, and the *Construction Obvious*, his *Heart* shall be torn out of his Breast, for *Another Meaning*? *The Sun shines*; that is to say, *'Tis Midnight*: *Wee'l make him a Glorious King*; that is to say, *wee'l cut off his Head.* This is a *Fanaticall figure* Sir, and of no account among the *Orthodox.* And yet upon such grounds as These, am I most zealously recommended, by *B.W.* to your Care Doctor, *to see me hang'd, drawn and quarter'd* in time Convenient.

You will see at large, Sir, in this Angry Tract of his, that as the Gentleman has render'd *me* to be *Your Enemy*, under the *Masque* of a *Friend*, he is no lesse *My Friend*, in the *Shape* of an *Enemy. First*, he's an *Incomparable Foil*; such a *Setter-off*, that when you come to compare us, I'le leave You to be the Judge, (and I'me sure you'l not spare me) if *even L'Estrange* himself be not an *Angell* to him. Now and then, 'tis true, he stumbles upon a *Right number*, or *Person*; but the *Nominative Case* and the *Verb* are *Mortall Enemies* with him. *Secondly*, the whole piece is but *One Grin*, from *End*, to *End*; without ever *fastening* upon any thing; and at last, he *proves me* to be

Innoc-

Innocent, by *proving*, with much labour, that he *cannot* prove me to be *Guilty*. *Thirdly*, his *Frauds*, and *Fallacies* are as *Palpable* as *Egyptian Foggs*; so *grosse*, they may be *felt*: Which does but all serve to Illustrate *My Integrity*, and *Credit*. If *These* be not the Offices of a *Friend*, pray what *are*? And then all is perform'd too, in such a way of *Gravity*, *Weighing* (forsooth) *Considering*, *Pondering*, and *Advising*, at such a Supercilious Rate; a body would have thought he had had the whole *Councell of Trent* in his *Belly*: And yet at length, when he comes to *Open*, out comes just nothing but *Gall*, and *Clamour*. Pray'e advise him Sir, if he falls in your way, to be *modest*, and *Temperate*, and not to bear so hard upon *a poor decayed Gentleman*, (as a learned Author has it in his *Courant*) *that lives by his Fingers End*. Consider, Sir, It has been your own Case; and yet you see the Advantages that many times attend *Resolution*, and *Industry*, under the Blessing of a *Propitious Fate*. We are all of us the *Sport* of *Fortune*. She *Raises* from the *Alms-Basket*, and *casts down* into the *Dungeon*; She sets *Beggers* a *Horse-back*, and turns their *Masters afoot*; She brings *Princes* to the *Block*, and advances *Traytors* to the *Throne*; She gives *Money* and *Credit* to those that *wanted* it; and *takes* from those that had it in *abundance*. And thus the World Rolls, as her slippery Ladyship pleases.

It is cast in my Teeth, I know, at every Turn, that *I write for Bread*; which is either *True*, or *False*: If *True*, it is one of the fairest Pleas that a man can have for *Scribling*; Provided that he governs his Pen by the Measures of *Conscience*, and *Duty*: And within That compasse I have allways contained my self. And yet I cannot admit *that Pinch* to be a *Truth* neither; without some Reflexion of *Scandall*, and *Ingratitude* upon the *Government*; As if after allmost *Forty years inviolate Loyalty* and *Service* to the *Crown*, I should live to see my self thus deserted at last. Now if This Reflexion be *False*, and *groundlesse*, it is but a *poyson'd Arrow* out of the *Same Quiver* that has allready furnisht mischief abundantly against *My Superiors*: And *This Calumny*, or any other, that *Malice it self* can invent, touches me no more then if they should report that you and I, Doctor, had chang'd Heads.

But give me your Pardon, Sir, tho' I am not at all Disturb'd, by the Common Clamours of the Vulgar, that draw in *Contagion* with their very *Breaths*, and then *blow it about again*, till the *Disaffection*, comes to be *Epidemicall*: I cannot yet, but as a *Friend* to the *Kings Evidence*, (in despite of all Unkindnesses) I cannot, I say, but be in some degree Sensible of *Your* Joyning with the *Multitude* in that

Popular Contempt. And this is more for Your sake (I assure you Sir) then for my *Own*; for it is not a *Generous Return*, toward a Person that has render'd you those Offices which (without Vanity) I have done. And truly I should take it very *ill* from you, in your *Personal*, if it were not for the *Reverence* I bear you, in your *Politicall Capacity*. And yet the case is hard, at best; taken with the *Aggravations*; That is to say, from the *Kings Witnesse*, and a *Divine*, to a Person of my Known Affections to the *Church*, and *State*; from the *Doctor*, to his *Country-man*. But I'le carry it no further. The *Oates*'s, and the *L'Estranges* are two Names very well known in *Norfolk*. So that I shall not need to tell you, Doctor (being your Country-man) that I am a *Gentleman*; beside, that I am to presume You, Doctor, to be Read as well in the *Heralds*, as the *Schoolmen*.

It is a long time, Sir, that you have done me the Honour to mention my *Name*; and still with *Rogue*, *Rascall*, *Villain*, *Papist*, or some such Mark of your displeasure along with it: Now These are Terms which *B.W.* *distinguishes* from Reflexions upon *Persons*, or *Qualities*, and imputes them only to an *Impetuous Fervor*, of *Zeal*, that transports you, *impartially*, & without *distinction* into *those Freedoms*; So often as difference of *Opinion*, upon the Main, happens to be the thing in *Question*; Now I know very well that when a man's Tongue has got a Habit of walking One way, he can no more forbear *speaking* what comes *Next*, then *spitting*, for 'tis only matter of Course: And I do absolutely discharge you, Sir, of any *Malicious Intent* toward *me*, in the Heat of That Language; upon this presumption, that it was all grounded upon the *Mistake* of My *Principle*, and an *Opinion* that I did not stand right, as to the matter of the *Plot*, without any *Malignity* (as I said e'en now) either to my *Quality*, or *Person*. Nay I have heard you my self (in Confirmation of *B.W's.* Remark) frankly, and openly affirm that *Laud* (the *Martyr*) was a *Rascall*, and a *Traytor*; *and that ere long you'd tell the World as much in Print*. And what was all this, but still the *Impulse* of a *Transcendent Zeal*, upon a full belief that the *Arch-Bishop* was a *Papist*? But who can tye up the *Winds*, or set *Limits* to the Dictates of a *Boundlesse Spirit*? I have heard of a *beyond-sea-Divine*, (a Strenuous Asserter of the *Romish Communion*) that would familiarly run thorough *whole Royall Families* of *Protestant Professors*, by the Names of *Rogues*, and *Bitches*.

Well, Sir, let it be granted, (for Peace sake) that I am *that wretched fellow*, *that Pittyfull Rascall*, *that Scribbles for Bread*, as you were pleas'd, in Great, and Reverend Company, but upon *Good-*

Fryday-

Fryday last, to call me. (I could wish This had rather fall'n out upon a *Shrove-Tuesday*, for *Good Fryday* is not a [illegible] for such a piece of *Mesquerade*.) Why 'faith, Sir, Bless your Ears, that you your self are struck into a better way; and leave me to the Liberty of taking up what fair Employment I think fit for an Honest Lively-hood. Where's the *Hurt*, or the *Shame* of This I beseech you; if I can make a shift by this means to do my *Duty*, and my *Busineſſe*? I know there are more *Expedite*, and *Beneficiall* ways of Thriving in the World, if I could but bring my Conſcience to *Bear*; as *Juggling*, *Treppaning*, *Croſs-biting*, *Canting*, *Swearing*, &c. But alas, Sir, I am *Old*; and for a man to begin late, and go to the Devil before he has done his Jobb, would not do ſo well. Alack, alack, Sir! what can a man get by a Snip in a poor Pamphlet of 4 or 5 ſheets of Paper? No, no, Doctor, 'tis your *Narratives*, that Sweep all. Thoſe are the *Swingeing Coppies*. I heard you ſay my ſelf once, that you loſt 500*l.* at *One Bout*, by having your *Narrative* Printed upon you. Now your *Narrative* was preciſely *Nineteen ſheets*. And I am aſſur'd that you have Six hundred more at this Inſtant, Ready for the *Preſſe*; which in Proportion will be worth to you, *Sixteen Thouſand ſeven hundred* and *ſeventy pounds ſix ſhillings* and *eight pence*, within a Fraction. Nay, 'tis *Forty Guinnyes*, the bare *ſigning* a *Narrative* of *Another mans Writing*. But Doctor, that I may not be behind-hand with you, in *Confidence*, and *Freedom*, I do really *write* for my *Bread*; and which is more, for my *Head* too, into the Bargain: Nay, upon my Soul, according to my Eſtimat of the Caſe, I write *My Part* for the very *Bread* of my *Maſter*; and to ſhew the people the Snares that are laid by *Anabaptiſts*, and *that Brood*, (as well as *Papiſts*) for the *Government*. You ſee, Sir, what an *Out-cry* this ſame Little *Fanatical Faux* makes about *my Further Diſcovery*; which only adviſes the plucking of the *Prieſts*, and *Jeſuits* out by the *Ears*, from among the *Conventicles*; where *your Teſtimony*, and *Depoſitions* have *Lodg'd* them. And this is done too with as much *Reſpect*, and *Honour* to your *ſelf*, as any man *Can* pay you, that Scorns to *Flatter* you: And with a moſt *Dutyfull Paſſion* for the well-fare of the *Nation*. But on the *Other* hand; tho' every day brings forth Multitudes of *Poyſonous*, *Seditious*, and *Schiſmaticall Libells*, that ſtrike at the very *Root*, and *Branches* of the *Government*; *This Officious Zelote* (I'le Warrant you Sir) is as blind on That ſide, as a Beetle. The *Kings Authority* may be *Invaded*; his *Perſon Lampoon'd*; the *Clergymen* Themſelves *affronted*, as well as their *Function*: As at the *Eſſex-Election*, and elſewhere: And here's no Libelling taken notice of in

theſe

These Cases. But if a man puts in a Sober, and a Moderate Word another way, presently the *Plot*, and the *Kings Witnesse* are Tops upon him. *The People may Remove wicked Kings* (says One) and what says the Author of the *Free-holders Choice*? *I believe* (says he) *Good Father Jacob had a Foresight of these Sons of* Levi, *when in his Last Will and Testament he left them a* Curse *for a* Legacy, *instead of a* Blessing. *And if the whole world were now to make their* Wills, *all but* Knaves, *and* Fools *would do the like.* Here's no threatening of men with *Parliaments*, or Arraigning of them for *Traytors* upon *These points*; which does evidently shew a Designing *Partiality*, and *Disaffection.* And after all This, I am so far from questioning the *Plot*, that it strikes me with horror, the Apprehension where it will end. But still give me your pardon, Sir, if I reckon it to be worth the care of the Government, to *discourage* and *Suppresse Treasonous Principles*, as well as to *punish Treasonous Practises*: For *Thought* is but the *Root* of *Action.* I would have the Conspiracy sifted to the Last man; but yet that which is found *Criminall*, on the *One* hand, I would not have it expos'd to the *Multitude*, as *Lawfull*, as the *Other*: For it is much more dangerous to have the *People* possest, that such or such an *Ill* thing *may* be done, then *Privately* to contrive the Doing of it.

We shall now Sir, if you please, put all the *Rogues*, *Rascals*, *Villains*, *Sauce-boxes*, *Papists*, *Turn-Spits*, *pittifull Fellows*, and *Scribblers for Bread*, upon the account of an *Exuberant Zeal* in matter of *Conjectural Opinion.* But when you come to matter of *Fact*, (if I may be so bold Sir,) you should really do well to be a little Tender: As when you were pleas'd to say *Positively* the Other day, that *L'Estrange* was one of *Nolls Fidlers.* The businesse was, *He came in once in the middle of a Consort, where I was playing a Part; and that was all.* Now This is a great Scandal to me, Sir; and you must allow me to tell you in your *Personall Capacity*, that the *Aspersion* is as *false* as *Hell*; But I have nothing to say to you in your *Political Capacity* but with *Submission*, and *Respect.* For it is *Doctor Titus Oates* that *defames Me* in This Particular, without aspersing the *Kings Witnesse.* So that the *Falshood* of the *Person* does not at all Invalidate the *Strength* of the *Evidence.* Pray'e Doctor take into your Consideration how great a Sufferer I am render'd by This Slander: For it will be understood, either that I went over to *Cromwell*, to betray the *King*: Or else I must be taken to have pretended my self reconciled to his Interest, and under That Colour to *Swear* and *Abjure* to the Pit of Hell, for the gaining of some other Point. As to the making of me a *State-Rogue*, That would have been pardonable yet, if you had not made

a *Fiddling-Rogue* of me; a *Common Statute-Rogue*. Why, Doctor, how shall I have the face to shew my self in *White-hall* again, under *This Character?* What will People think of *L'Estrange* at This rate? especially having the Authority of the *Great Witneſs* of the *Nation*, for the *Credit* of the *Report*. But *Infallibility*, Sir, in matter of *Fact*, is a point that the Church of *Rome* it self could never yet be brought to ſwallow; ſo that a man may contradict ſome of your Miſtakes, without any *Offence* at all, either to your *Teſtimony*, or *Doctrine*.

You were pleaſed at the ſame time Sir (according to your wont) to enlarge your ſelf upon ſome other *Looſe Topicks* too, concerning mee; and with ſo little regard, either to *Candour* or *Caution* in your *Reports*, that really, Doctor, I ſhould chide you, if I durſt, for *defaming the Kings Evidence*: And, under favour, it is not well done to take up *Infamous Stories* upon the High-way, and vent them again preſently for *Poſitive Truths*: eſpecially for a Perſon under your Circumſtances, the Credit of whoſe Teſtimony does ſo much import the Nation. The *Subject* being *Clamour*, and *Reviling*, was in it ſelf a very unfitting Theme for a *Church-man*. But for a *Divine*, upon a *Good-Fryday*, after a *Paſſion-Sermon*, and in his *Preparatory* for the *Solemn Feſtival* of *Eaſter*, to abandon himſelf to ſuch an Impotence of *Outrage*, without either *Ground* or *Provocation*, and in ſo *venerable* a *Preſence* too; (I need not tell you where Sir) nor, as I am a Chriſtian, did I come to the Knowledge of This directly or indirectly from any Member of the Family.) Why will you ſuffer a violent Paſſion to carry you thus beyond all bounds of *Decency* and *Conſideration?* It takes away your *Reaſon*, Doctor; and in theſe Fits rather then not do *me* a *Miſchief*, you care not what you ſay: For you do no more believe me to be as you have repreſented me, then I believe you to be the Ghoſt of *Thomas Aquinas*. I have not deliver'd one ſyllable here, without a due Reſpect, both to *what* I *ſay* and to *Whom* I *ſpeak*: and if every Particle in This paper ſhould be put to the Torture, to force an Evidence from it againſt the *Authour*; 'tis no more then I look for. But ſo ſecure am I in the *Conſcience* of my own *Integrity*, and ſo well ſatisfi'd in the *Title* I have to the *Common Right of defending my ſelf*; that I am not at all ſollicitous about the Event of This Freedom. And to ſhew you that I have not enter'd raſhly upon This Undertaking, I'le give you a clean proſpect of my Thoughts upon the Queſtion, with ſubmiſſion to be better inform'd, where I'm miſtaken.

You cannot but obſerve, Doctor, that the ſtreſſe of *E. W.'s* Charge upon

upon *L'Estrange* lyes with its whole weight upon *These Four Points*, viz. that he *Favours* the *Papists*, *Lessens* the *Plot*, *Dispraises* the *Witnesses*, and *Arraigns* the *Government*: And all this serves only as a *Common-place to work* upon, when any man is to be render'd *Odious* to the *People*: For 'tis a thing *easily sayd*, *greedily swallow'd*; of *Violent Operation*, and *hard* to be *disprov'd*; which is a very great disadvantage, when a man comes to be arraign'd for his *Thoughts*, without any *possibility* of *clearing* himself. It is a thing that extreamly *Confounds*, and *Misleads* us in This Affair, the Governing of our selves by the *Common Forms* of *speaking*, and according to the *Vulgar understanding* of the matter in hand. As for the purpose; we make a Favourer of the *Plot*; a Favourer of *Popery*, and a Favourer of *Papists* to signify, for the most part, one and the same Thing: And 'tis no matter which comes out First, when we would throw Dirt at a man: Whereas in *Truth*, and *Equity*, there is a great difference, betwixt them; as will better appear by taking them apart, and distinguishing the One from the Other.

By the *Papists* is properly intended the *whole Party* among us of *That Perswasion*. By *Popery*, the *Opinions*, or *Religion* of That Party. By the *Plot*, is to be understood, the *Conspiracy*; which is a *Third Consideration*, separate from the *Other Two*. So that a man may be a Favourer of the *Plot*, against the *King* and *Government*, and yet an *Enemy* to the *Opinion* of the *Papists*, and to the *Party*; For we see, That the same Designe has been formerly *Carry'd on*, and *Executed* by men of *Opposite Judgements*. And likewise a man may have a *Kindnesse* for the *Opinion*, and yet be an *Enemy* to the *Plot*; As (in Despite of Detraction) we have seen many Instances. And Lastly, a man may have a *Tenderneſſe* and *Charity* for the *Party*, without Leaning at all to the *Opinion*, and with a perfect *detestation* of the *Execrable Confederacy*. [Well Doctor, but you will tell me that This *Popish Plot* is a *Complicated Plot*; and not barely a Plot upon the *Government*, but a *Plot* also supported upon *Popish Principles*, and carry'd on by a *Popish Party*, for the *Extirpation* of the *Protestant Religion*. It is not Sir, to extenuate the *Guilt*, and the *Foulnesse* of This *Plot*, if I tell you, that the *Fanatical Revolution* matcht it in every *point*. There was, *First*, a *Confederacy*; and then, a *Design* layd: a *Change* of *Government* resolv'd, the *Lawfullnesse* of it *Debated*, and *Asserted*; and the *Instruments* that carry'd it on, were the *Fanatical Party*: And all Terminated in the *Suppression* of the *Protestant Religion*: That is to say, if the Church of *England* was *Protestant*: Or if *Otherwise*, and if they that *destroy'd* This Glorious Church were *Protestants Themselves*

ſelves, from *ſuch Proteſtants good Lord deliver us*. But you will ſay, Sir, that *Prelacy*, *Ceremonyes*, *Habits*, and *ſet Forms of Prayer* are not to be accounted matters of *Religion*. I beſeech you, Sir, what *Religion* is there in a *Meſſe of Porridge*; or in *looking out at the Window* to ſee what a *Clock* 'tis? And yet I take it to be a very *material Tranſgreſſion* in point of *Religion*, to throw That Porridge in the face of my *Father*, in the *One* caſe, or to refuſe upon his command, to look out at the *Window* on the *Other*. For *Religion* conſiſts in *Doing*, as well as *Believing*, and in the Conſervation of *Unity*, and *Order*. The Reſemblance betwixt the *Face* and the *Glaſſe*, is ſcarce liker then theſe *Two Caſes*; and I do not know why the *ſame way* of *Reaſoning* may not hold as well too, upon things ſo agreeing betwixt Themſelves. *The Popiſh Plot* is *Impious*, for ſo much as concerns the deſtroying of the *King*, and the laying of the *Nation* in *Confuſion*, and *bloud*; And ſo was the *Schiſmaticall Plot* too, And This is a poynt that all men, even of all Perſwaſions in *Religion*; that have either *Honour*, or *Brains* will eaſily accord. But you'l ſay that *This Plot* is prov'd by *Witneſſes*, and *Judgments*; and give me leave, Doctor, to tell you, that the *Other* was alſo prov'd, by *Fact*, and the *Final Execution* of a *Fore-layd Deſign*. Well, but you'l ſay Sir, that the *Jeſuits Prineiples* are *Bloudy*, and *Dangerous*: As That of *Keeping no Faith with Heretiques*; and the Doctrine of *Abſolving Subjects from their Obedience* to *ſuch Princes*. Theſe are *Helliſh Poſitions* 'tis true; but in the Hiſtory of our *Late Troubles*, and in That of the *Kirks Proceedings* in *Scotland*, you'l find theſe *Maxims* taught in the very *Schools*, and *Pulpits*; Nay, and warranted too, by the moſt Eminent *States-men* and *Divines*: and not only ſo; but authoriz'd by *General Aſſemblyes*, and the *Votes*, and *Declarations* of a *Mock-Repreſentative* of the *Commons* of *England*. Nay and it went further yet; for all theſe *diabolicall Illuſions* were put in *practice*. They *ſought the Lord*, for a *Complement* of the Wickedneſſe; they put the *King* to *Death*, as by a *Revelation*; and glory'd in the thing done, as a favourable Diſpenſation of *Providence*. Once again, Sir, There were none but *Papiſts* (you'l ſay) in *This Plot*: there were none but *Schiſmatiques* in the *Other*; ſo that you ſee the ſtreights of the Church of *England*, betwixt theſe two *Extreames*; and the *Danger* is as mortal on the *Right hand* as on the *Left*. And give me leave to think Doctor, that as the *Danger* is *Equall*, ſo the *Affliction* is much *bitterer*, from thoſe of *our Own Family*, then from *ſtrangers*; the Prophet *David* himſelf ſeem'd to ſtagger a little under the weight of it: *If it had been an Open Enemy, he could have born it*, but to be wounded by Thoſe, with whom he had taken *Counſell, and*

walkt in the House of God as Friends; This was the almoſt Inſupportable Aggravation of his Calamity. In fine, both *Plots*, and *Partys* were influenc'd alike by *Fallacies*, and *Impoſtures* both in *Religion*, and *State*.

From *This Parallell*, if you pleaſe Sir, I will proceed to an Application of what is *Paſt*, to our *preſent Uſe*, and *purpoſe*. I could wiſh that every man that had any part whatſoever in the promoting, inflaming, or upholding of our Late Troubles, would now upon This Occaſion lay his hand upon his Heart, and tell his Story: What a variety of *Errours* and *Corruptions* would This Tale, truly told, afford us.

Alas, I was but young (ſays one) *and meerly drawn in*; *I meant no more Hurt to the King* (God knows) *then to my own Heart*, cries Another. *They told me the King was gotten into the Papiſts hands, and that they only intended to bring him back to his Parliament*: *But when I was once* In, *there was no getting* out again. *I never thought* (ſays a Third) *that it would have gone ſo farr*; *but I ſhould have been well enough content to have ſeen ſome Grievances Redreſt. One had a* Father, *or a* Son *on the* Kings ſide, *and he took the* Other, *to ſave ſtakes*. Some were frighted into the Cauſe by Stories of *German Horſe*, *Maſſacres*, &c. *I was in the Parliament-quarters, and my Eſtate muſt have gone for't, if I had not comply'd. One* had a good *Office*, a *Benefice*, or an *Eſtate* to loſe; a *Family* to provide for; *Another* had a *Court-grudg*, and took his *Revenge*, or fought only for *Pay*, as a *Soldier of Fortune*: And at This rate people were hookt in, ſome through *weakneſſe*, but with *good Intention*; Others, by *Intereſt*, *Fear*, or *Miſguided Conſcience*, and not one man of a Thouſand that Acted Originally, againſt the Government, either by *Malice*, or *Deſign*. I would have theſe people that have been thus ſeduc'd themſelves, ſoberly to reflect upon it. We are all of us Fleſh and Blood alike; why may not *Other* men be miſled as well as *we*? Or why ſhould we grudg *Others* the ſame meaſures of *Tenderneſſe*, and *Remiſſion*, that we our ſelves have received. Well, but thoſe are *Papiſts*; and the Other are *Schiſmatiques*. The *Papiſts* are men of *dangerous Principles*, and ſo are the *Fanatiques*; but then *ſome* of the *Diſſenters* are better then *Other*; and ſo are *ſome* of the *Papiſts*. If the *Papiſts* lie under the Laſh of the *Law*, ſo do the *Non-Conformiſts*; and in ſhort, *This Plot* (we hope) has *miſcarry'd*, the *Other ſucceeded*; and yet only the *Expreſs Murtherers* of the *King* were ſingled out for *Exemplary Juſtice*, and all the reſt of the *Criminals*, and *Common Actors* in the *Rebellion* were pardon'd in the *Conſpiracy* that took *effect*. Now let me ask you,

Doctor,

Doctor, if you would have the *Innocents, Men, Women, and Children* promiscuouly exposed to more *Rigour* in the case of a *Plot* that is *disappointed*, then the *Nocents* were on the *Other hand*, where an Unparalleld Rebellion took place. Give me leave now, Sir, to put a question; not to the *Reason*, and *Equity* of the *Thing*, but to the *Conscience*, and *Modesty* of the *Men*: For let the *Prosecution*, on the part of the *Government*, be never so *necessary*, there may yet be some Regard had to the Circumstances of the Prosecutors. I would have those men, I must confess, that have been so *Frankly* pardon'd, *Themselves*, (even for the *Consummated Destruction* of *Three Kingdoms*,) be a little Tender in pressing an utter *Extirpation* of an *Entire Party*, because of a *Conspiracy*, among *Some Particulars* of *That Perswasion*; and a *Conspiracy* too, that is crusht by *Providence*, in the very *Egg*. What would you think on't, Sir, if you should see a Company of fellows that have been in at a *hundred Robberyes* and *Murthers*, *Themselves*, and got their *Pardons*, and still keep their *Bootyes*; what would you think, (I say) to see These men, of all Others, the fiercest sticklers for *Extremityes* upon *Other Felons* that had only *design'd* the *Outrage* which they themselves had *actually accomplisht*? Besides Sir, that it seems to Carry a very *suspicious Countenance* to have Those men pretend the *greatest zeal* for the *Safety* of the *Government*, that are most *Notoriously known* to be *Disaffected* to it. And yet upon the *Mayn*, we finde none so eager and prone, as some of these people are, to Calumniate the *Justice* of the Nation by *Remonstrances*, and *Clamorous Addresses*; and by *Violent Importunities* to *Precipitate* Councils, as who should say, *We* are the *Arbitrators* of the great Affairs of the *Government*, and take more care of it, then the *Government* does for it *Self*. Pray'e take notice Doctor, that This is intended only of *Licencious*, and *Illegall Proceedings*, with due *Submission* to all *Forms*, *Orders*, and *Resolutions* of *State*: And that I do not speak of any sort of favour toward *Criminals*; and more Especially in the matter of *Sir Edmund Bury-Godfrey*; and this late barbarous Inhumanity upon the Person of *Mr. Arnold*; which I look upon to be two Instances, allmost *Unpardonable*: *And I do here protest before the Living God, if I either knew or could make a farther Discovery, or if I ever can get the means of doing it, I would, and I will, (though the neerest Friends I have in the world) deliver them up into the hands of the Law.*

Now as there appears some affinity betwixt the *Case*, and *Danger* of *both* the *Extreams*, (as to the *Government*,) be pleas'd to inform me Sir, if there may not be allow'd some *Proportion* also of *Compassion* from the *Government*, in the matter of *Mitigation*, and *Re-*

dreſſe, toward *both theſe Partyes*. To which opinion I finde my ſelf induced by theſe following Conſiderations, but with great readyneſſe to be overrul'd by better Judgements.

In the Firſt place, Doctor, we are all of us *Chriſtians*, and cannot take a ſurer Meaſure for the Government of our *Lives*, and *actions*, then the *precepts*, and *practices* of *Our bleſſed Saviour*. He commands us in the Goſpell, *to* Bleſſe *thoſe that* Curſe *us*, *to do* good *to them that* Hate us. And *Theſe* Precepts to his Diſciples, he made good upon the *Croſſe*; in praying for his very *Crucifyers*. Our Saviour reprov'd his Diſciples for urging him *to call for fire down from Heaven*: There was no calling *Rogue*, and *Raſcall*, but the great work of our *Redemption* was wrought out with *Meekneſs*, and *Patience*.

And there is a regard to be had likewiſe to the matter of *Humanity*, as we are all of us *Men*, and liable to the ſame *Infirmityes*, and *Errours*. It is the *Condition* of being *forgiven Our ſelves*, the forgiving of our *Neighbours*; and it concerns thoſe men, of all others, that do the moſt *need* and *preſſe* for *Relaxation*, and *Mercy*, *Themſelves*, not to oppoſe it, in ſome degree to *Others*. And it is another Conſideration, as we are *Fellow-ſubjects* and Members of the *ſame Community*; for *all Diſſenters* from the *Rule* are equally liable to a *Cheque* from the *Government*, and ly under the *Same Ty*, of *Conformity*, and *Obedience*. *It* does not belong to me Sir, to ſpeculate upon *Political Expediences*, one way or another; I could otherwiſe tell you how much we are *Underpeopl'd* already, and the *greater* the *Depopulation* the *Deader*, upon Neceſſity, muſt be our *Trade*; the Circulation of *Money* muſt be *Leſſe*; our *Lands fall*, our *Commoditys* ly upon our *Hands*, and our *Taxes* ſtill run *higher*: and Conſequently, the leſſe able ſhall we be dayly, to defend our ſelves, in caſe of a *Foreign Invaſion*: For 'tis a Foolery to talk of any more *Holy Wars*, the Hot Fit of that *Unwarrantable* and *Romantique Zeal* is long ſince over, and out of the world; and the Bone of *Contention* among Princes, is *Empire*, not *Religion*. If I have ſayd any thing here contrary to *Law*, *Conſcience*, or *Humanity*, I ſhall ſubmit my ſelf to a Fayr Tryall for't: But if I keep my ſelf within the Terms of *Chriſtianity*, *Humanity*, and *Civill reſpect* to my *Superiours*, I do but diſcharge the part of an *Honeſt man*, and a *good Subject*.

Here's more work Sir, for *B. W.* to ground an action of *Popery* upon; and you have a ſure Card at a Dead Lift, when he ſtands at Your Elbow, to help you out with an *Enformation*. But ſee Doctor, how far, (and no farther) I approve my ſelf in This Paper to be

an

an *Advocate* for the *Papists*; and that is to say, just so far as I am an *Advocate* for *Fanatiques*; I wish, with my Heart, that the Government were Clear of *all Flotters* on *Both sides*; and that the *Peaceable, Honest* Mixture in *Both* Partyes might have as much *Ease*, as may stand with the *Security* of the State. Now having thus equally divided my Kindnesse; it shall be *Cross*, or *Pile* (if you please, Doctor,) whether *I* am a *Papist*, or a *Fanatique*, *I* must confess, *I* abhor the Thought, of *Christians* worrying one another, worse than *Wolves*; and This, as well on the *One* side, as on the *Other*. But where People of *Either Perswasion*, will be *Vexatiously*, and *Pragmatically Troublesome* to the *Publique Peace*, it is but Reason they should suffer for't. But then there are several ways of *Approach*, or *Advance* toward the *same End*; *Seditious Positions* are every jot as *Ill*, as *Seditious Actions*, but much *meaner*: For the *One* is the *Authorizing* of a *Villany*, as the *Other* is the *Executing* of it. There is something of *Bravery* in him that *Attempts* it; but the *Setter on*, is a *Scandall*, even to *his own Party*.

So that *I* have now Competently explain'd my self concerning the *Plot*, *Popery*, and *Papists*. For the First, *I* have a perfect *Abhorrence*; and no sort of *Kindnesse* for the *Other Two*, as *Such*. And yet as *Papists* are *Christians*, (and *I* my self one) *I* cannot but have a *Conscientious respect*, in Common for *all the members of That Profession*. Beside that as they are *men* too, there are Indispensable Offices of *Humanity* due from *One man* to *Another*; and then there are Certain Considerations of *Alliances*, *Acquaintances*, and *Society*, which we cannot wholly divest our selves of, without a violence to the very *Instincts* of *Reasonable Nature*, and degenerating into *Beasts*.

Now as to the poynt of *Popery*, so far as it is made use of as a *Politicall Engine* to loosen *Societyes*, and to Authorize *Disobedience*; *I* look upon it as a Plot upon the *Peace* of *Mankind*, in That way of applying it: As the *Disciplinarian Presbytery*; (on the *Other* hand) which is the very *Counter-part* of it. But taking it *nakedly*, and *Abstractedly* as a *Particular Scheme* of *Faith*, and *Religion*; without any relation to *Temporall* matters; my being of *Another Opinion* will not hinder me yet from having the *Same Charity* for *Another man* in that which appears *Erroneous* to *me*, which, in a thousand Cases, *I* my self may stand in need of from *Others*. And This Softnesse has something in it of *Complexion*, as well as *Judgment*. *I* cannot endure to see Children tormenting of poor *Birds* and spitting of *Flyes*: And it has cost me many a Six pence, the redeeming of *Puppyes*, and *Kitlins* from the *Cruelty* of *Boys* in the Streets, that were Tearing them to pieces.

And

And This, Doctor, may be done, I hope, without being of *Pusses*, or *Ringwoods Religion*. But here's more pains taken then needs, to gratify *John a Nokes*, and *John a Stiles*; for my Adversaryes have yet This Modesty in them, that they are asham'd both of their *Names*, and *Faces*. These *Libellers* follow the Example of their *Fellow Murtherers*; they ly in wait for the *Innocent*; and it is the work of the *One* to *Godfrey Honest men* out of their *Reputation*, as the Other did that worthy Gentleman Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey* out of his *Life*. But It shall suffice that my *Conscience* as well as *my Acquaintances*, will acquit me in the matter of *Conformity* to the *Rite*, as well as the *Doctrine* of the Church of *England*; which I have ever asserted, both with my *Pen*, and *Practice*; and fully answer'd all the *Tests* of my *Profession*, which the *Law* requires.

It will be cast in my Dish, I know, that This pretended *Moderation* toward *Dissenters* is only introduced in favour of a *Common Indulgence*, wherein the *Papists* may come in for a *share*; and wholly *Inconsistent* with the *Rigour* I have promoted in all my Writings, toward the *Non-Conformists*. But I must desire you, Doctor, to observe, that *I* never opposed the *Liberty* of *Thought* in *Disagreeing Perswasions*; for 'tis impossible to bring all men to the same apprehensions of the same thing. But my business has been always, in This Case, to lay open the danger of permitting a *Liberty* of *Practice*, which must of Necessity dissolve the *Order*, and the *Authority* of the *Government*: For it is (effectually) a *Translation* of the *Power* from the *Magistracy* to the *People*; and a *Contradiction* to the *Obligation* and *Intent* of *Laws*; when the *Rule* prescribes to us the *doing* of *This*, or *That*, and the *License*, on the *Other* side, says we may do what we please.

Now *I* have wip'd off all these *Aspersions*, of favouring either *Plot*, *Popery*, or *Papists*; or of so much as *Implying* any *Iniquity* in the proceedings of the *Government*: (nay, *I* have, on the Contrary, asserted the *Justice* of it, in This matter;) *It* only rests, that *I* purge my self in the point of a becoming Resignation, and Respect to the *Kings Witnesses*; which is the hardest thing in the world to do, because there appears no *Foundation* for the *Charge*; and how shall a man prove, or make *any thing* out of *Nothing?* at least, if Other people can, *I* must confess that *I* have not yet the Faculty of doing it. But since there is no substantial *Ground* for *This Charge*, Pray'e Doctor do but cast your Eye npon the *Pretence*. I give you the Character of a *Loyal*, *Orthodox man*, a *Lover* of your *Countrey*,

trey, and a *Maſter* of your *Pen*; I tell the Government, out of your own Mouth, where they ſhall finde the *Prieſts* and *Jeſuites*; ſo that 'tis but purſuing the way that you have chalkt out, for the *Retriving* of them. I magnifie your *Diſcoveries*. *I* ſet a juſt value upon your *Performances*, *I* propheſy that you will be *famous* to *Poſterity*; and that the *great things* you have *already* done will be follow'd with *greater*. How comes it now that thoſe Expreſſions which would be *Panegyricks* from *another* man, ſhould be *Libels* from me? Or how can any man call it a *Scandall*, to ſpeak well of him that endeavours to ſupport the *Government*, without implying it to be matter of Reputation to deſigne the *Overturning* of it? And how again comes *B.W.* to lug into his *Title-Page*, by head and ſhoulders, a *Vindication* alſo of the *Reſt of the Kings Evidences*, without any Hint, or Mention, in the Book he pretends to anſwer, of any other but your ſelf? The Myſtery is this. There are a ſort of people that will call a man a *Defamer of the Kings Evidence*, not as a *Charge*, but 'tis a kinde of giving the *word* to the *Rabble*. As we cry *he ſweats*, to a *Dog* when we would have him take a man by the *Collar*.

Now as the *Offence* ought to be *puniſh'd*, on the *One* hand, ſo the *Scandal* methinks ſhould not go *Free*, on the *Other*: and it were well if *both Parts* were *agreed*, Firſt, upon the *Force*, and *Intendment* of That which is called the *Kings Evidence*; and *Secondly*, what it is, to *defame* it. Every body knows, what it is to *ſwear* for the *King*; and that the Witneſſe muſt be *Fama Integra*, and *Probus*. But now how far That Qualification extends, will be the Queſtion. He that gives *Evidence* for the *King* is no further the *Kings Witneſſe*, then for ſo much as concerns the *ſubject matter* of his *Teſtimony*; though there are ſome, I know, that will have the *WHOLE MAN* to be *ſwallow'd up*, in a manner, and *Tranſubſtantiated* into the *Evidence*; as, if every *Word*, or *Act* (for the purpoſe) of *L'Eſtrange* were to be reputed as the *Word*, and *Act* of the *Kings Witneſſe*: (ſuppoſing *Him* ſo to *be*;) And that nothing could be ſpoken of him in *One Capacity*, without affecting him in the *Other*. Now under favour, Sir, This would be ſo dangerous a *Miſtake*, that upon the Admittance of it, there would be no longer any Security either for *King*, or *People*. For if my ſpeaking any thing that is *Falſe* of one of my *Fellow Subjects*, ſhould invalidate the *True Evidence* I have given for his *Majeſty*; what becomes of our *Sovereign*? And again, if my being an *Evidence* for the *King*, ſhould entitle me to a *priviledge* of *Abuſing* and *Scandalizing* other

other men at pleasure; what becomes then of the *Liberty* of the *People*? So that though This Qualification gives me more *Credit*, and *Esteem* in the world, according to the weight of the Cause in Question; it gives me no more *Power* yet, or *Advantage*, over my *Fellow-Subjects*, in Other cases, then *I* had before. Yours (*I* must Confess, Doctor,) is very Particular, in regard of the *Important* Consequences that depend upon it: And yet This does not hinder, but that the same Rule holds good throughout.

As for example Sir; supposing me now to be one of the *Kings Witnesses*, would This Character Authorize *me* to place the *Supreme Power* in the *People*; to say that the *King* is only as *One* of the *Peers*, and that the *House of Commons* made him what he is; To give out, how *I'le* Order the matter of the *Succession*; and what course *I'le* take with the *Privy Council*, when the *Parliament* meets? to represent *his Majesty* to be *Popishly Affected*; (though a *Premunire* by the *Statute*;) to Garble the *Bench* as *I* please; and to say who shall *Out*, or who *Continue*; to call *Princes*, *Traytors*, and *Canary-Birds*; To pronounce upon *This* or *That* man; and say *which Officer* shall *stand*, and *which*, *Fall*; whose *Offices* I'le *shake*, and what *Lawn-sleeves* I'le *Ruffle*; to Inveigh against the *Bishops*, as *Popish*; with their *Anti-Christian Holy-days*? to say *I'le be the Death of this man*; or *I'le have the Blood of t'other*, as the Toy takes me in the Crown: And all This, as if my being the *Kings Evidence* had made me *Controller* of the *Government*; and Subjected the *Lives*, *Libertyes*, and *Reputations* of his Majestyes good *Subjects* to *my Arbitration*? These are Excesses that a man cannot well suppose: But however, This may suffice to shew that *all things* are not *allowable*, even to the *Kings Evidences*.

But still as the *Witnesses* are Limited, the *One* way; by the Rules of *Good Manners*, and *Law*; So it is not fit for people to make *Sport* with them the *Other*; and (as B.W. says) to turn the whole History into *Ridicule*. But then Doctor, you must distinguish betwixt a mans *Vindicating* of *Himself* and *Defaming You*: for otherwise men must sit down and confesse themselves to be *Rascalls* as often as you are pleas'd to call them so, for fear of Blasting Your *Evidence*. Now though you are pleas'd to call me *ten Thousand Rogues*, and *Villains*; (and in very good *Company* too;) I am apt to think yet, that I'm never the Lesse Honest for your calling me any thing to the Contrary; and in passing This Reflexion upon your *Intemperance* and *Choler*; What wrong is This to your *Evidence*? Or if it be, you may thank your self for't. Must I stand upon Record for a *Villain*,

lain, in a Compliment to your *Teſtimony*? You tell People that I was a *Common Fidler* to *Oliver*, which allmoſt half the Nation knows to be *Falſe*; And from this Inſtance, you would infer my Truckling to that *Uſurper*. You do not imagine that I will yield my ſelf to be a *Raſcall* now, for fear of diſobliging any man by a *Contradiction*. I do here affirm to you, Doctor, that I never took *Oath*, *Covenant*, or any *Engagement* whatſoever, from that *Party*; or in any ſort whatſoever *comply'd* with them. Do but you prove the Contrary, and I'le allow my ſelf to be all the *Raſcalls* you call me. Nay, it is publiquely known, that when I lay in *Newgate*, condemn'd to be *Hang'd* for ſerving his Majeſty, I had the *Interceſſions* offer'd me of very *Powerfull Men* in the *Party*, if I would take the *Covenant*, to endeavour to bring me off, and I refuſed it. And, *in fine*, ſince I am forc'd upon't, I ſhall here annex *Three Papers* out of *Twenty* at leaſt, upon the ſame Occaſion, which I publiſh'd upon that bloudy *Criſis* in 1659. here in the Town, (and honeſt *Harry Brome* got them *Printed* too, to his very great Hazzard) when I do aſſure you Doctor, I did not write for Bread.

You may perhaps take me to be a little Bolder in This Freedom, then becomes me; but truly I did not think it ſafe to diſcourſe this matter to you by word of mouth, for fear of enflaming you further: And to deal Freely with you, Sir, I had not gone thus far neither, if you had not moſt injuriouſly broken in upon my *Family*, in a more Tender point: A Nicety, that I muſt entreat you not to proceed any further upon, without advice of Counſell.

This *Perſonal Unkindneſſe* of yours ſhall not at all leſſen the *Eſteem* I have for you as you are the *Kings Evidence*: I ſhall go on advancing the Reputation of your Services, celebrating the good Offices you have rendred the *Church* as well as the *State*, in your plain-dealing with *Fanatiques* and *Papiſts* alike. But yet I am afraid, Doctor, that you are a little too eaſie of *Belief*: 'Tis a *great wrong* to *mee*, and a *greater* yet to your *ſelf*, This way of taking things upon *Truſt*; For *Truth* ſhould be as *Sacred* in a *Word*, as in an *Oath*. I have at This Inſtant before my Eyes all the Inconveniences that can poſſibly ariſe from This way of Expoſing my *Vindication*. *Firſt*, I know that you are apt enough to take Fire of your ſelf, Sir, and that you do not want Malevolent Spirits neither, to puſh you forward. I do know very well alſo your *Power* and *Intereſt*, with all the Ill Conſequences that can attend it. I know likewiſe the *Rancour* of a Company of little *Profligate Wretches*

chers, that will be forward enough to cover their *Malice* under your *Name*, and *Protection*; and in my Conscience (to give the men their due) will not stick out at any thing, to do my business: Fellows that will make no more of *Kissing a Book*, then of *Kissing a Back-side*. But Sir, I shall oppose my *single Honesty* to all these *Difficulties*, and value their *Swearing*, as little as I do their *Lying*, tho' I am well assured, that they are conferring Notes upon That point already. And remember what I tell you, Sir; if ever they come to *Agree* upon't, *That Perjury* will be found allmost the fairest part of their *Practice*.

There is another sort of *Malignants*, that please themselves mightily in the Contemplation of having *L'Estrange Run down*, (as they call it) at the next meeting of *Parliament*. *I* shall take my time likewise to vindicate *That Honourable Assembly* from the Scandal of That Character which these People would give them in the world: As if we were now coming to be Govern'd by *Ordinances* again; and that *Honest men*, for discharging their *Duties* to their *Prince* and *Country*, were now a *Second time* to be *Sacrific'd* to a *Faction*. No, no Sir; *I* have no Apprehension of any hard measure from that *Illustrious Assembly*, to the degree of Oppressing me *Contrary to Law*; and *I* have as little Apprehension from the Dint of any *Known Law* that *I* have *Transgrest*.

Give me your favour, Doctor, but for One word more. My believing of the *Plot*, under certain *Restrictions*, and *Qualifications*, by *B.W.* exhibited against me, as a great Enforcement of my *Charge*. Now upon my Faith, Sir, *I* am perswaded, that *I* believe every *Tittle* of the *Real Plot*; but you must give me leave yet to *Suspend* my *Faith* in many Cases, where there is a *Plot pretended*, and *Aggravated*, and the *supposed Principals* not one jot *concern'd* in't. What do you think, Sir, of the quality of those *Inflaming Papers* that are published in the *Witnesses Names*, and yet are only the *Contrivances* of a *Knot of Booksellers*, for their own Advantage? *Papers* of manifest *Scandal* against the *Royall Family*; some of the *Loyall Protestant Nobility*; and in Generall, against his Majesties most *Faithfull Subjects*. *Papers* composed for the *Tumultuating* of the *Rabble*; and if the *Citizens* had not been too *Honest*, and too *Sober*, to be *transported* with *those Libells*, they had been sufficient to have engaged them in *Bloody Papers*, that allmost from One end to the Other of them are in effect the very *Coppies* of *two Libells* which *I* had formerly seiz'd myself. And shall This now be called a *dis-believing* of the *Plot*, which is only the not giving *Credit* to the most *Shamelesse*, and *Insolent Impostures* that ever were put upon any Government? No, pardon me Doctor

Doctor, *Those Mercenaries* are the *Defamers* of the *Kings Evidence*, that publish *Lies*, and *Scandalls* in *Their Names*. And pray'e take notice withall, that these pretended Asserters of *Religion* and *Government*, are men of *Notorious*, and *Pestilent Principles* against both *Church*, and *State*.

I do not know, Sir, what *Construction* you may make of the good Office I have done you, as the *Kings Evidence*, in *This way* of asserting you to be a *Loyall Subject*, and a *Good Church-man*; or in my Freedom of telling you, that in your *Personal Capacity*, you have not us'd me *kindely*. If you take the *Latter* amiss, I'le leave it to *Time*, to reconcile me to your *better Thoughts*; But for the *Other* part, Doctor, if you will needs *misunderstand* me, I shall however content my self in *This*, as well as in *Other Cases*, that *I* have render'd a *Duty*, and a *Service* to the *Publique*, without any Profit, to

Sir,

Your *Disobliged*, but
Unchangeable Servant,

Roger L'Estrange.

P.S. *I* shall here present you, Sir, with the Papers *I* promised you in my Vindication from the mistake imposed upon you, as if *I* had gone over from the *King* to *Cromwell*. In 1659. *Lambert* was upon his March toward Sir *George Booth*, and Sir *Henry Vane* had listed the *Separatists* in and about *London*, to be in Readinesse At which time *I* Publisht This following Paper, under the Title of,

The Declaration *of the* City, *to the Men at* Westminster.

Gentlemen,

WE have waited for the good you have promised us; with a ridiculous Patience: but we find you *Men* of the *Original*, and to be *read backward*. *We* are for the Religion of the *Heart*, not that of the *Nose*; and for the *Law of* the *Land*, *not that of the Sword*; we are likewise for the *Charter* of the *City*, and for the *Liberties* of *Free-born Englishmen*; with which we are resolv'd to Stand and Fall. It is high time for us to look to our selves, when we are coming under a Guard of your Chusing, and when we have only this Choice left us, whether we will *Adventure* to *destroy You to Day*, or *be sure to be destroyed our Selves to Morrow*. That's the short of the Case; for, a *Massacre* is not only the *Design*, but the *Profession* of the Par-

ty you have Arm'd againſt us; 'tis their very Exchange-talk at noon day; But the work will be either too hot, or too heavy: for my Maſters, we are determined to ſuffer theſe affronts no longer, we are now come to underſtand one another, *The Ruine of the Nation is Your Intereſt, the Peace and Preſervation of it, Ours*, and the miſchief of it is, your deſtruction is as *Eaſie*, as 'tis *Neceſſary*: for every Creature which either Loves *God*, or his *Countrey*, *Hates* You. You have not ſo few as 200000 Enemies in This Town, to diſpute the Quarrell with ſome half a dozen of you; not to multiply words, your *Practices* are ſuch as a *Generous* Nature cannot *Brook*, and your *Power* ſo *deſpicable*, that a *Coward* needs not *Fear* it. You have made the City but a Cage of Broken Merchants; Tradeſmen are ready to Periſh for want of Buſineſſe; and their Families for want of Bread; nor have the Poor any other Employment than to Curſe you. Thoſe few amongſt you that have any thing, are but Cover'd with the *Spoiles* of the Nation, and out of the *Scum* of the People you have compoſed your inconſiderable Reſt. Well Gentlemen, play your own Cards your ſelves, Wee'll play Ours: you'll have no Single Perſon in the *State*, wee'll have none neither in the *City*; at leaſt, we'll have no *White-Hall-Major*; we will neither extend our Priviledges an Inch, nor abate an Hair of them. And in the matter of Blood-ſhed, ſo let Heaven proſper Us, as we ſhall proceed tenderly: But if there be no other way left us than violence whereby to preſerve our ſelves in our Juſt Rights, what Power ſoever ſhall preſume to *Invade* the Priviledge of a Citizen, ſhall finde 20000 Brave Fellows in the Head on't.

This we do Unanimouſly Remonſtrate to You, and to the World, to be our Firm, and Finall Reſolution.

After This, the Citizens preſented a *Petition* to the *Common-Council*, preſſing for a *Free Parliament*: But they were put off for the preſent, and upon *Munday, December* 5. 1659. *Horſe and Foot* were diſpatch'd into the *City*, by violence, to hinder the Re-inforcement of the *Petition*. But there was a great number of brave young Fellows that oppoſed them: And if the *Factious Magiſtracy* (at That time) had not by a *Wile*, perſwaded them Home again, the Work had certainly been done That Bout. Upon This, after five or ſix days expectation what this affront would produce, I Printed this following Paper, to quicken them; Entitled,

The

The Engagement and Remonſtrance of the City of London, *Dec.* 12. 1659.

ALthough, as *Citizens* we are *reduced* to a *Neceſſity* of Violence; and as *Chriſtians*, obliged to the *Exerciſe* of it; Unleſſe we will rather proſtitute our *Lives* and *Libertyes*, *Fortunes* and *Reputations*; Nay our very *Souls* and *Altars*, to the Luſts of a *Barbarous* and *ſacrilegious* Enemy: We have yet ſo great a tenderneſſe for Chriſtian bloud, as to leave unattempted no means of probability to ſave it. This is it which hath prevayl'd with us to Declare, Firſt to the World, what we *Propoſe*, and *Reſolve*, ere we proceed to further Extremities: and to *ſatisfie* the *Publique*, as well in the *Reaſons* of our Undertakings, as to *Juſtifie* our *ſelves*, in the *Menage* and *Event* of of them.

We find, in the Middeſt of us, *the Houſe of Prayer converted into a Den of Theeves*: Our *Counſels* Affronted by Armed *Troups*, our *Fellow-Citizens knock'd on the head, like Dogs*, at their own doors, for not ſo much as *Barking*: Nay, 'tis become Death, now to deſire to Live; and Adjudg'd Treaſon, but to Claim the benefit of the Law againſt it. Witneſſe thoſe *Infamous Murthers* committed but Monday laſt, upon our *unarm'd friends*: and the glorious *Inſolencies* of that *Rabble*, towards ſuch of the reſt, as they ſeized, and carried away. But this is nothing: to make us a Compleat *Sacriſice*, we are to be *Burnt* too: a thing not only *threatned*, in the Paſſion of the Tumult, but ſoberly *intended*; for they have layd in their Materials for the work already: (a *prodigious Quantity of Fire-Balls in Pauls*, and *Greſham College*) Briefly, We are deſign'd for *Fire*, and *Sword*, and *Pillage*: and it concerns us now, to look a little better to our *gracious Guards*. (Not to inſiſt upon the loſſe of Trade; how many thouſand Families have nothing now to do, but *Beg*, and *Curſe* theſe wretches?) The *Honour* and *Safety* of the *City* lyes at ſtake: and God ſo bleſſe us, as we'll fall together. We will not live to ſee our Wives, and Daughters raviſh'd: our Houſes Rifled, and our Children Beggers, that ſhall only live to Reproach their cowardly Fathers: and all this doue too by a People, which we can as *eaſily deſtroy*, as *mention*: by a Party, ſo *Barbarous*, and ſo *Inconſiderable together*, that, certainly, no creature can be *mean* enough, either to *ſuffer* the *one*, or *fear* the *other*. In this Exigency of Affairs, we have found it both our *Duty* and our *Intereſts* to

Aſſociate;

Associate; and we desire a Blessing from Heaven upon us, no otherwise, than as we do *vigorously*, and *faithfully* pursue what we here Remonstrate.

First; *We do engage our selves, in the presence of Almighty God, with our lives and fortunes, to defend the Rights and Liberties of the City of* LONDON; *and if any person that subscribes to this Engagement, shall be molested for so doing*; *We will unanimously, and without delay, appear as one Man to his Rescue.*

Next; we demand, that all such *Troups* and *Companies*, as do not properly belong to the *Guard* of the City, nor receive *Orders* from the *lawfull Magistrates thereof*:—that such Forces *withdraw* themselves from the Liberties, within 12. hours after the Publication of This: upon pain of being deemed *Conspirators*, and *of being Proceeded against accordingly*, (for to this extent, both of Judgment, and Execution, is every Individual qualified in his own defence.)

We are next, to demand the Enlargement of our Fellow Citizens, which were taken away by Force, and in a tumultuous manner, contrary to the known Laws of the Place, and Nation.

This being performed, we shall acquiesce, in the Enjoyment of those Liberties, which we will not lose but with our Lives. In Fine, to remove all Impediments of the peace we desire: We do undertake, both as Men of Credit, and Justice; that such of the Souldiers as will betake themselves to honester Employments, shall receive their Arrears from the City, and such a further care of their future well-being, as is sutable to the Necessitys of the One part, and the Charity of the Other.

THis Paper was so well received, that it encouraged me to follow it with Another, Entitled,

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The Final Protest, and Sense of the City.

HAving diligently perused two *Printed Papers*, bearing *date*, the 14th. *of this instant* December: The One, in form of *a Proclamation concerning the summoning of a Parliament*: The Other as an *Order of the Common Counsell, commanding the City to acquiesce in expectation of That Parliament*: We find therein contained, matters, so contrary to the *Honour* of the *Nation*, and to the *Freedom* of the *City*, that we stand obliged both as *English-men*, and as *Citizens*, to Protest against the *Impositions* of the *former*, as *Illegal*, and the *Concessions* of the

the *Lawes*, as a direct *Combination* againſt us. Theſe *Two Papers* are *Seconded* by a *Third*: (for the *Two* are *One*, both in *effect*, and *deſign*,) and that is, a *Proclamation of Baniſhment*, directing to the late Kings party, under the notion of the Common Enemy: ſo that there's no love loſt betwixt the *Committee of Safety*, and the *Common Councill*, when the *General* provides for the *Peace* of the *City*, and the *Mayor* for the *Safety* of the *Army*; not to argue *Acts* of *Oblivion*, and the violation of *Publique Faith* in the caſe: that they *Conditioned* for their *Lives* and *Liberties*, and *Compounded* for their *Fortunes*. This is not our *Concern*, what *they do* ſuffer; but what *we may, if we truſt thoſe, that Keep no Faith with them*: And that we'le take a care of: When *They* are Gone, then *We are* the *Common Enemy*; *So are the Laws of God, and of the Nation, and ſuch is every Man that loves them*. What this *Malignant* Party is, theſe People talk of, we neither *Know*, nor *Meddle*; the *Gentry* 'tis we Live by, and by the Laws of *Gratitude*, and *Hoſpitality*, we are bound to *Protect* them, and reſolved to do it, within our Walls, againſt any other Power, than that of the Known Law. The ſhort of the Deſign is This; a *Danger* is pretended to the *City*, from the late *Kings* Party, and to prevent the miſchief, the Kind *Committee Baniſhes the Gentlemen*; with Order to the *Mayor to make ſtrict ſearches for Delinquents*. Now in purſuance of this precious Order, our *Houſes* muſt be *forced*, and we *Diſarmed*, and then, our *throats cut, to preſerve the City*. Let thoſe that would be *Chronicled* for *Slaves*, and *Fools*; *ſubmit to ſuffer this*; *and after that Infamous Hour, may a Yellow Coat, and a Wooden Dagger, be the Badge and Diſtinction of a Citizen*. To conclude, *We* our ſelves *are That City*; ſo much the Care and Cry of the Proclamation; and *This* is our *Unanimous ſenſe*, and *Reſolve*. The *Army* propoſes to *Pillage*, and *Murther us*, the *Mayor*, and his worthy *Aduiſers, Ireton*, &c.—are to hold our *Hands*, while They give the *Blow*; So, that we are now to provide both againſt *Force* and *Treaſon*; having *One* Enemy within our *Walls*, and *Another* in our *Counſels*. But withall, we have our *Swords* in our *Hands*, and our *Brains* in our *Heads*; and only to *Strike* the *One*, and to *Diſbelieve* the *Other*, is to *Subdue*, and *Diſappoint* them *Both*.

We do therefore declare to the World, that we will by *Violence* oppoſe all *Violence* whatſoever, which is not warranted by the Letter of the *Eſtabliſhed Law*: and that in purſuance of this Duty, both toward the *Nation*, and *City*, an *Inſolent Souldier*, and an *Apoſtate Magiſtrate* ſhall be to us as the ſame thing.—Not to *Word* it much further, as we will not be *Baffled*, by *Affronts*, ſo neither will we be *Fooled*, by *Flatteries*.

After

After the Loſs of Trade and Liberty, a vaſt expence of Blood, and Treaſure; After *many Injuries received, more threatned,* and *none returned,* We made a ſober, and Regular *Application,* to the *Authority* of the *City,* for *Redreſſe.* This they *Promiſed,* and we *Expected,* till at laſt, in ſtead of a *Reparation for paſt Wrongs,* or a *Security* againſt *worſe to come*; We are paid with an *Expectation* of a *Parliament* in *January.* This is a Logique we underſtand not. It is in *Engliſh, Lye ſtill, till we cut your Throats.* It would be well to commit the diſpoſitiou of our Fortunes, co thoſe people, that are at this Inſtant deſigning an Execution upon our Perſons; and to requite thoſe *Worthies,* that have already *Robb'd* us of *all* we have *Loſt,* with the *Offer* of that little *Reſt* they have *Left.* But this will not do our Buſineſs; we will not have our *Murtherers,* for our *Judges:* nor will we *wait.* That *Parliament* they *babble* of ſo much, will ſcarce *Vote* up the *City* again out of Aſhes, nor all the Saints in that holy Aſſembly, bring the *poor Cobler* into the world again, that was *Kill'd* by order of his *Brother Hewſon.* No, the *Cheat* is too ſtale, and we are Determined to Redeem our ſelves; but with this Caution, We do ſolemnly profeſs, that we will exerciſe all the Tenderneſſe which poſſibly the Caſe will bear: The *Common Souldier* is engaged rather out of a *Heedleſs,* than *Malicious Intereſt*: We do therefore Proteſt, that ſuch of thoſe as ſhall not evidence their *Malice,* by their *Obſtinacy,* ſhall receive a Fair Conſideration: But, for ſuch as *Lead* them, we do *Reſolve,* not to allow Quarter to any one of them, that draws his Sword in the Quarrel: And in order to the Quicker, and Gentler Diſpatch of the Buſineſs: We conclude with a Text, *Fight neither with Small nor Great, but with the King of Iſrael.* And ſo God give a Bleſſing to the Endeavours of all Honeſt Men.

It makes me bluſh to think how like Vanity, and Oſtentation, this Appendix *may appear to any man that does not duly Conſider the Occaſion of Reprinting it.*

The End.

LESTRANGE'S

NARRATIVE

OF THE

PLOT.

Set Forth for the

EDIFICATION

Of His Majesties

LIEGE-PEOPLE.

The Third Edition.

LONDON,

Printed by *J. B.* for *Hen. Brome* at the *Gun* at the West-End of S. *Pauls*, 1680.

L'ESTRANGE'S NARRATIVE, *&c.*

IN This Age of *Narratives*, We ſhould do with our *Books*, methinks, as *Vittlers* do with their *Ord'naries*; every Authour hang up a *Table* at's Door, and ſay, *Here you may have a very good* Narrative, *for* Threepence, *a* Groat, *or* Sixpence, *or* Higher *if you pleaſe*. For we have 'em of all Sorts and Sizes: The only Danger is, the Popping of *Catt* and *Dogs-Fleſh* upon us, for *Cony*, and *Veniſon*. For take 'em one with another, at the *Common* rate of *Narratives*, there's hardly *One* of *Five* that will paſſe *Muſter*. But *what is a NARRATIVE*? you'l ſay.

A *Narrative* is a *Relation* of ſomething that may be *ſeen*, *felt*, *heard*, or *underſtood*: Or otherwiſe; It is a *Relation* of ſomething that *Can neither* be *ſeen*, *felt*, *heard*, nor *underſtood*: For we have Our *Narratives* of things *Viſible* and *Inviſible*; *Poſſible* and *Impoſſible*; *True* and *Falſe*: Our *Narratives* of *Fact*, and our *Narratives* of *Imagination*. In One word: There was never any thing *Said*, *Done*, or *Thought* of, Since the Creation; nor ſo much as any thing *Fanſy'd*, tho' it was *never Said*, *Done*, or *Thought of*, but it will Bear a *Narrative*. So that the only point will be, out of This Infinite *Diverſity* of *Narratives*, Which is *the Narrative here in queſtion*.

NOW the *Narrative here in queſtion*, is the *Narrative* of The *PLOT*; but then there will ariſe Another Queſtion; Of *WHAT Plot*? For there are as many ſorts of *Plots* as there are of *Narratives*. There are *Plots* of *Paſſion*, and *Plots* of *Intereſt*; *Plots Generall* and *Particular*; *Publick* and *Private*; *Forreign* and *Domeſtique*; *Eccleſiaſticall* and *Civill*: There are *Plots* to *Undermine Governments*, and *Plots* to *Support* them; *Plots Simple*,

and *Counter-Plots*; *Plots* to *make Plots*; and *Plots* to *Spoil Plots*; *Plots* to give *Credit* to *Sham-Plots*; and *Plots* again to *Baffle*, and *Discountenance Reall Ones*: *Plots Jesuiticall*, and *Phanatique*; *Plots Great* and *Small*; *High* and *Low*; In short, There is not any thing under the Sun, that may serve us either for *Pleasure*, or *Convenience*, but we have a *Plot* upon't: And the *Master-Plot* of *all*, is the *Plot* how to get the *Money* out of *One Pocket* into *Another*; as is well Observ'd by one of the Antients. For what is it that sets all Trades and Professions a work, Nay and all wickedness too; As *Murther*, *Calumny*, *Oppression*, *Perjury*, *Subornation*, *Corruption*, &c. But a *Plot* upon *Mony*?

NOW to come to my point. This Discourse is not a *Wild* and *Rambling Narrative* of some *Indefinite Plot*, that no body knows *what* to *make* of, or *where* to *find* it: But it is a *Narrative* (by way of *Excellence*) of *THE Plot*: that is to say, the *Capitall* and *Hellish Plot* which is *now* in *Agitation*, for the Destruction of Our *Prince*, *Religion* and *Government*, to the Horrour and Amazement of all the *Reformed Catholiques* in *Christendom*. I call them *Reformed Catholiques*, rather then *Protestants*, because I take the *Catholique* to be the *Antienter Family* of the *Two*: The *Denomination* being used in the *Primitive Church*; and not only to denote a *Generality*, or *Universality* of *Profession*: but also to *Distinguish Orthodox*, and *Obedient Christians*, from *Schismatiques*, and *Heretiques*. 'Tis cast in my Dish I know, as a *Reproach*, that I will not own my self to be a *Protestant*. Now so far as *Protestant* is a *Catholique*, or as the *Church* of *England* is *That* which *They* call *Protestant*, 'tis all one to me, whether I passe for a *Reformed Catholique*, a *Church of England-man*, or a *Protestant*. But when *Heresie*, and *Schism* comes to shelter it self under the Cover of *Protestantism*, (which is but too common a Case) I have no Ambition to be accounted any of *those Protestants*. So that my Crime is only that I am *a Church-of-England-Protestant*. But to return to my Theme.

LET

LET the Reader take notice, that as these Papers are only a *Narrative* of *that Plot* which is notoriously known, and distinguished from *all other Plots*, by the *Emphasis* of *THE Plot*: So it is *L'Estrange's Narrative* of *That Plot*; from whom no more Light can reasonably be expected then what arises out of matters within the Compasse of His Observation. He does not pretend, either directly, or indirectly, to have been *Entrusted* by any of the *Priests*, or *Jesuits*; Or to have been *present* at any of their Bloody and Desperate *Consults*; or *Privy* to any of their *Letters*, *Messages*, or *Commissions*: So that *We* can say *nothing at all* to the *Particulars* that have been given in by the *Kings Witnesses*: Or if we *Could*, the doing of it would signify no more then the holding of a *Candle* to the *Sun*: For whoever carefully *peruses Their Writings* and *Depositions*, *compares* their *Testimonies*; and *yet doubts* of the *Plot*, is little better, certainly, then Seal'd up under the spirit of *Blindness*, and *Delusion*. Let no body therefore expect from *These Sheets*, any *Repetition* of what the *Kings Evidences* have *Delivered*, and *Deposed* with so much Solemnity *allready*; but rather repair to the *Memorialls* that they have committed to the *Publique*, which are *many*, and *Copious*, for a *Full*, and *Finall Satisfaction*. And in the meantime I shall apply my self to the making out of the *Plot here in Question*, my own way, (which, in strictnesse of speaking is not so properly a *Plot*, as an *Intrigue*.)

THE *Difference* betwixt a *Plot*, and an *Intrigue*, I take to be *This*; a *Plot* may be *Solitary*, as when a man contrives or casts about with himself how to get a *Dinner*, (for the purpose) an *Office*, a *Pension*, &c. He brings his Ends about by his *Own Wits*, as by *Cogging*, *Wheedling*, *Hectoring*, *Swearing*, *Lying*, or the like, as best makes for his purpose; but an *Intrigue* is always *Social*, and menag'd by *Intelligence* and *Confederacy*; So that it seems to be a kinde of a *Plot* with *Complices*, and yet it is not absolutely *That* neither. For the *Critiques* will have a *Plot*

to

to import only a *General Resolution*, or *Agreement* upon *some Common End*; and an *Intrigue* to signifie a Certain *Artifice*, or *Mystery* in the *manner* of bringing it about. Of *Intrigues*, some are *direct Conspiracies*; as where a *Designe* is *Govern'd* by the *Contrivance*, *Advice*, and *Consent*; and *Improved* to the *Common Advantage* and *Behoof* of all the *Parties* therein *concern'd*. Of *This Kinde*, were the *late Intrigues* of the *Fanatiques* against the *Government*; where, as they *all contributed* to the *Ruine* of the *Publique*, so did they *all*, in some measure, *Partake* of the *Quarry*. There are *Other Intrigues* which are not so much a *Formal Confederacy* as a *Blinde Co-operation* of *several Parties*, toward the gaining of such or such an *End*, by working upon the *Passions* and *Weaknesses* of one another, without ever *Concerting* the matter betwixt them; and This is the Quality of the *Plot* whereof I am now about to Treat.

WE have been told abundantly of the *Popish Plot*, The *Booksellers Ware houses* are *Cram'd*, and there *Stalls charg'd* with the *Memorials* of it; All our *Courts of Justice*, and *Journals* of *State* bear witness to it. It has set all *Tongues* and *Pens* agoing; and all *Christendom Rings* of it; So that since nothing can be added to what is allready delivered upon This *Single Subject*, my business will be only to take *up* the Story where the *great Evidences* of the *Truth* of it have been pleased to let it *fall*.

AFTER a Nice and Particular Deduction of the *mayn Plot*, they do unanimously Close upon *This Assertion*; that it was a *Jesuiticall Influence* that *Ruin'd* the *Late King*, and *Irritated* the *Faction*: and that it is a *Popish Ferment* still at This day, that puts all the *Schisms* into *motion*. And for Proof thereof, *Doctor Oates* refers us to the Instance of the *Four Jesuits*, and the *Dominican* that mingled with the *Fifth-Monarchy-men*, for the *Burning* of *London*; (*Deposition* 34.) And to the Care that was taken for Tampering *Scotland* into a *Rebellion*; as appears in Several *Other Parts* of his *Depositions*. The *Dr.* having made

it

it out upon *Oath* that the *Papists* make use of the *Fanatiques* to compass their *Own Ends* upon the *Government*; So soon as he has done *This*, he gives over the poynt. It must be *My part* now, to *Tack* my *own Observations* to the *Doctors*; and, by shewing, on the *Other hand*, what Advantages the *Schismatiques* make likewise of the *Papists*, for the Compassing of *Their Ends*, to lay open the *Effects* of so *dangerous* a *Complication*. *This Addition* we must take for granted would have been supply'd by the *Dr. himself*, both as a *Loyall Subject* to his *Prince*, and as a *True Son* of the *Establisht Church*, if matters of greater Moment had not taken him off at Mid-way: So that in Truth, This is rather a *Continuation* of the *Drs. Narrative*, then a *Composition* of my *own*. We are not to imagine that These Interests are *Fy'd up* by any Instrument of *Compact*, or *Covenant*; to *Foyn* in a *League Offensive* against the *Government*; but our mischief arises from a *Resemblance* of their *Principles* and not from any *Correspondence* of *Understanding* betwixt them. And yet while they seem to be *blowing up* and *Countermining one another*, they do really destroy *Us*; and it is the *Church* in the *Middle* that *Suffers* by the *Distemper* of the *Two Extremes*.

NOW though I cannot allow it upon any *Terms* that they *help one another* by *Consent*; nothing can be plainer yet then that while they *play*, *each* of them *their Own Game*, the *One* still *leads* into the *Others hand*. If *Popery Influences Schism*, *That Schism* Slides as naturally into *Popery*, as *Motion* from *One* place of *Rest* tends to *another*. There's the *Principle* espoused *allready*, and the *Rest* is only the Changing of the *Name*; The very *Unfixing* of a man is *half* the work done *allready*; for he is so far advanc'd upon his way toward a *new Settlement*. It is a thing worthy of Note, the *different manner* of dealing with the Church of *Rome*, betwixt the *Episcopall Clergy*, and the *Non Conformist*; The *Former* proceed by Dint of *Argument*, the *Other* only by *Opprobrious Clamour*, and *Reviling*; and for

one:

one fair Blow at the *Pope*, they make a *hundred Rude ones* at the *Biſhops*; and (which is yet a *fouler Scandal*) the moſt *Eminent*, and *Venerable Champions* that ever put Pen to Paper in the *Defence* of the *Reformed Communion*, have been the Perſons which they have ſtill ſingled out for the Subject of their *Exemplary Cruelty*, and *Rigor*. which ſhews that their (*Pretended*) *Quarrell* is to the *Name* rather then to the *Opinion*. I call it a *Pretended* one: For if they Quarrell in *Earneſt* with the *Name* of *Popery*, they fall foul upon the *Beſt Friend* they have in the *World*: For it is *That ſingle Pretext* that *Supports* their *Cauſe*. It is obſervable alſo on the Other ſide; that notwithſtanding all their *Fierce* and *Virulent Exclamations* againſt *Prieſts* and *Jeſuits*, the Church of *Rome* does not vouchſafe them ſo much as one ſyllable in Return; and the Reaſon is This; The *Conventicles* are doing the *Papiſts buſineſs* to their *hands*; and the *Enlarging* of the *Schiſm* is the readyeſt way imaginable for the *bringing in* of *Popery*: So that it is but *Commuting* a *Real Service* for a little *Dirty Language*.

BUT is it *True* then, that the *Popiſh Emiſſaryes* are ſo *buſy*, and bear ſo great a *ſway* among Our *Diſſenters*? Yes (ſays Dr. *Oates* in his *Dedicatory* to the King) *They were the Firſt Authours and Contrivers of the Late Unnatural War; and of his Late Majeſtyes Unſpeakable Sufferings and Barbarous Uſage. It was Theſe* (ſays the *Dr.*) *that brought him to his end*, &c. And again, *They were in moſt, if not all the Councells that Contriv'd his Ruine. Two Jeſuits* (*Simmons* and *Compton*) *were to pay the* Thouſand Pound *promiſed to the Diſcoverer of the King after the Battle of* Worceſter, *and* Milton *was a Known Frequenter of a* Popiſh Club, Lambert *a* Papiſt *of above Thirty years ſtanding. What promiſes* (ſays the *Dr.* again) *did they make to* Cromwell *after his Majeſtyes Eſcape, to perſwade the* French King *for Our Sovereigns* Baniſhment *out of* France?

AND

AND is not This now as clear an Evidence as a body would wish, to prove the *Industry*, the *Power*, and the *Malice* of *That Restlesse Party*; and to shew how they were *In* at *all Destructive Plots* and *Councells*? Was it not a strange zeal too, that when *Cromwell* was *Master* of the *three Kingdoms*, and had so great an *Interest* at *Stake*; the *King* might have *Scap'd* yet for want of a *Price* upon his *Head*, if Father *Simmons* and *Compton* had not engaged for the *Thousand pound Reward* that was promised to Him that would deliver him up? Nay they were fain to Quicken *Cromwell himself*, to get the *King Banisht* out of *France*. Which shews *First*, that the *Papists* trusted more to their *Power* with *Cromwell*, though a *Schismatique*, then to their *Power* with the *French King*, tho' a *Roman Catholique*. And *Secoudly*, That they thought the *French King* would do more for a *Schisme*, then for the *Holy Church it self*: Which Implies a High Degree of *Mutuall Confidence* betwixt *Their Priests* and *Our Dissenters*.

IT is a Common Objection in This Case, that the *Dr.* is too *young* to speak many of these things upon *Knowledge*; and that it would have been well, if he had produced some *Historicall Authority* in *Confirmation* of the Reports, that *Lambert* was a *Papist*, and *Milton* a *Frequenter of a Popish Club*: And so in other like Cases. This is no doubt easily Resolved, for the thing it *self* being a *Privacy* in *its own Nature*, It was only *Proper* for the *Registries* of the *Society*; and not of a quality to be Inserted into Our *Publique Annals*. The *Dr.* tells us Further, (*Pag.* 29.) that *Father* Moor *and* Brown *were sent into* Scotland, *with Instructions to carry themselves like* Non conformist Ministers, *and to Preach to the* Disaffected Scots, *&c.* He tells us likewise (*Pag.* 67.) of *Seditious Preachers*, and *Catechists*, *set up*, *sent out*, *maintained*, *and directed what to Preach in their Own*, *or Other Private Conventicles*, *and Field-meetings*, &c. Now *This*, I am told, is no Proof of the thing *Done*; but only of a *Proposition* and Design for

the doing of it. But yet we find in the *Drs.* Reflexions upon the Late Times, that the thing was there *really done*; and *Pag.* 8. that *Blundel* did *actually* teach *Treason* in severall places of *London*.

NOW if it be *True*, (As who dares *question* what the *Dr. Averrs*?) that the *Papists* managed the *Separatists* in the late War; and that all Our Miseries proceeded from the Influence of *Their Councells*; and that they are at This day, as *Active*, and as *Powerfull* as *ever*: It follows, that the *Danger* is as great *Now*, as *ever* it *was*; and that there is no security for This Nation, so long as the *Agents* for *Popery* have *This Retreat*. We should never have known that the *Papists* had had so great a hand in Our *late Broils* and in the *Counsell*, and *Execution* of the *Murther* of the *Late King*; if Dr. *Oates* had not *Discover'd* it. For the *Late King himself* knew *nothing* of it; and all the *Memorialls* we have of those Times, even from the most *Popular Writers*, are wholly *Silent* in it, in such sort as we find it, Here to be represented. There was a Seditious Clamour, I remember, against *an Army of Papists*, (as they call'd them,) that were on the *Kings side*; but not One word of a *Papist* that was to be found among the *Schismatiques*, in their *Conventicles*; Nor should I readily believe the Story at *large*, as it is now *Reported*, if any man but Dr. *Oates* had said it. I have run through the *List* of the *Regicides*; I have had Opportunities of knowing the *Principal men* of the *Party*; and tracing all their *Committees*; and I cannot say that I found any *one man* upon *That Roll* whom I so much as *suspected* for a *Papist*. So long as the work went Smoothly on, they call'd themselves (I remember) a *Covenanting*, a *Fasting* and a *Praying People*. But so soon as ever the *Wind Turn'd*, the *Godly Party* was presently *Transform'd*; and those that I took before for *Dissenting Protestants*, are now made appear to have been the greater Part of them, *Priests*, and *Jesuits*. It seems to be somewhat Unequally Divided, that the *Schismatiques*

iques should have the *Benefit*, and the *Papists* Support all the *Scandall* of the *Rebellion*; Would it not be better to let them fairly share the *Profit* and the *Losse*, betwixt them? And That's the Drs. *sense too*; for he does not deny but that the *Separatists Acted Their Parts* also: tho' only as men *Imposed* upon, and *Outwitted*, and under the *Guidance*, and *Direction* of the *Papists*.

I shall now Appeal to any man: that has either *Seen*, or *diligently read* the Transactions of *Those Times*, whether or no he could ever have imagined that such a world of *Priests*, and *Papists* had worm'd themselves into the *Councells* and *Congregations* of *That Faction*, as the *Dr.* now Assures us there did. And what was the business, but *This*? The *Papists* carry'd the matter so *Close*, and lookt so like *Schismatiques*, that it was morally Impossible to discern the *One* from the *Other*, Now upon the Admission of *the same Mixture*, and *Danger*, at present, and *the same difficulty* likewise of *distinguishing* a *Disguised Papist* from an *Outlying Protestant*; we are lost unless we absolutely *Clear* those *Kennells*, since there is no *Purging* of them. And the means of doing it, is *Fair*, *Honest*, and *Obvious*; and I would say, (if I durst open my Mouth so wide) of *ABSOLUTE NECESSITY* too. *Let but the Laws be vigorously put in Execution, and the great Work is done.* We shall not need to declaim upon the *Probable Inconveniences* that will arise from a longer Sufferance of *This License:* But we shall in good time shew the *Approaches* they have already made, toward the *Government*; and that the *Non-Conformists* make as good use of the *Papists*, *One way*, as the *Papists* do of the *Non-Conformists*, Another.

THE *Encrease* of the *Schism* is the True measure of the *Churches Detriment*; for the *One Looses* just as much as the *Other Gets*. But the greatest mischief of all is the Dissolution of *Order*; For it is not only the *Double Losse* and *Disadvantage* of so many *Friends*, *degenerated* into as many

Enemies; but the *Looſening* of the *Band* makes all fly to *pieces*; And turns That *Community* into a *Multitude*, which, ere while, was a *Government*. And *This Diſſolution* does highly gratify our *Adverſaryes*, on *Both hands*; for Once out of Diſcipline, we are as bad as out of *Protection*: and in the Condition of a routed *Army*, when *Twenty men* in *Good Order* Value a *Thouſand Fugitives*; For *Our Strength*, as well as Our *Reputation* leaves us with our *Union*; and the *Bulwark* of the *Reformation* is left *naked*, and without either *Honour*, or *Defence*. If This ſhould come to be the Caſe, what can we expect, but either to be at the *Mercy* of a *Forreigner*, or for want of a *Common Enemy* to become a *Prey* to *one another*? It is as natural, This, (though we know it upon *Experiment* too) as it is for *one Grain of Sand* to fall from *Another*, for want of a *Morter*, or *Ciment* to bind them *together*: Or as it is for poynt blank *Contradictions* to *Croſſe one Another*. And when the day of Controverſy comes, what will all the *Fractions* of *Diſſenting Proteſtants* ſignify, more, then ſo many *Looſe Atoms* that will need a *more miraculous Concourſe* of *Accidents* then ever the Philoſopher dreamt of, to Jumble them into a *Body*. I will not deny but that they may ſo far *Unite* as to make head againſt a *Common Danger*; but they muſt live then like *Salamanders*, allways in the fire; as being by their very *Principles* in a perpetual State of *War*; *Impatient* of *one another*, and conſequently *Incapable* of any *Political Eſtabliſhment*. He that thinks otherwiſe needs only look behind him to be convinc'd; where he will finde, that thorough all the late Turns and Changes of State, the Prevailing Party did ſtill ſet up for it ſelf, to the Excluſion of all Others: Endeavouring to *Erect* a *New Government*, by *Order*, and *Reſtraint*, out of the *Ruines* of the *Old one*, which they had *deſtroy'd* by *Liberty*, and *Confuſion*. How wretched now is the Condition of thoſe people who by dividing themſelves, (upon meer *Capricio's*) from *Regular Societys*,

do

do in effect, cut themselves off from their Claim to the Ordinary Comforts of *Providence*, and *Nature*; turning *Peace it self* into a Curse, which to all men in their Right Wits is undoubtedly the greatest of *Blessings*.

AFTER a *long*, and I hope not (altogether) an *Impertinent Preface*, I shall now draw neer to my *Text*. The *Kings Wittnesses* have given Evidence of a *Popish Conspiracy*; and not only of a *Conspiracy* carry'd on among *Themselves*, but of a *Practice* also upon the *Schismatiques*, by casting of *Scruples* into their Heads; by Instilling *dangerous Positions*: by *Preaching*, in fine, & *Catechising* among them in *Disguises*; to Embroil the *Government*. Now let the World bear me Witness that I have nothing at all to do with the *Original Plot*; or the *Priests* Artifices of *Moulding*, and *Cajolling* the *Dissenters* any further then in a resignation to *Truth* and *Authority*: My purpose being only to set forth the *Emprovements* that have been made, under the *Cover* of *One Plot*, toward the *Advancing* of *Another*. I shall Date This my *Narrative* from the *Transmigration* of the *Conspiracy*; and so carry it on through all the *steps* of its *Progression*; as the *Manner* of *Representing* matters, the *Probable Intent*, and *Effect* of That way of Proceeding; The *Translating* of a *Popular Odium*, from the *Papists*, to the *Government*, and so mounting by degrees from a *Zeal* against *Popery*, to a *Sedition* against the *State*.

IT is no Lessening of This Execrable *Plot*, to say that *Subjects* ought dutyfully to *acquiesce* in the Resolutions of their *Superiours*: And that all Clamorous *Appeals* from the *Magistrate* to the *Multitude* are only so far pardonable, as the Abundance of *Good will* may help to excuse the want of *Moderation* and *Discretion*. So that a great part of those *Fierce* and *Unmannerly Transports* that have been employ'd upon This Unhappy Occasion, and without any regard, either to *Quality* or *Sex*, or, in truth, to the very *Foundations* of *Christian Charity*, might have been much

much better let alone; since they serve only to *enflame* the *Vulgar*, without any sort of *avail* to the Cause in *question*. It is no better, then either a Translating of the *Judicature* from the *King* and his *Courts of Justice* to the *Rabble*; or else a *Complaint* to the *People* brought in with a side-winde, against the *Government*; which are two dangerous Points; striking at his Majesties *Sovereignty* the *One* way, and at his *Reputation* the *Other*: And yet all This is Tolerable, if it goes off so; and without blowing up a *Passion* into a *Designe*. But we shall better understand the *Drift* of it by the *Sequele*. If it rests Here, it is only a *laudable Zeal Ill menag'd*: For it is not the *Cutting Strictures* of a *sharp Tongue* or a *Virulent Pen*, but the *Sober* and *Impassionate* Sentence of *Law*; that by *Prisons*, *Axes*, and *Gibbets*, *determines These Controversies*. In one word, let them vent their Indignation against the *Principles* and *Practices* of the Church of *Rome*, in what Terms they please, and make *Popery* as *Odious* as they can, provided that they do not encourage *Tumults*; and that they contain their *Passions* within the Bounds of *Truth* and *Justice*. If they once passe those Limits, *Knowingly*, and by *Consent*, 'tis no longer *Zeal*, but *Confederacy*.

This Caution of keeping so strictly to the Rules of *Truth*, and *Justice*, has a respect, First, to the *manner* of representing both *Persons*, and *Things*; and Secondly, to the matter of *Fact*. Now if to the *Intemperance* of *Words* there be added a *Malitious Aggravation* of *Circumstances*, with *Fiction*, and *Imposture* over and above; 'tis to be fear'd that all is not right at the bottom. I shall be here encounter'd with a *Reproof*, for being so *Tender*, forsooth, of the *Reputation* of the *Papists*; and yet any man that is not *Intoxicated* with *Popular Fumes*, or led *Hood-winkt* into a *False Conception* of things, must necessarily see, that my great Concernment is for the *Honour* and *Dignity* of *Christians*; It being our Duty, to proceed according to the measures of *Good Faith*, and *Justice*, even with the

the *worſt* of *Infidels*. But people you'l ſay may be *miſtaken*, and give *Credit* to *Falſe Reports*, without either *Malice* or *Deſigne*. This is Confeſt, and none of thoſe Errours ſhall be put to account. If you ask me, *To what End*? Or, *What's the Benefit* of Impoſing theſe *Flams* upon the *Nation*? It is eaſily Anſwer'd, *Firſt*, that the *Plying* of the *Multitude* perpetually with *Allarms*, and *Terrors*, does in a manner turn their very *Brains*, take away their *Fudgements*; and render them fit *Inſtruments* for the *boldeſt*, and moſt *Unwarrantable Undertakings*. So ſoon as they are once touch't in the Crown with Theſe Conceipts: 'tis but Sadling their Noſes with a pair of *State-Spectacles*, and you may perſwade them upon *New-Market-Heath* that they are Tumbling down *Dover Cliff*. *Secondly*, the very *Perſons* that ſo artificially make the People *Sick*, are to reap the Profit of the *Cure*; which is ſuch another kind of *Remedy* as if a man ſhould beat out his *Brains* for fear of the *Headach*. Briefly, they do firſt make the people *Mad*, and then by the Conſent of the *Madmen* they themſelves are made *Governours* of the *Bedlam*. But without any more Deſcanting upon the *Good* or the *Evill*; the *Grounds* or *Conſequences* of Matters; we ſhall now deliver ſome few Inſtances to our preſent purpoſe.

AT the time when Mr. *Powell* the Merchant was ſo long miſſing, what a Rabble of Formal Relations went about then, of his being *Trepann'd* a *Shipboard*, in what *Company*; what *Mony* in his Pocket; what *Forebodings* of his *Fate*: and all terminating in a peremptory Concluſion that he was *Murther'd* by the *Papiſts*; and not ſo few as five and Twenty or Thirty Pamphlets Trumpetting theſe Tidings all over the Kingdom. And yet not one Syllable of Truth in't at laſt.

What a Noyſe was there about Sir *Harry Titchbourn's* Houſe: Even to the very Catalogue of the Arms that were

were There taken: as 166. *Muskets*, 54. Caſe of *Piſtols*, 37. *Saddles*, 47. *Daggers*, 2. Barrells of *Bullets*, 3. Bundles of *Match*; *Letters* ſent *expreſſe* to Certify the Truth of the Story; and Copies of them diſperſed preſently at St. *Albans*, and elſewhere, without any Colour in the World for the Report. And ſo for the *Herſe* full of *Arms* that was Intercepted at *Banbury*, the *Hampers* of *Fire balls* that were found in the *Savoy*, and *Somerſet-houſe*; which were only certain *Rockets*, *Serpents*, and other *Artificiall Fire-works* which Mr. *Choqueux* had publiquely prepar'd for the Entertainment of a Solemn Feſtival: And yet all theſe *Shams* were blown up and down the Kingdom, by *News-letters* and *Printed Libells*, with as much Confidence as if they had been *Articles of Faith*; and no doubt of it, but many Thouſands of his Majeſties good Subjects believe them to This day, for want of being better enformed. What a Buſtle there was about Mr. *Langhorns* being Bury'd in the *Temple*, and what *Remarks* upon the *Government* for ſhewing That Countenance to *Papiſts*? And upon the perſons alſo that Aſſiſted at That Funeral; when all This while, there was no more in the Caſe then only the Body of a Gentleman that dy'd in *Holburn*, and was There Interr'd, upon the night to the day of Mr. *Langhorns Execution*.

THE Hiſtory of *Bedingfields* being privately Convey'd out of the *Gate-houſe*, and a *Dead Body* left in his *place*, paſt ſo *Current*, that Sir *William Waller himſelf* (tho' he perhaps could ſmell a *Jeſuit* as far as *another body*) took a long Journy into the *North* upon't, to catch *the wrong Bedingfield*. The Circumſtances of that Adventure would be too Comicall for This place. We could tell you the Conduct of the whole Stratagem, and what names here at *London* went into the *Black Book* for not *believing* it. A man would really bleſſe himſelf to ſee the *Romances*, the *Gloſſes*, and the *Scurrilous Buffoneries* that were publiſhed by the *Ribald Scriblers* here about the Town, upon This Subject. But

BUT then, the landing of *Forty Thousand French* upon the Ile of *Purbeck*, shook the very Foundations of the Earth: The Factions drew presently into *Cabals*, upon the Tidings of it, with Horrible and Contumelious Reflections upon Those in Authority, as Parties to the Conspiracy. At *Coventry* they brake up the *Market* upon the News on't; and the Common people Immediately divided into Knots, and Consultations; some of them coming very Fayrly to This Resolution, that *there was no way but cutting the* Papists Throats, *to hinder them from* Joyning. But This Advice was soon Contradicted, and so the Mischief went no farther: Who knows what This Invention might have produc'd, if the Credit of it had continued but four and twenty Hours longer?

THE most Formidable Story of All, is the *Conspiracy* of the *Prentices:* and there was such Work made with *Capt. Tom*, as if the *Grand Seignior* had been powring down *Highgate Hill* with a hundred and fifty thousand men at's heels. There were so many *Thousands* of them upon the *List* by *Tale* and most of them *Papists* too; An account of what *Contributions* to the *Charge*, (alas!) of *Three-penny* or *Groat-Clubb*; whose *Throats* were to be Cut; and through what *Constables Teritoryes* they were to take their *March*; and This *Scandal* upon the Body of this *Loyal*, and *Honourable City*, exposed in *Ballads* and *Libells* by every rascally *Pamphletier*. And what was all This mighty matter at last, but a parcell of good Jolly Lads that had been busy at the burning of the *Pope*, and prevail'd upon to set their hands to the *Petition* that was then afoot? These Blades, finding that the Petition had given Offence, propounded the doing something on the Other Side too, that might shew they were neither *Fanatiques*, nor *Papists*; and so they gave publique Notice in *Thompsons Intelligence* of *their* Intentions upon the *Anniversary* of his Majestys *Restauration* to burn the *Rump*. The First time perhaps that ever a Conspiracy against

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the Government was notified in a *News-Book*. I shall now shew you in an Instance or two, how bold they make with the *Kings Wittnesses*, as well as with the *rest* of his Majestys Subjects; and what *Slurs* they put upon the World (the *Citizens* of *London* Especially) under the *Countenance* of the *Plot*, and *Authority* of the *Kings Evidence*.

THERE'S a *Pamphlet* entitled, *A Narrative of unheard of* Popish Cruelties *toward* Protestants *beyond Seas: Or a New Account of the Bloody* Spanish Inquisition, *Published as a* Caveat *to* Protestants, by Mr. *Dugdale*. Printed for, *&c.*

THIS *New Account* (as I am credibly Inform'd) is only an *Old thing Reprinted*; The Subject Suited to the Humour of the present Season, and *Mr. Dugdale* upon the *Title-Page* exhibited as the *Authour* of it, and *Ric. Dugdale* Subscribed to the *Dedication*. This was the *Second Slur* that past the *Presse* under That name. The *First Impression* went off Clear with Mr. *Richard Dugdale* in the *Title page*, as the Composition of *Mr. Dugdale* the *Witnesse*; but the *Bookseller* finding the businesse to be *Smoak* the *Wittnesses* name being taken notice of to be *Stephen* and not *Richard*, he very prudently left out the *Christen name* in the *Second Impression*, and made it only *Mr. Dugdale*, and so it went for the *Witnesses* again. His work being only to find out a *Witnesses Namesake*, by great good Fortune he pitcht upon an *Alehouse-keeper* in *Southwark* of *That Name*, to carry off his Project; and the man (as I am told) is a very Honest man. Now here are *Three Abuses* fobb'd upon us at *once*, *First*, an *Old Book* for a *New one*; *Secondly*, one that knows *nothing* of the matter in *question*, under the Semblance of one of the *Kings Wittnesses*. And *Thirdly* the Counterfeit of a *False Authour*. But the most remarkable piece of all is yet to come.

IT was my Hap, some three or four Months since, to cast my Eye upon a Book, Entitled, *A Narrative and Impartial Discovery of the Horrid Popish Plot: carry'd on for the Burning and Destroying of the Cities of* London *and* West-minster, *with their Suburbs*, &c. And *Dedicated to the Surviving Citizens of* London *ruin'd by Fire*, &c. I came to This Pamphlet with Expectation of some Notable Discovery; especially finding a Promise in the Title page of *Depositions*, and *Informations* NEVER BEFORE PRINTED: But when upon the Perusal, I found the *Narrative part* of it to be taken, *Verbatim* almost, out of two or three *old Seditious Libells* against the *Government*, that were printed by Stealth, some *ten* or *a dozen years agoe*, (before Mr. *Bedloes* time of Action) and scatter'd up and down in most of the Publique Houses upon the great Roads of *England*, by *half a score* sometimes in a *place*, according to the Ordinary Methods of the Faction in such Cases; I made a strict Enquiry into the matter, and this was the business.

There was a *Consult* of *three or four Booksellers* over a bottle of Wine, what *Subject* a man might venture upon at That time, for a *Selling Copy*: One of the Company was of Opinion that a Book of the *Fires* would make *a Smart Touch*; and so they all agreed upon't; and propounded to get some of the *Kings Witnesses hands* to't. Naming first *one*, and then *another*, they came at length to a Resolution; and pitch't upon *Trap ad Crucem*, and *The History of the Fires*; as two books that would afford matter enough, if they could but get them put into a Method, and have a Certain persons hand to the Owning of them. Hereupon they apply'd themselves to One to draw up the Story; and so it went to the *Press* under his hand, all but what was *Printed Copy*; and he made *Several Alterations* too in the *Epistle*, out of his own head, after it was *composed* at the *Presse*. So that here are a *Couple* of *Old Libells* turn'd into a *New Narrative*, and *the*

Kings Magiſtrates, and *Officers defam'd afreſh*, and the menage of *This Scandal* committed to the hand of a *Common Calumniator*. As to what Concerns Mr. *Bedloes Evidence* I have nothing to Say; nor to the *Papiſts* burning the City; nor to any one poynt in the Pamphlet which *Mr. Bedloe* can pretend to Speak to upon Knowledge; but This I ſhall Say; that there are *Several Groundleſs* and *dangerous Paſſages* in it; and that the moſt *Inflaming* and *Seditious* of them are only *Libels* of *Ancient Date*, *Reprinted*; That it was a *Contrivance* Set afoot by *Bookſellers* for *Profit*, drawn up according to their *Order* and *Direction*, and an *Abuſe* in the very *Original Intendment*: The *Citizens* and the *Kings Wittneſſes* being only propounded as a *Property* toward the gaining of it ſome *Reputation*.

IT is Sufficiently known, with what *Greedineſs* Theſe, and a Thouſand other *Impoſtures*, and *Aggravations* have been Swallow'd by the Common people; and made uſe of as Inſtances to Illuſtrate and Confirm the Plot. But What? you'l Say, There's a *Mourneval* of *Bookſellers* upon a Tryal of Skill in their Own Trade: *One Knave Invents* a Story, and a *Thouſand Fools Believe* it. How does all This amount to the Proof of a *Faction?* Why truly; tho' it looks very Suſpiciouſly, conſidering *Who* they are that *Advance* and *encourage*, and the *Intereſt* that is *promoted* by theſe *Miſtakes*: Conſidering alſo with what *Violence*, and *Induſtry* they are carry'd on, and that the Cry too runs all one way: I ſhall yet content my ſelf with a *Probable Surmiſe* that there may be a *Factious Intent*. As if I ſhould See a man riding Poſt from *Barnet* towards *London*, I would lay ten to One that This man is going for *London*; and yet 'tis not Impoſſible neither but he may take up by the way: if I finde afterward that he went *thorough*, I ſhould think it a hundred to one that his purpoſe was for *London*, when he *Firſt* Set out: This is the very Caſe. *Theſe Practices* are the *High way* to *Sedition*, and 'tis Ten to One that they'l come up to't at laſt:

which

which if they do 'tis a Hundred to One that they *Design'd* it, from the Beginning.

IT is a very Ill Sign too, the *Fierceneſſe* of the *Abettors* of theſe *Shameleſſe*, and *Ridiculous Forgerys* againſt any man that has not Faith enough to believe that *the Moon is made of Green Cheeſe:* And This they call a *Ridiculing* of the *Plot*; and *making Sport* with *Sentences* of *Parliament*, and *Judicial Proceedings*. I would fain ſee where either the *King*, the *Parliament*, or any *Court of Juſtice* has *verify'd* any Single poynt that I have *reflected* upon: And I deſy the Devil himſelf, in any of his Servants, to Say wherein I have not pay'd all *due Reſpects*, as well to the *Perſons* of the *Kings Witneſſes*, as to their *Evidence*. What *Diminution* is it to *Dr. Oates* his *Narrative*, to ſay that the *Contrivances* of the *Mercenary Book-ſellers*, and *Scriblers* herein mentioned are *Shams*. What *Contradiction* or *Abatement* is it to the *Truth*, or *Credit* of the *Popiſh Plot*, to ſhew that there is a *Schiſmatical Plot* afoot too; and that *One* moves under the Countenance of *Another*: Now to *Pretend* a *Plot*, where there is *None*, is next door to the *Denyal* of it where it *Is*. Shall any man Argue that the *Diſparagement* of a *Juggle*, *weakens* a *Truth*? *Sr. Edmondbury Godfrey* was never the Leſs *Murther'd*, becauſe *Mr. Powel eſcaped*. Shall any man Infer That there were *no black Bills* Provided, becauſe there were no Arms found in *Sr Henry Titchburns* houſe? Or becauſe the *Prentices* were but in *Jeaſt*, that therefore the *Bloudy Pilgrims* were not in *Earneſt*: The *Juſtification* of *Mr. Choqueux's Fireworks* has no effect at all upon the *Teuxbury muſtard-Balls*. What is my Affirming that *Langhorn* was *not Bury'd* in the *Temple*, to the Buſineſs of *Valladolid*, or *Salamanca*? The *Herſe* of *Arms* was a *Flam*. And what Then? muſt the *Evidence* therefore of the *Piſtol* and the *Dagger* be one *too*? And I would fain know what Relation *Bedingfields* eſcape out of the *Gatehouſe*, (after he was Dead) has to the *Conſult* at the *White horſe Tavern* in the *Strand*.

As

As to the *Popish Plot* that is Sworn by the *Kings Witnesses*, I lay my *Faith* at their Feet, without any further *Enquiry*, or *Dispute*. But where I finde Rank and Palpable *Falshoods* and *Contrivances* Imposed upon the World for Certain *Truths*, and nothing but *Passion* and *Confidence* to Support them; I reckon my Self bound in Duty (so far as in me lyes) to lay open the Abuse. For this way of *Bruiting* up a *Plot* where there is *none*, is a Design of a most dangerous Consequence, and a Snare to all Honest men. It is a kinde of *Experiment* upon the Humour of the Multitude, to try what they will Bear, and whether they be yet mad enough or not, to swallow *Impostures* without *examining*. If they finde the People in Tune for their Purpose, and Charm'd into such an aw, that at the very *name* of a *Plot* they shall *Dare* like *Larks* under the dread, even of a *Painted Hobby*; There's the *Foundation* of a *Civill War*, and an *Arbitrary Power* layd allready. They shall make what *Plots*, and what *Plotters* they please; and every man that stands in their way, shall be a *Papist* or a *Traytor*, according as they think fit to represent him to the Rabble. If this be the fruit of being *given over to believe Lyes*, we have great reason sure to take all possible Care that we be not *deluded*, and to distinguish betwixt the voyce of *Authority*, and That of *Rumour*. The Common way of *Reply* upon *This Topique* is to break out into *Exclamations*, and to hit a man in the Teeth with the *Shaw* of the *Meale-Tub*, and Twenty Such Fooleries; as if there were no more in the business then a *Malicious Imagination*; and only a more colourable Invention to *discredit* a *Real Plot*, under *pretence* of a *Counterfeit*, and casting a Mist before the Peoples Eyes, that they should not know one from t'other. My Answer is Short; that we have the matter of *Fact* in proof Here before us: That the *True Plot* and the *Counterfeit* are in such manner *Separated*, that the One is not at all in *dispute*, and the other is *Condemn'd*. And we shall now shew you what

what use is made by a Faction under the *Disguise* of *prosecuting Papists*, to *Defame*, and to *Destroy* several of his Majestys *Loyall Subjects* and *Church of England Protestants*. For let a mans *Actions*, his *Conversation*, his *Religion* be what they will, 'tis but besmearing him with the Scandal of being *Popishly-Affected*, and his Work is done. There is a kinde of *Spell* in the Word *Popery*. It transforms a *Man* into a *Beast*: And like the *Great Medicine*, it turns whatever it touches into *Plot*. If a man will not believe it to be *Christmasse* at *Midsumer*, he's in the *Plot*; If he loves his *Church*, his *Prince*, and his *Country*, and stands for a *Burgesse* or a *Common Councell-man*, 'tis but Saying that he's *Popishly affected*, and he becomes presently as an *Heathen* or a *Publican*. If he refuses to *Associate*, or *Petition*, he shall be *Markt*; and well too if he scape So; For we have gotten a Trick, when men will not do as we would have them, of laying them up for *Treason*; (no matter for *Evidence*) and when we have put them out of Reach of a *Habeas Corpus*, 'tis but shewing them a Fayr payr of Heels our Selves, and leaving Them to Struggle with the Law. As for Example.

ON the 6th of *April* last, about 7. in the Morning, *Major Ovington* and *Mr. Thomas King* were taken out of their Beds and Charged with *High Treason*; their Boxes and Papers Rifled, and Themselves Examin'd apart; but nothing of Ill appeared against them. The *Magistrate* began with the *Major*; and when he had try'd both by fair means and foul, to get him to sign such Papers and Informations as he himself had ready drawn; finding that he would not be wrought upon, he left the *Major*, and went to *Mr. King*, telling him how sorry he was to see him drawn into such a horrid Business: How that his Majesty had the matter before him, and that there were 6. or 7. Wittnesses that appear'd against him. *Mr. King*,

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in great Admiration, askt what this mighty buſineſſe might be: but he went back to the *Major*, without giving any Reply: and after a little while return'd to *Mr. King*. Major Ovington (Says he) *has dealt Generouſly with me, and he ſhall fare the better for't; for I do not deſire the Deſtruction of any man:* But ſtill profeſſing more kindneſſe to *Mr. King*, for his Fathers Sake, and looking upon Him as a Perſon only drawn in. So he preſt *Mr. King* to a Confeſſion, and told him, if he would but Subſcribe Such a Paper as he would draw up, and knew to be True, he would not Commit him, and it ſhould be the better for him. *Mr: King* askt him what he would be at, and told him that if the *Major* had charg'd him with any Ill thing toward the *King*, or the *Government*, he was an Unworthy man. Whereupon he went his way, and Committed the *Major* to the *Gate-houſe*.

The *Magiſtrate* having left Mr. *King* at his own Houſe, came back to him immediatly, and told him, *'tis well* Mr. *King* (ſays he) *that you are faln into my hands; for if I pleaſe, there's but a ſtep betwixt You and Death; I am loth to Commit you, becauſe I know it will be your Ruine; every thing being made out ſo clear againſt you*; Mr. *King* ſtill urging to know what all This meant, the *Magiſtrate* went to the further end of the room, and fell to writing; Mr. *King*, being deſirous to ſee what he wrote; He held the Paper in his hand and ask'd him if he did not know of a Deſign to Seize the *Tower*, and reſcue the *Lords*; and ſeverall other lewd Things. To which Mr. *King* reply'd, that it was all *Villany*. The *Magiſtrate* gave Mr. *King* a Bottle of *Syder*, and Treated him with an Appearance of much kindneſſe. After a while, he took Mr. *King* in his Arms; telling him he ſaw he was reſolv'd upon his Own Ruine. Mr. *King* deſir'd that he might apply himſelf to the *Secretaries of State* to be *Examined* by *Them*; which the Magiſtrate took Ill, pretending that his Majeſty had left the buſ'neſſe to Him. He was trying a long time to

prevail

prevail upon Mr. *King* to ſwear againſt *Major Ovington*; but not ſucceeding, he threaten'd to lay him in Irons; and ſo Committed him to the *Gate-houſe*, with Order to the Keeper, that the Gentlemen ſhould not come together, nor receive any Meſſage, without having taken any Examination upon Oath, before his Commitment; neither after it, was there one word of Treaſon Sworn againſt him. He was Committed betwixt Twelve and One upon the 6th, and the *Depoſition* againſt him was taken the day after he was Committed, at the *Rheniſh-wine houſe* in *Channell Row*, Threatning alſo to lay the Witneſſe, in *Irons*, if he would not Depoſe what he the Magiſtrate had drawn up. The Coppy of the *Mittimus* follows.

WHEREAS Oath hath been made before Me, that the Perſon I herewith ſend in Cuſtody to you (Mr. Thomas King) hath Treaſonably contrived a Rebellion, and falſly Deſigned the accuſing ſeverall of His Majeſties Loyal Peers and Subjects of the ſaid Treaſon. Theſe are therefore to Will and require you in his Majeſties Name to receive and Keep the Body of the ſaid Thomas King in ſafe Cuſtody, untill he ſhall be Diſcharged by due Courſe of Law. Given under my Hand and Seal the 6th day of *April*. 1680.

THESE Gentlemen being brought into the Court by their *Habeas Corpus* the next Term, the profecution was lookt upon to be *Illegal*, and *Ridiculous*, to the higheſt Degree; there appearing no colour from the *Information*, or *Examination*, either for the *matter* Charg'd upon them, or ſo much as the bare *Commitment*; Only it was obſerv'd, that beſide the *Injuſtice* of a *Commitment* without *Evidence*, the Crime was laid *Treaſon*, on purpoſe that they might not be bail'd in the *Vacation*.

THIS I hope will not be deny'd to have been a *Sham-Plot*; and promoted by a *Faction* too: For it was the work of Twenty Libells to defend the Proceeding: The Perſons *accuſed* are Gentlemen of approved *Loyalty*, Fair and Honourable *Converſation*, and men zealouſly affected to the Church of *England*. There was an attempt made by the ſame Magiſtrate at the ſame time upon another Gentleman in the ſame Houſe, (a *Cavalier* of unqueſtionable *Loyalty* and *Honour*) and upon a like pretence too. But That *Trepan* was let fall again.

HERE'S the Fruit of taking up *Plots* upon *Truſt*; and running Headlong from the *Fear*, nay, from the very *Name* of *Popery*, into the *Thing it ſelf*. Let any man ſhew me a more *Imperious Tyranny*, if he can, or a more *Implicite Faith*; then for men to be worſe then *Spirited away* thus, *contrary* to the *Law*, and *without Remedy*; and and run down for *Criminals* by a *Popular Conſent*, without underſtanding one Syllable of the matter in *queſtion*. Theſe *Practices* and *Exceſſes* are the Subject of my *Narrative*; and ſo far from miſrepreſenting the *Popiſh Plot*, that there is not any ſort of Correſpondence, in This Caſe, betwixt the *One*, and the *Other*. And I defy any man to ſhew, whereever I let fall ſo much as One word of the *Popiſh Plot*, but with a modeſt and due Reſpect to the Government. Neither, in effect, am I become the Mark of every Paultry Libeller, for reflecting upon the *Reality* of the *One Plot*; but for the expoſing the *Jugg*

of the *Other*. And it is Time certainly for every man to look about him, when our *Lives*, *Liberties*, and *Fortunes* lye all at *mercy*; and every Honest man expos'd to the Animosities of *Faction*, and *Revenge*: For we are not judg'd by what we *are* in Our *Selves*, in Our *Converſations*, and *Opinions*; but by what we are *ſaid* to be. What becomes of *Magna Charta*, at This rate, and the *Priviledges* of an *Engliſh-mans Birth-right*? If men ſhall be hurry'd into *Jayls* without *Evidence*, becauſe they will not Subſcribe either *Confeſſions*, or *Accuſations*, touching matters which they know nothing of, and *Witneſſes* Tamper'd afterward by *Menaces*, for *Proofs ex poſt Facto*, to colour ſuch *Illegal Commitments*? We have had but too much of This allready; and no body knows whoſe Turn it may be next: Since what was the Caſe of theſe Gentlemen, may be any mans.

DOES it not behove us, now, to diſtinguiſh betwixt *Reaſon*, and *Clamour*; betwixt *Truth*, and *Calumny*, betwixt the Acts of *Authority*, and the Licenſe of *Tumults*; betwixt the *Juſt* and *Temperate Deliberations* and *Reſolutions* of *Government*, and the *violent Heats* and *Partialityes* of the *Common-people*? How come the *Multitude* to be *Judges* of *Plots*, and *Popery*, more than of *Other Crimes* and *Miſdemeanours*? For That's the *Tribunal* of the *Faction*, where every man is to be made a *Traytor*, or a *Papiſt*, as They think meet. And it is not enough neither to be fairly acquitted upon a *Tryal* before *a Court of Juſtice*; for the *Bench* and the *Jury* are preſently arraign'd upon't by an *Appeal* to the *Rabble*.

It is a great poynt gain'd, where a *Faction* has gotten ſo much the Command of the *People*, as to make them *believe* every thing that They *Say*, and *approve* of every thing that they *do*. There is a *Plot* no doubt on't; but *That Plot* does not yet create *Another Plot*, where there is *no Plot at all*. The *Popiſh Plot* has *Bounds*, and *Limits*; the *Kings Witneſſes* tell us *what* it *is*, and *where*

it *lyes*; and we have had nothing *New* of *That Plot*, now a good while. But this *Imaginary Plot*, is a *Plot* upon a *Perpetual Plot*, and to keep the Nation So long in *Awe* of the *Popiſh Plot*, till the *Faction* may execute *Another Plot* of their *Own*. And what is that *Other Plot* of their *Own*, but, Firſt, to break in upon the *Miniſters* and *Friends* of the *Government*; and Secondly, to undermine the very *Foundations* of it. This is no more *Sayd*, then what their *Practices* make *good*; and the *Series* of the *Deſign* hangs as Naturally, one piece to Another, as if they were but ſo many *Links* of the Same *Chain*.

As to what Concerns the Capital Plot, in the proceedings upon the Conſpirators, and the Subſequent Severityes upon the Papiſts; all This is an Act of the Government. But the *Superfœtation* of *Other Plots*, which neither the *State*, nor the *Witneſſes* take any notice of: *Plots* that have no *Affinity* or *Connexion* with the *Principal*; nor, in Truth, any *Exiſtency* in *Nature*, other then in the *Forge* of a *Phanatical*, and *Republican* Brain. *Theſe Plots* are not ſo *Sacred*, I hope, but a body may ask, Whence they *Come*, and Whither they *Go*, without any Offence, either to *Authority* or *Good manners*. Nay, what if a man ſhould examine them, by what Commiſſion it is, that they change their *Stile*, and render *Papiſts*, in the *Original*, into *Popiſhly-Affected*, in the *Tranſlation*? How it comes, of a *Down-right Popiſh-Plot*, to be a *Popiſhly-Affected-Plot*? This ſtretch puts the *Church-of-England-Men* into a worſe Eſtate then the very *Papiſts*. For there are certain *Known* and *Political Conditions*, whereupon a *Papiſt* may come *off*, by ſatisfying the *Law*; But *Popiſhly-Affected* is ſuch a *Drag-Net*, it ſweeps All. In Other Caſes, there muſt be *Probata*, as well as *Allegata*; but Here, the ſimple *Allegation* does a mans bus'neſs; for how is it poſſible for any man to prove a *Negative*, and a *Thought*, which he muſt do, to diſcharge himſelf of being *Popiſhly-affected*?

The Common People take *Popiſhly Affected* I know, for one of the Deviliſheſt things that can be ſayd of a man; eſpecially as it is dreſt up with *Plots*, *Maſſacres*, *Conflagrations*, &c. to make it the more Terrible. And therefore whenſoever the Faction has a minde to expoſe any man to the Outrages of the *Rabble*, they are pleas'd to give him the Honour of *This Character*; which preſently raiſes the Country upon him, as if he were a *Woolf*, or a *Common Enemy*. Now This Brand of *Popiſhly Affected* is not Set upon a man for any Correſpondency of Dangerous or Erroneous *Principles* that he has with the Church of *Rome*; but they make uſe of it as a *Diſcriminating Mark* betwixt *themſelves* and *Other men*. He that will not *believe* all the *Fooleries* They tell him, nor *joyn* in all the *Iniquityes* that they propound to him: He that will not *Contribute*, *Swear*, *Petition*, *Vote*, *Aſſociate*, as They would have him, That man comes Immediately to be *Popiſhly Affected*. He that Speaks Reverently of the *Dignity*, or the *Perſons* of *Biſhops*; the *Orthodox Clergy*, the Miniſters of *State* and *Juſtice*; the Service-book, the *Rites* and *Appointments* of the *Church* in oppoſition to the *Aſſemblyes-Directory*, with the Practices of their *Slovenly* and *Licentious Conventicles*; That man's *Popiſhly Affected*. To Preach up *Obedience* to *Civil Magiſtrates*; To cry down *Schiſm*; To chuſe a *Good Fryday* rather, or an *Aſh-wedneſday*, for a *Faſt*, then a *Whitſon-Tueſday*; to lay more ſtreſſe upon the Oaths of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy*, then the *Solemn League* and *Covenant*; To Advance the *King* above the *Two Houſes*; To deny the *Sovereignty* of the *People*; and to maintain that God is the God of *Order*, and not of *Confuſion*, All This is to be *Popiſhly-Affected*.

But let us now Conſider how This Calumny comes to be taken up; What's the *Driſt*, and (if This work goes on) what will Probably be the *Iſſue* of it.

It may be obſerved, that ſo long as we were upon the Scent of *Prieſts* and *Jeſuits*; the *Plot* in *motion*; and that

every

every day presented *Fresh Game* of *Papists*, and *Conspiracyes*: So long, I Say the *Faction* joyn'd with the *Government* in a *Common Care*, for the Peace and *Safety* of the *Publique*: Only with This Difference; that whereas the *Magistrate* proceeded to the Necessary Punishment of *Offenders*, according to the *Gentle*, and *Impartial Methods* of *Law* and *Justice*: and with *Humanity* and *Compassion* for their *Persons* and *Errours*, the *Faction*, on the Other hand, precipitated all things with *Violence*, and *Clamour*. Not contenting themselves with the bare Oblation of so much *Blood*, for the Satisfaction of *Publique Justice*, unless they turn'd the *Tragedy* into a *Farce* too, and made *Sport* with the *Calamityes* of the *Miserable*. And what was All This *Vehemence* and *Pudder*, but to Elevate the Opinion of their *Zeal* (in proportion to the *Noyse* they made) above all others, and Tacitly to reproach the *Government* for their *Candour*, and *Moderation*.

Nor did they keep themselves within the Bounds of *Inferences*, and *Tacit Implications*, long neither; But so Soon as ever any man came off, whether through the *Insufficiency* of *Proofs*, or the *Incompetency* of *Witnesses*, they flew open mouth'd in the face of the *Bench* and *Jury*: and in so bold a manner too, as if the *Tribunal* were only to *Hear* the Cause, the *Jury* to stand with their fingers in their mouths, and the *Pit* to *Decide* it? What is become of the *Manhood*, and *Generosity* of the *English Nation*; That we are fal'n into This Insatiate Thirst of *Bloud?* Where's our Respect to our *Superiours*; while we thus Arraign *Authority*? Where to our *Selves*, in the Seditious Usurpation of a Right that does not belong to us; and in Contradiction to the Duties of *Allegeance*, and *Common Prudence*? Where to our *Fellow-Subjects*; in our Needless, and Unmannerly Importunities, for more Rigour then the very Letter of the Law will bear? Is This *doing as we would be done by?* Or is it doing either as we *Have been done by?* But I shall now come to the

the *Transition* of the *One* Plot into the *Other*, and the turning of *Papists* into *Popishly-affected*; wherein I must distinguish betwixt the *Words* and *Intent* of *Authority*, and the Unwarrantable *Application* and *Construction* of the *Faction*.

In all Changes of State the Pillars must first be remov'd, before the Frame of the Government can be dissolv'd. And therefore 'tis discreetly done, for a Faction to begin with *Persons*, ere they broch their *Opinions*; For it would be a great Over-sight to pick a quarrel with the *Administration*, and at the same time to be laying of New *Foundations*. It is also another point of Skill, *the Running of People down* (as I find it in a *Coffee house Authour*) without the Assistance of the *Penal Statutes*, or the Formality of trying men by their *Peers*. And nothing does That Exploit more effectually, then the Device of *Popishly Affected*. It is a snare, that all the Precaution in the world cannot avoid; and a most Insensible slip from *Religion*, to *Sedition*; as we find in the Progress of our present Distempers. For the bus'ness of *Popery* is now in a great measure laid aside; and the *Dissenters* and *Republicans* at work as hard as they can drive; the *One* to *undermine* the *Church*, and the *Other* the *Monarchy*; and joyntly engaged in a *Common Endeavour* and *Design* for the Ruine of *Both*. So that the *same* Plot, in *Effect*, is carry'd on still, but in *Other Names*, and by *Other hands*. The *Original* Quarrel was to the *Papists*: *This* is to the *Popishly-affected*. The Church of *Rome was* struck at in the *One*, and the Church of *England is* struck at in the *Other*: And what the *Jesuits began*, the *Schismatiques* are now to *Finish*. Let no man question the Truth of This, unless he will First put out his Eyes for his Credit; or bring a Certificate from the Colledge that he is *Non-Compos*, and does not know *Chalk* from *Cheese*. Provided allways, that These People prove not at last to be Dr. *Oates's Jesuits* in the shape of *Schismatiques*; as I have

have heard of some *Schismaticks* too in the shape of *Jesuits*. I shall be told that This is only a *Blind* to cover the *Popish Plot*; whereas in Truth that Pretext is only a *Blind*, to cover the *Other*; and all their shifts are but so much *Lime* thrown in the *People Eyes*, to *Blear*, and *Confound* them that they may not distinguish *Prelacy* and *Popery*, *Papists*, and *Church-Protestants*, the *One* from the *Other*.

AND another Trick they have got; which is, to run canting with their *Appeals* to the *King* and *Parliament*; as if the very *Suggestion* of *This Plot* were a *Contradiction* to the *Evidence* of the *Other*; and consequently to the *Authority*, *Justice*, and *Resolution* of his *Majesty* and the *Three Estates*. Are not our *Impostors* come now to a prodigious degree of *Boldness*, when they shall dare to Father such *Shams* as *These* upon the *Supreme Authority of the Nation*. But what's all This, to the old Story of Fathering *Murther*, *Sacriledge*, and *Rebellion* upon *God Himself*? 'Tis very True, that the King and Parliament have agreed upon't, and declar'd themselves fully satisfy'd that there is a Damnable *Popish Plot*, but not one word of a *Popishly-Affected Plot*; neither do I finde that our *Refiners*, and *Improvers* of *Mischief* have any Commission for the extending of the *Popish Plot* so far; and themselves at last to be the *Judges* of That *Popish Affection*: Much lesse for the turning of That *Reproach* upon the Church of *England*, which was intended only against the *Opinions*, and *Practices* of the Church of *Rome*. It will be sayd that they do not blast the *Church* of *England*, but here and there a *Rotten member* of it, that carrys on the *Popish Interest* under *That masque*? 'Tis very right, that, take them in the good Humour, and they will yet allow *Two Bishops* of the Twenty six to be *Protestants*; And *Four Protestant Divines* in the City of *London*; So that here's no Formal Attaque made as yet upon the *Body* of the Church; Only *Dr. Owen*, *Mr. Baxter*, and two or three more of them ly Pelting at the *Out-works*, while the

Lay-

Lay-Brothers are employ'd, ſome in *Mining*, others in *Drawing* here and there a Principal *Stone*, or *Timber* out of the *Building*; and every man, in his place, and ſtation (according to the Covenant) contributing toward a *Total Ruine*: Only the work is now carry'd on by Other hands; or at leaſt under Other Appearances. The *Plot* in *Subſtance* ſeems to be much the *Same*, ſaving only the Exchange of *Popery* for *Schiſme*. We ſhall now briefly Touch upon the Methods by which theſe Ends are to be brought about.

BY This Invention of *Popiſhly Affected* they can Pick their Men, and caſt out all that are not for their Turn; the *Word* being only made uſe of for a Diſtinction betwixt the *Adherents* to the *Church*, and the *Proteſtant Diſenters*. *Pray'e ſee* (ſays the Author of *Englands Great Intereſt*) *that you chuſe* Sincere Proteſtants, *Men that do not play the* Proteſtants in Deſign; *and are indeed*, Diſguiſed Papiſts; *ready to pull off their Maſque when time ſerves*. [*When the* barefac'd Papiſt *cannot do it*, (ſays the *Inſtrument of Aſſociation*, Pag.4.) *the* Proteſtant *in* Maſquerade *ſhall*; *the Stratagem of This very day: And above all to be watch'd againſt*.] And in *an Account from Guild-Hall*, *they are called* Proteſtants *in* Maſquerade, *in good time to be taken notice of, and receive the Reward due to their Merits*. [*To be* marked (ſays Another) *as the* worſt of Papiſts, *and ſo dealt with in City and Country*.] Now for *Variety-Sake* they call them *Courtiers*, *Penſioners*, and the like; and the *Clergy* are Treated (as upon the late Election of Knights of the Shire at *Chelmsford* in *Eſſex* (in the ſtile of *Jeſuitical*, *Dumb Doggs*; *Dark Lanthorns*; *Baals Prieſts*; *Damned Rogues*; *Jacks and Villains*; *The Black Guard*; *The Black Regiment of Hell*, &c. And a General Exception made (by the Writer of the *Seaſonable Warning*) *to all men in* Office, Preferment, Salary, *or* Court Employment. So that here's in a manner the one Half of the Kingdom (and the Legal Half too) as

much as in Them lyes) excluded from a ſhare in the Common Intereſt of the Nation: with what *Ayme* and *Intent*, let the World judge.

THE *Popiſh Plot* is Sworn by all the *Witneſſes* to have been Level'd at the *Life* of his *Sacred Majeſty*, the *Subverſion* of the *Government*, and the *Deſtruction* of the *Proteſtant Religion*. Now Whoſoever well conſiders the *manner* of *Proceedings*, together with the *Stile*, and *Doctrine* of the *Poſitions* that are now afoot, (though pretendedly upon Another Bottom) will finde many Paſſages that look Untowardly the Same way.

Firſt, as to the *Life* of the *King*, and the *Direct Subverſion* of the *Government*, the Faction is not advanc'd ſo far yet; for That's a Villany that muſt be Impoſed upon the People, as a thing in ſuch and ſuch Caſes to be *Lawful*, before there can be any Thought of putting it in *Practice*. And herein, Our *late Reformers* have outdone the *Jeſuits Themſelves*: For over and above the *Expoſing* of a *Prince*, on the *One* ſide, for *Hereſy*, and, on the *Other* ſide, for *not ſubmitting to Chriſt on his Throne*; and equally on *Both ſides* to the *Utmoſt Extremities*; we have got Here the ſtart of them, in Erecting a Principle that makes the *Sovereign further Accountable* to the *People* upon a point of *State*; as we ſhall preſently make appear by ſeverall Inſtances. Now if it be once laid down for a *Maxim*, that upon ſuch or ſuch Conditions, the *Subject may* take away the *Life* of their *Prince* if they *will*; 'tis Damnable Odds that upon ſuch a Suppoſition, ſome Reprobated wretch or other *will* do it if he *can*.

I ſhall begin with the Acute Authour of the *Weighty Conſiderations Conſider'd*. I will hope (*ſays he*) Pag. 6. *there are very few in This Nation ſo Ill Inſtructed, that do not think it in the* Power *of the* People *to* DEPOSE *a Prince who really undertakes to Alienate his Kingdom, or to give up into the Hands of Another Sovereign Power; or that really Acts the Deſtruction, or the Univerſal Calamity of the* Peop-

People. The Authour of the *Plea* to the *Dukes Answer* says that *when Kings themselves be Ill ones, God not only* Approves *of their* Removal, *but even Himself* does *it.*

The *Political Catechism* places the *Government* in the *Two Houses of* Parliament. The Late *Letter to a Person of Honour*, &c. says, there may be a *Self-Deposition* of a *Prince actually Regnant.* And again, *The Weighty Considerations Consider'd*, lodges the *Government* in the *Major* Part. And almost every Fresh Libeller speaks to the same Purpose. Now do but once admit, that a King *May* Forfeit his *Royal Authority*, and you shall never fail of those that will say, he *Has* don't; So long as there are men in the world that had rather *Govern*, then *Obey*: And the stress does not lye upon the *Quality* of the *Kings Actions* neither, but upon the *Construction* that shall be made of them, by any Reprobated Band of *Conspirators*, that shall presume to *Censure* them. Whatsoever the Faction shall think fit to call *Mis-Government*, must be so *Interpreted*, and *Reputed*; and to Them only must we repair, as to the Oracles of *Law*, and *Conscience.* The *Safety* of the *King* and *Government*, our *Religion*, *Laws*, and *Freedoms*, are only, according to This Position, dependent upon the Humour of the *Multitude:* So that it is but Their bare *Saying*, that the *King* has *Forfeited his* Crown, the *Church* their *Priviledges*, the *Nobility* their *Session of* Peerage; the *Commons* their *Character* of *Representation*; the *Merchants* their *Liberty of Trade*; the *Gentry*, and *Commonalty* their *Lives*, *Freedoms*, and *Estates*, and the work is done. This was the Course of all our late violent Changes of Government; and the *Positions* which are now every day recommended to the Nation toward the Playing of the same Game over again, were the *Groundwork* of all our *Late Miseries* and *Confusions.*

Now

Now as to the *Church*: Are not the *Diſſenting Miniſters* at work again *Tooth and Nayl* againſt the *Act for Uniformity*; and Preaching up a *Schiſm*, under the Colour of *Formalizing* upon *Scruples*? Do they not firſt *Inſtigate* the People (in Contempt of *Law*, and *Order*) to a *Separation*; and then furniſh them with the beſt pretences they can, for their *Diſobedience*? What will become of the *Proteſtant Religion*, when the *Reſtraint* of *Eccleſiaſticall Diſcipline* and *Juriſdiction* ſhall be taken away; and men left to *Themſelves* to go *their own ways*, and chuſe *their own Religions* at *Pleaſure*? If This be not an attempt upon putting the Laſt Branch of *the Popiſh Plot* in *Execution* by an *Extirpation* of the *Proteſtant Religion*; then the Church of *England*, (as it is legally eſtabliſht) muſt be confeſt, in Their Opinions, not to be *Proteſtant*: And conſequently be call'd to an Account for *That ſuppoſed Defect*, as not being Comprehended within the Equity of their *Good Will* and *Protection*.

I could multiply Theſe Inſtances without end; but here's enough ſaid to give Evidence of a *Peſtilent Deſign*. But whether it be a *Deſign* of a *Popiſh Contrivance*, tho' ſet a foot by the *Fanatiques*; or purely a *Fanaticall Deſign*; I ſhall not Determine; but leave the *Animadverſion* of it to the Conſideration of *Authority*, and appeal to the moſt *Partial Reader* for the *Truth* on't; Concluding with This Obſervation. That there is great *Malice* as well as *Danger* in the *Project*: For Thorough all this *Audacious Licenſe* of *Libelling* the *King himſelf*, the *Privy-Councell*, the *Judges*, the *Jury*; &c. of Tearing the *Church* to *pieces*, and Treaſonably undermining the very *Foundations* of the *Government*, by the Erecting of *Republican Maxims* wholly *Inconſiſtent* with, and utterly *deſtructive* of *This Imperiall Monarchy*: I do not finde yet ſo much as *One Diſſenters Pen* engag'd in the *Vindication* of *His Majeſty*, or the *Support* of the *Government*, to expiate for the Numberleſſe Pamphlets they have Publiſh'd toward the *Scandal* and *Deſtruction* of both; Or in *Juſtification* of Themſelves to the World, that they are as great *Enemies* to the *Subſtance* of the *Popiſh Plot* as they would be thought to be, and as great *Friends* to the *King* and *Government*.

The End.

The Non-Juror Uncas'd.

IN A

DIALOGUE

Betwixt

RICHARD

AND

BAXTER,

With a

MODERATOR

Between Them,

For QUIETNESSE Sake.

By *Roger L'Estrange.*

LONDON,

Printed for *Henry Brome* at the Gun in S. *Pauls* Church-yard, 1681.

LONDON

RUXLEY

HUXLEY

THE PREFACE.

LEſt the Title of this Book ſhould betray any man into the Reading of it, upon an Expectation of Farce, and Fooling; This is (in Limine) to give Notice, that it will be juſt ſo much Time and Money caſt away, as ſhall be laid out upon it, in That Conſideration. Not but that This Subject might do well enough in a Comical Dreſſe; but however, out of a Reſpect, partly to the Perſon, and partly to the Calling of Mr. Baxter, I have overcome the Temptation, of giving either the Reader, or my Self that ſort of Diverſion. And to ſay the Truth; It is not a Laughing matter, the ſpectacle of a man Labouring under Contradictions, and Inconſiſtencies with himſelf. But if Richard will be Quarrelling with Baxter, and Baxter ſtand pointing at Richard; and be ſtill giving it out, like Gladiators, in their Printed Bills, that upon ſuch a day, At the Three Cocks at the Weſt End of St. Pauls, or at the Princes Arms in Ludgate-ſtreet, there will be plaid a Tryall of Skill betwixt Richard and Baxter, at ſuch and ſuch Queſtions, and Weapons; Who (I ſay) can help it? For there is no Enmity, ſo Mortall, as when a man falls out with himſelf.

But what? (You'le ſay) If a body happens to tread upon his own Toes, muſt every falſe ſtep that he makes be preſently expoſed to the Publique? No, not in any wiſe, unleſſe where the Vindication of the Publique ſhall make it Abſolutely Neceſſary. As for Inſtance; I can hardly call to mind any one piece of Mr. Baxters, without ſome bitter paſſage or other in it, of deriſion upon the Government, or the Rites of the Church. What can be more Reaſonable now, then to confront him with Himſelf: and to oppoſe Mr. Baxter the Divine, to Mr. Baxter the Polititian; the man of Love, Order, and Truth, to the man of Wrath, Confuſion and Paradox? When I ſee him ſporting himſelf in his Altitudes upon the Text of his Own, and the Presbyterians Loyalty; with his wonted declamatory Reproaches

upon the Manners, as well as the Services of the Royal Party. What can I do better, then to face him with the Acts of the Aſſembly, and the Proceedings of the Two Houſes, to the Contrary? And to produce his own Act and Deed in evidence againſt his Profeſſion? On the One hand, you have Mr. Baxter valuing himſelf upon his Principles of Loyalty, and Obedience; And on the Other hand, you have the very ſame Mr. Baxter, (according to the Outward Man) not only pleading the Cauſe, but Celebrating the Juſtice, and Canonizing (as in his Saints Reſt, Pa. 101. of the Old Editions) the Prime Directors and Inſtruments of The Late Rebellion: Aſſerting the very Doctrine of Thoſe Poſitions, whereupon it was founded. When Mr. Baxter Sets up for a Toleration; what can be fairer then to ſhew him his own Arguments againſt it? Or to ask him, how HE, (a kinde of Heteroclite in his opinions,) that has Chalk'd out ſo ſingular a Plat-Form of Church-Regiment to himſelf, comes now to be a Common Advocate for all the Diſſenting Parties? Take him in One Mood, (as in his Five Diſputations, and elſewhere) and he tells ye, that a Dioceſan Prelacy is plainly Antichriſtian, and Intolerable. And yet in his Non-Conformiſts Plea, and other parts of his Writings, he tells ye again, that the Nonconformiſts would have ſubmitted to it. Now if the Conſtitution was ſo Abominable, why ſhould they ſubmit to it? And if it was not ſo, why does Mr. Baxter ſay that it was? And why does he ſtill perſiſt, in Debauching and Alienating the hearts of the People from their Rulers, in matters which he himſelf acknowledges to be Warrantable, and Eſtabliſhed by Law? And ſo for our Liturgy and Ceremonies, he's at the ſame Variance with himſelf, about the Lawfulneſſe, or Unlawfulneſſe of Thoſe Points alſo.

Now ſince Mr. Baxter has been pleaſed to take upon himſelf, the Patronage of the Non-Conformiſts Cauſe, and to put forth his Plea, and his Plea again for That Intereſt; what can be more Obliging then to take him at his word, and conſider him under the Publick Character of Their Repreſentative? At This Rate, Mr. Baxters Works will be as good as a Non-conformiſts Dictionary to us: and aſſiſt the World toward the Underſtanding of the Holy Dialect, in a Wonderful manner. For the Purity of the Goſpell; the ways of Chriſt: the Ordinances of the Lord; the Power of Godlyneſſe; the Foundations of Faith; the Holy Diſcipline: A Bleſſed Reformation, &c. Theſe are Words, and Expreſſions, that ſignify quite another thing to Them, then they do to Us. Faithful Paſtors; Laborious Miniſters; Heavenly Guides; Zealous Proteſtants;

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The Upright in the Land: Humble Petitioners; Juſt Priviledges; Higher Powers; Glorious Kings; *Holy* Covenanting unto the Lord, *&c. This is not to be taken now, as the* Language Currant *of the* Nation, *but only as a Privy* Cypher *of* Intelligence *betwixt Themſelves, and the* Cant, *or* Jargon *of the* Party. *Nay, they fly from us in their* Speech, *their* Manners, *their* Meaning, *as well as in their* Profeſſion. *The very* Chriſt-Croſſe *in the* Horn-Book *is as much a* Scandal *to them, as the* Croſſe *in* Baptiſme; *and they make it a point of* Honour *to maintain the Freedome of their* Own Tongue, *in token, that they are not as yet a* Conquer'd Nation.

But are the Non-conformiſts agreed *upon it, or* not; *that Mr.* Baxter *ſhall be their* Speaker; *and that what he delivers in* Their Name, *ſhall be taken and deemed as the* ſenſe *of the* Party? *If it be ſo; we have no more to do then to Conſult Mr.* Baxter *himſelf, and from* his own Writings, *(which I have here* Cited, *and* Apply'd, *with exact* Faith, *and* Juſtice) *to take our Meaſures of the* Diſſenting Brethren.

No man preſſes Obedience to the HIGHER POWERS, *more Imperiouſly then He does: But then he makes Thoſe* Higher Powers *to be ſtill the* Uſurpers, *one after another, as they get into* ACTUAL POSSESSION. [Prove (*ſays he*) *in the* Preface *to his* Holy Common-Wealth) that the KING was the HIGHEST POWER, in the time of *Diviſion*,—and I will offer my Head to Juſtice, as a Rebell.] *His meaning muſt Inevitably be This; Either that the* King *had no* Right *to the* Crown before the Diviſions, *or that he* forfeited *his* Title, *by the* Rebellion; *which is an Admirable way of Tranſition, from* rank Treaſon, *to* Lawfull Authority. *But in all Theſe Caſes, he has ſtill a Recourſe for a Salvo to his Box of* Diſtinctions: *and tells ye, that they* Shot *at* CHARLES STUART *in the* Field, *for the* Honour *and* Safety *of the* KING *in the* Two Houſes. *And then, Good Lord! How he runs himſelf out of Breath with* Deteſting, *and* Renouncing, *and* Renouncing, *and* Deteſting KING-KILLING! *And yet upon Occaſion when* Oliver *the* King-killer *falls in his Way; How does he lay himſelf out in* Euloyges, *upon the* PIOUS Defunct! *Praying, (as the higheſt Inſtance of the Veneration he had for That* Uſurper.) *that the* Spirit *of the* Father *might deſcend upon the* Son. [We pray (*ſays he to* Richard) that you may *INHERIT* a tender care of the Cauſe of Chriſt] Key for Catholicks, Ep. Ded. *But then in* another Fit, *he ſhall advance ye into*

his

his Politicks, *with a* Troop *of* Aphorifmes; *Lay* Principalities *and* Powers *Levell with the Ground, and tear up the very* Ordinance *it ſelf of* Government *by the Roots.* [If Providence (*Says he*) *STATEDLY*, diſable him that was the Governour &c.] Ho. Com. Theſ. 136.

[*And yet he does not* down-Right *avow the Doctrine of* King-Killing; *He does indeed approve of* giving Battle *to the* Kings WILL: *but whether to aym at it, in his Maieſtys* HEAD, *or in his* HEART, *is not, as yet, STATEDLY determin'd. Now to moderate the matter, The* Presbyterians *only cut off his Majeſtys* Hands, *and* Feet, *ſo that he could neither* Help *nor* Shift *for* himſelf, *and then* gave *him* (Sold *him I ſhould ſay*) *to the* Independents, *Who cut off his* Head. *If Mr.* Baxter *ſpeaks the* Sence *of the* Non-Conformiſts, *as he pretends to do, then muſt This ſerve for an Expoſition of their* Loyalty; *But if not; Why does not the* Party *either* diſown *or* take away *his* Commiſſion?

This is it, which the Reſtleſſe, *and* Implacable Adverſaries *of our* Common Repoſe, *make ſuch a noyſe in the World with, as* the work of the ſpirit of Perſecution; the Enflaming of Differences; the Widening of Breaches; and the Violation of the Act of Oblivion. *Whereas, in Truth, there's nothing in it of a* Spiteful Invective, *but on the other ſide, it is only a* playn, *and a* neceſſary defence.

Mr. Baxter, *in his* Non-Conformiſts Pleas, *delivers* (*in his way*) *a kind of* Deduction *of the* War. *Particularly, under the Head of* [Matters of Fact to be fore-known, to the True Underſtanding of the Cauſe.] 2*d* Part. Pag. 120. *In This Chapter, from the Queſtion of the* Conſtitution of Churches; *the* Powers of Princes, *and* Paſtors *in* Eccleſiaſtical Matters, *and Caſes of* Lawful Separation; *he makes a* Sally, *without any manner of* Connexion, *or* Provocation, *into the* State *and* Right *of the* War. Pa. 123. *He charges it upon a* Faction *among the* Biſhops, *and the falling in of the* Majority *of the* Parliaments, *to the* Popular *part of them; in* That diviſion: *which is a* Calumny, *as remote from the* Subject *of his Diſcourſe as it is from Truth. If it had been as he woud have it; how comes the* whole Order of Biſhops *to be* Aſſaulted? *Their* Perſons *Affronted; and their* Votes *in* Parliament *taken away; without* diſtinction? *Was the* Feud ſo deadly, *as to make them deſtroy* Themſelves; *and Ruine the whole* Hierarchy *in Revenge? How came it to paſs, that Biſhop* Hall, *a Perſon Celebrated even by Mr* Baxter *himſelf for his Piety and Moderation: How came This Re-*

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verend Prelate I say, to be so Coursly handled by the Corporation of the Smectymnuans, Marshall, Calamy, Young, Newcomen, *and* Spurstow: *and Treated by Five of the most Eminent men of the Party, with Scurrilitys fitter for the Priests of* Priapus, *then the Ministers of the Gospell.* Pa. 124. *He goes on with his Remarks upon Bishop* Laud, *over and over. The Book of Sports, on the Lords day, the business of* [*Altars, Rayls, and Bowing towards them.* Afternoon-Sermons *and* Lectures *put down*; *Imprisonments, Stigmatisings, Removals,* &c.] *And then* Pa. 125. *He proceeds to* [*the new Liturgy Imposed on the Scots,* &c.] *But says he, (a little below) we are Unwilling to be the Mentioners of any More then Concerneth our Present Cause, and the Things are Commonly known.*] *Which is such a way of* Mentioning no more, *as gives to understand without speaking, all the Ill Imaginable that was Left unsaid.*

Methinks Mr. Baxter *might have let This most* Reverend, Pious, Loyal *and* ANTIPAPAL *Arch-Bishop have slept quietly in his Grave, and out of pure Gratitude to our Present Sovereign, to whose Mercy this very Gentleman owes his Life, setting aside the Veneration that belongs to Majesty, and Truth; Methinks Mr.* Baxter *might have spared this Libell, under the Government of the* Son, *against the Administrations of the* Father. *But it is no new thing, for Criminals to Arraign Innocents; or for Those that are Pardon'd for Subverting the Government, to shoot their Arrows (even bitter Words) against Those that have been Persecuted and Murther'd for Endeavouring to defend it.*

And now after all These Imputations upon the King, the Church, and the Loyall Party, even to the Degree of making them Answerable for all the Blood that has been spilt: We must not so much as presume to say that we are Innocent. But every Vindication of the King, the Church, and the Law from the Insults of the Common Enemy, is exclaimed against as an Inrode *upon the Act of Indemnity. If Mr.* Baxter *will needs be laying the Rebellion at the wrong door, and Discharging the* Presbyterians: *Why may not any Honest man Reply upon him; and say, (in agreement with Mr.* Baxter himself, Non-Conformists Plea, I. Part. Pa. 127. *that it was the* Solemn League *and* Covenant *that did the work: Which* Solemn League *was not only an Expresse* Oath *of* Allegiance *to* Presbytery, *but to the most* Tyrannical *of* all Presbyteries, *That of the* Scottish Kirk it self. *But why do I call it an* Oath of Allegiance to Presbytery? *When it was in Truth, a direct* Conjuration *against the* Government, *both* Ecclesiastical, *and* Civil, *for the* Introducing *of it?*

The Preface.

It would be Tedious, and Superfluous, to Crowd all the Particulars *of This Pamphlet into a* Preface; *ſo that I ſhall rather refer the Reader, to the* Book, *for the* reſt; *where he may compare Mr.* Baxter *with* himſelf: *for it is, Effectually, but an* Abſtract *out of Mr.* Baxter's *Writings. By the* Paradoxes, Diſagreements, *and* Contradictions *he will be able to Judge of the* Authour; *and by the* Authour, *in a great Meaſure of the* Party. *He that would ſee them drawn more to the* Life, *may repair to the* Original *of our* Saviours *for the* Phariſees, *in the* Goſpell. *Examin them Narrowly and you ſhall not find ſo much as the ſemblance of a Colourable* Argument; *but they are ſtill changing their* Battery, *and* Pretenſe, *according to the* various Accidents, *and* diſpoſitions *of* State: *and it is but tracing the Hiſtory of the Late times to find every Round of the Ladder, that advanc'd them from* Petitioners *to* Rulers. They Plead the Cauſe of Thouſands in the Land, *they tell us, and yet there's not a* Single man *in* all Thoſe Thouſands, *that underſtands one bit of the* Controverſy. *They cry aloud againſt* Idolatry, Superſtition, Abominations, Symbolical Ceremonies, Will-Worſhip, Humane Inventions, *and Order their* Diſciples *juſt as they do their Children: They dreſſe up a Terrible thing of* Clouts, *and call it a* Bull-begger, *which is no other then a* Mormo *of their* own Creating. *They have a certain* Routin *of* Words, *and* Sayings, *that have the tone of* Magique *in the very* Sound *of them, and ſerve only (without any other* Meaning) *like the* Drum, *and the* Trumpet, *to rouſe up the* Multitude *to* Battle. *But the* Lords Ordinance, *and the* Primitive Pattern *ſtand them in Mighty ſtead. For though they have been* Foyld *as often as* Encountred *upon* This Queſtion; *yet the very* Terms *of the Controverſy being as good as* Syriack, *to the* Common people; *there is a* Miſt *caſt before their* Eyes, *and they are never in ſo good tune, to ſee* Viſions *as when they are ſtark blind.*

To Conclude, I have expoſed theſe Sheets to the Publick, *rather as Mr.* Baxters work, *then* my own. *If it runs* heavy, *it was none of* my Fault *that my* Authour *would not mend his* Pace. *Nor have I any more to ſay upon the whole matter, but that* I *have been as fair to Mr.* Baxter, *as* He *hath been to* Himſelf.

A DIALOGUE, &c.

Moderator. Richard and *Baxter.*

Moderator. YEs, yes. I remember the Conference at the *Savoy* perfectly well; by This Token, that Dr. *Gunning* and Dr. *Pearson* (the Bishops of *Ely* and *Chester*) deliver'd you this very Proposition.

The Proposition at the *Savoy* about the command of lawful Superiours.

That Command which Commandeth an Act in it self Lawfull, and no other Act whereby any unjust Penalty is enjoyned, nor any Circumstance whence directly, or per accidens, *any Sin is Consequent which the Commander ought to provide against, hath in it all things requisite to the Lawfulnesse of a Command, and particularly cannot be guilty of commanding an Act* per accidens *Unlawfull; nor of Commanding an Act under an* Unjust Penalty. [*B. of* Worcesters *Letter, in his Vindication against M.* Baxter. P. 36.]

Richards Resolution under his hand.

Ri. *Very Good; and I gave them under my hand my Opinion to the Contrary.* [Because (*said I*) the first Act commanded may be *per accidens* Unlawful, and be Commanded by an *Unjust Penalty*; tho' no other Act or Circumstance Commanded be such.] *Ibid. Pa.* 36.

Baxter of another opinion.

Ba. Nay hold you Brother, I'm of another Opinion. [If the thing Commanded be such as is simply Ill, and forbidden us by God in all Cases whatsoever, then no ones Commands can make it Lawfull: But if it it be a thing that is only Inconvenient, or Unlawful by some Lesser accident; then the Command of Authority may pre-ponderate, as a more weighty Accident.]

Many Commands anlawful which the ſubject ought yet to obey.

R. B's *Church-Diviſions*, *P.*194. Nay [Many a Ruler ſinneth in his Commands, when it is no Sin, but a Duty of the Inferior to Obey them. As if a Magiſtrate Command Religious Duties in meer Policy: or if he force a Lawful Command with Unlawful Penalties; and *Yet* it will be the Subjects Duty to Obey.]

No Ruler is bound to provide againſt Events not to be foreſeen.

Ibid. [Nor is any Ruler bound to ſuſpect, and prevent ſuch Unuſual Dangers of mens Sin, or Ruine, as fall out beyond all Rational Foreſight, or Expectation; of whoſe Probable Event (or Poſſible at leaſt), there was no juſt Evidence.] *R. B*'s *Non-Conformiſts Judgment.* P.60.

Magiſtracy cut off at a blow.

Mo. Your Argument (Mr. *Richard*) has cut off all Magiſtracy at a Blow: For there is not any Command Imaginable that falls not within the Reach of your Exception. And Mr. *Baxter* is in the Right on't. But what do ye think now (Gentlemen) of the *Operation*, or *further Extent* of ſuch a *Power*?

The Civil Power muſt not make Laws about *Gods Worſhip*.

Ri. *If you mean as to matters concerning* Religion [*No man hath any Authority to make Laws* about Gods Worſhip, *but what Chriſt hath given him.*] Non-Conformiſts Plea 2d Part. *P.*28.

But *Baxter* ſays, that *Circa Sacra* he may.

Ba. Pray'e hold me a little Excus'd There too; *for* [we renounce the Opinion of them that hold that *Circa Sacra* the King hath no Power to Command the Circumſtances of Worſhip.] *Non-Conformiſts Plea. Part 2d.* P.73.

Richard and *Baxter* ſtill at variance.

Mo. There is but a Right and a Wrong in the caſe (my Maſters) and you have hit them both again, I make no doubt on't, but your *Circa Sacra* comprehends *Liturgies*, *Ceremonies*, and other Circumſtances of *Order*, relating to the *Church*, pray'e tell me how your Conſciences ſtand affected that way: Not as to the Merits of the Cauſe (for the world is allready clogg'd with That Controverſy) but I would willingly know what thoughts, You, and the Party you plead for, entertain of our Eccleſiaſtical matters.

Ri. [*When the King call'd us to ſignify our deſires in* 1660. *the Miniſters of* London *were commonly invited to come to* Sion Colledge, *that their Common Conſent might be known: And There we agreed, to deſire or offer nothing for* Church-Government *but* A.B. Uſhers *Modell of the* Primitive Epiſcopal Government. *When his Majeſty would not grant us That Modell, nor the Biſhops once Treat about it, he was pleaſed in his Gratious* Declaration about Eccleſiaſtical Affairs *to offer and preſcribe the Epiſcopacy of* England *as it ſtood, with little alteration, &c.* (A Government (*ſays his Majeſty*) *Fol.* 10. Which is eſtabliſhed by Law, and with which the Monarchy hath flouriſhed through ſo many Ages, and which is in truth as ancient in this Iſland as the Chriſtian Monarchy thereof.) [*This Declaration we Joyfully and thankfully accepted, as a hopefull means of a Common Conformity and Concord.*] Non-Con's Plea, 2d. Part Pref.

Richard's Account of the *Savoy-Conference.*

Uſhers Primitive Epiſcopacy offer'd, but rejected.

The Engliſh Epiſcopacy ſubmitted to by *Richard*, &c.

Ba. [The Engliſh Prelacy (*I tell you*) is the product of proud Ambition and Arrogancy; and contrary to the expreſſe Command of Chriſt.] *R. B's. Five Diſputations P.* 45. Biſhops are Thorns and Thiſtles, and the Military Inſtruments of the Devil.] *R.B's.* Concord. P. 122. *How could you Juſtify then a Submiſſion to ſuch a Prelacy?*

But held Antichriſtian and Diabolical by *Baxter*;

Mo. If an Angel from Heaven I perceive were employ'd to bring you two to an Agreement, he ſhould loſe his Labour; For That which is highly *acceptable* to the *One*, and the *hopefull Foundation* of a *Common Concord*, is *Antichriſtian*, *Diabolical*, and *Unſufferable* to the *Other*.

Richard and *Baxter* never to be reconcil'd.

You are up (I find) at every Turn with the *Primates Project*, and in ſuch a manner too, as if the moſt reaſonable thing in the World had been offer'd on the One ſide: and refuſed on the Other: Whereat That Propoſition was only accommodated to the hard Circumſtances of the Kings Affairs, at the time of Framing it. Now tho' any man, in a caſe of Extremity, would ſubmit to the loſſe of an Arm or a Leg, for the ſaving of his Life; it would yet be a very ſtrange re-

The Ground of *A.B. Uſher's* Project of *Epiſcopacy.*

queſt to ask a man in a ſtate of Freedome, and Safety, to part with a Leg or an Arm from his Body: And as wild a thing, on the other ſide, to Grant it. But the very offer at it under a pretenſe of *Conſcience*, was highly diſingenuous, eſpecially when upon the Iſſue the *Scruple* was remov'd by the *Refuſal*;-and This Satisfaction given to the world, by your own Acknowledgment, that *Conformity* and *Epiſcopacy* may ſtand well enough together, when you pleaſe.

Many would have yielded to *Prelacy*, &c.

Ri. *I cannot deny but that* [*many propoſed to have yielded to* Prelacy, Liturgy, *and* Ceremonies.] Non-Con. Plea, Part I. P. 136.

The *Dioceſan Epiſcopacy* gratifies the Devil, ſays *Baxter*, and not to be readmitted.

Ba. Why truly [a Certain Epiſcopacy may be yielded to, for the Peace (if not for the Right Order) of the Church;] [But the *Dioceſan Epiſcopacy* which was lately in *England*, and is now laid by may not be lawfully reaſſumed, or readmitted, as a means for the Right Order or Peace of the Church.] *R. B's. Five Diſputation*, *P.* 2. 1659. [A Government which gratifyeth the Devil, and wicked men.] *Ibid.* P. 36.

R. and B. ſtill Claſhing.

Mo. Still upon the *Contradiction*. But if they were ſo well diſpos'd to come In, what was it I beſeech you that put them off again?

The New Uniformity ſpoil'd all.

Ri. *When they ſaw the* New Act *for* Uniformity, *their Deliberations were at an End.* Ibid. P. 26.

Prelacy Unlawful in it ſelf ſays *Baxter*.

Ba. [After proving Prelacy to be againſt the Will of Chriſt, and the Wellfare of the Churches, *Five Diſp. Pref.* 16. and contrary to the word of God, and Apoſtolical Inſtitution, *Ibid. P.* 51. what need was there then of any further Diſſwaſion?

Why not Prelacy as lawful after the Act, as before?

Mo. Pray'e tell me Mr. *Richard*; Was Prelacy *Lawfull Before* the Act for Uniformity, and not *After*? You are Angry at the One, and therefore you Renounce the Other; for it was no longer *Prelacy*, *Liturgy*, or *Ceremonies*, it ſeems that you boggled at, but the

the *New Act*. Now ſince you your ſelves were convinc'd, that ſuch a Conformity as aforeſaid would have been *Warrantable*, and only transfer'd your Exceptions to the *New Act*; how comes it that you go on ſtill decrying the *State*, *Rites*, and *Offices* of the *Church* to the *Multitude*; and make That a matter of *Conſcience* in *One breath* which you left at *Liberty* in *Another*? The *Uniformity* does not alter the caſe one jot to the *Common People*; but the *Layety* may as lawfully ſubmit to *Prelacy*, *Liturgy* and *Ceremonies*, *After* the Act, as they did *before*.

It is the ſame caſe ſtill to the People.

Ri. [*The People who now adhere to the* Non-Conformiſts, *who were at age before the Wars, had very hard thoughts of the* Biſhops Perſons; *and ſome, of* Epiſcopacy it ſelf; *becauſe of the* Silencing *of* Miniſters, *and ruining of Honeſt men about* Sundays-ſports, *Reading That Book, and other ſuch things, beſide* Nonconformity, *&c.* Non-Con. Plea. Part I. P. 139.

Hard thoughts of Epiſcopacy and Biſhops, and upon what groun is

Mo. the *Biſhops* and *Epiſcopacy* it ſelf you ſay were thought hardly of; partly for *Silencing* your *Miniſters*. Which was yet a way of proceeding Conformable to the directions of the *Law*; and in part, (among Other Provocations) for the *Book of Sports* upon the *Lords day*. Be it ſpoken with Reverence to the Honour and Duty of that Holy Day; I ſhould have thought that the *Rebells* aſſaulting of their *Sovereign* at *Edge hill* upon *That day*, might have given your *Scrupuliſts* as hard *thoughts* of the *Faction* that did it, and of thoſe *Sanguinary Caſuiſts* that ſounded the *Trumpet* to *That Battle*. But how came they off I beſeech you, from That froward Humour?

A Greater Scandall to travell upon the Lords day then to give theKing battle

Ri. [*When the Miniſters that guided them, began to ſeem more reconciled to the* Epiſcopal Party, *and upon the Reports and Promiſes which they had heard, that the next Biſhops would prove more moderate, pious, and peaceable then the Former, and would by experience*

Rickard Confeſſes that the Miniſters guided the people

and says that the Non-conformists undertook for the next Bishops good behaviour.

ence avoid Divisions and Persecution; the said People began to be inclin'd to more Reverent and Favourable Thoughts of the Bishops, *and were upon experience of the late Confusions in a far fairer way to Union and Submission to them then before.* Non-Con. Plea, Part I. P. 139.

Mo. If it be True that the People were induced to have a more Charitable Opinion of the Prelates, by the Hopes which their Guides gave them of having better Bishops next bout; It appears, *first* that the Quarrel was not to the *Office*, but to the *Persons*. And *Secondly*, it shews that the Ministers menage the Multitude, *For* or *Against* their *Superiours*, as They please: which lays a stronger Obligation upon the Government, to secure a Well-affected Ministry, when the Publique Peace lyes at the Mercy of the Dissenting *Clergy*. But what becomes of us next?

The Quarrel not to the Office of Bishops but to the persons.

Ri. *When they saw their Teachers taken from them, and some such set over them against their Wills who were better known to them then to the Obtruders: And when they heard of about* 2000, *Silenced at once, This so much Alienated them from the Bishops, that it was never since in Our Power to bring them to so much Esteem of them, and Reverence for them as might have been.* Non-Con. Plea, Part I. P. 140.

Richards Reasons why the People fell from the Church again

Mo. So that upon the Upshot, there pass'd an Act for *Uniformity*, *Ergo*, *Episcopacy* and *Common-Prayer* are *Unlawfull*.

The Uniformity made Episcopacy and Common-prayer unlawfull.

See now what it is that you call *Silencing* of so many Ministers. It is no more then a fair Revival of those necessary Provisions for the Safety of the Government, which had been violently overborn and discontinu'd in our late Troubles: Upon which violation, ensued our Deplorable Confusions. And to take the businesse aright, the Law does not silence *your* Ministers more then it does *Ours*; but holds forth one *Common Rule* indifferently to *All men*, with a respect to *Politicall*, as well as *Ecclesiastical Concord*.

'Tis the Law that Silences, and not the Bishops.

Every

Every man sees before him the Conditions of his Freedom; and he that either Cannot, or Will not comply with the Terms of a General Rule, *Silenceth himself*. And is not the *Man* neither that is *Silenced* by This Law, but this or that *Incongruous Practice* or *Opinion*. If *Richard* thinks fit to come *In*, there's no body *hinders* him; and if *John* will not come in, who can *help* it? In short, This way of *Silencing* amounts to no more then a very Gentle Expedient for the stopping of those Mouthes that would be blowing the Coal towards a Rebellion. Wherefore I beseech ye Gentlemen for the Act of *Oblivions* sake, which has done a great deal more for you then This comes to, have some pitty for the poor Act of *Uniformity*.

Non-Conformists silence themselves.

As to your account of about two thousand Silenc'd Ministers, a matter of 8. or 900. difference shall break no squares betwixt you and me. But what yet if they *Were* two thousand? must the divine Ordinance of Government be prophan'd, and the harmony of Order Dissolv'd, in favour of that Inconsiderable Party of *Irregulars*; and to the scandal of six times as many *Conscientious* and *Obedient Subjects* of the State both *Ecclesiastical*, and *Civill*?

Better particulars suffer then the Order of Government be dissolved.

Ri. *For my own part* [*I do not know that I differ in any point of* Worship, Ceremonies, *or* Discipline, *from the Learned Dr.* John Reignolds] R. B's Letter to Mr. Hinckley, *P.* 89. And my Judgement is, that [*a Peace with the Divines of the* Episcopal Judgement *is much to be desired, and earnestly endeavour'd.*] Five Disp. Pag. 1.

Richard agrees with Dr. *Reynolds* who conform'd.

Mo. If you agree in the Conclusion with that Reverend *Dr.* you are safe; and take This for a Rule; Out of the ways of *Love* and *Peace* there can be no *Comfort*.

Ri. *Alas*

Richard pleads altogether for Love.

Ri. *Alas* [*It is a* Sect, *as a* Sect, *and a* Faction, *as a* Faction, *and not* this *or* that Sect *or* Faction *which I blame*: *It is* Unity, Love, *and* Peace *which I am pleading for*; *and he that is angry with me for calling men to* Love, *is angry for calling them to* Holyneſſe, *to* God, *and* Heaven. Holyneſſe *which is againſt* Love, *is a* Contradiction; *it is a deceiptfull name which* Satan *putteth upon* Unholyneſſe. Church Diviſions. Pref.

Baxters way of expreſſing.

Ba. Your Churches bear with Drunkards, Whoremongers, Railers, Open Scorners at Godlyneſſe, *Five Diſp. P.* 37. [The moſt ungodly of the Land are the forwardeſt for your ways. You may have allmoſt all the Drunkards, Blaſphemers, and Ignorant Haters of Godlyneſſe in the Country to Vote for you.] *Five Diſp. Pref.* Pag. 17. *To the Adherers to Prelacy.*

Richard againſt raſh cenſuring of others.

Ri. [*He is as Mortal an Enemy to* Love, *who* back-biteth, *and ſaith he's* Profane; *Or he is an* Empty Formaliſt, *or he is a* lukewarm, Temporizing, Complying Man-Pleaſer; *As he that ſaith he is a* peeviſh, Factious Hypocrite.] *To* Preach *without* Love, *and to* hear *without* Love, *and to* pray *without* Love, *and to* communicate *without* Love *to any that differ from your Sect, Oh what a loathſome Sacrifice is it to the God of* Love!] Church-Diviſions. Preface. Love *is the fulfilling of all the* Law; *the* End *of the* Goſpel; *the* Nature, *and* mark *of* Chriſts Diſciples; *the* Divine Nature; *the* Sum *of* Holyneſſe *to the Lord*; *the* Proper Note *by which to know what is the* man, *and what his* State; *and how far any of his* Other Acts *are acceptable unto God.* Ibid.

Baxter againſt *Richard*

Ba. How many years have we beg'd for Peace of thoſe that ſhould have been the Preachers and wiſeſt Promoters of Peace; and cannot yet obtain it; nor quiet them that call for fire and ſword, *not knowing what Spirit they are of? Non-Con. Plea, Pref.* [The *Declaration* about *Eccleſiaſtical Affairs* telleth us, that the *King* would have given the People *Peace*, but with *Unpeaceable Clergy-men*, No *Petition* could *prevail.*] *Ibid.* [And all This is out of a bitter Enmity to Gods word and ways; for they will be at more pains then This, in any way that is Evill; or in any Worſhip of *Mans deviſing*. They are as zealous for *Croſſes* and *Surplices*, *Proceſſions*, and *Perambulations*, reading a *Goſpell* at a *Croſſe-way*, the Obſervation of *Holy days*, the repeating of the *Litany*, or the like Forms in the *Common Prayer*, the bowing at the

Mr *Baxters* Charity to the Clergy and diſcipline of the Church

the name of the word *Jesus*, (while they reject his *Worship*) the receiving of the *Secrament* when they have no *Right* to it, and that upon their *Knees*, as if they were more Reverent and Devout then the *true Laborious servants of Christ*; with a Multitude of things which are only the *Traditions* of their Fathers; I say they are as zealous for These, as if Eternal Life consisted in them. Where God forbids them, there they are as forward as if they could never do enough, and where God Commands them, There they are as backward to it; yea as much against it as if they were the Commands of the Devil himself. And for the Discipline of Christ, tho all parts of the world have much opposed it, yet where hath it been so fiercely and powerfully resisted? The Lord grant that this harden'd, willful, malicious Nation fall not under that Heavy Doom, *Luke* 19.27. *But those mine Enemies which would not that I should reign over them, bring them hither and* slay *them before me. R.B's. Saints Rest*, Part.3. p.91.

His brotherly Love.

Church ann State arraign'd.

Mo. To see the difference now Gentlemen, betwixt your two *Spirits*! The *One*, so *meek*, and like a *Christian*, the *Other*, so *clamorous*, and so *Uncharitable*. What hopes of Unity and Peace; or what Pretence to't; so long as these dividing and defaming Liberties are kept afoot? Your Friend *Richard* tells you very well (Mr. *Baxter*) that *Such Holyneſse is a deceiptfull Name that* Satan *puts upon* Unholyneſſe, and a *loathsom Sacrifice* to the *God of Love*. You revile the Government, and those that Conform to it, and yet at the same time you tell the People that you are persecuted.

Richard and *Baxter* of two quite different spirits.

The persecuted are the persecutors.

You would be thought kinder to his Majesty however, in devolving the severity from the *King* upon the *Clergy*; and yet his Majesty is pleased to minde you that [Since *the Printing this Declaration, severall Seditious Pamphlets* and Quæres *have been Published, and Scatter'd abroad, to infuse dislike and Jealousies into the hearts of the People, and of the Army, and some who ought rather to have repented the former mischief they have wrought, then to have endeavour'd to improve it, have had*

the hardyneſſe to publiſh that the Doctrine *of the Church, (againſt which no man with whom we have conferred hath excepted) ought to be reformed as well as the* Diſcipline.] So that all this yielding was too little, it ſeems to ſtop the Mouths of an Inſatiable Faction. But what is it at laſt that you would be at?

Be ſure firſt of what ſpirit the Non-Conformiſts are.

Ri. *I beg of the Clergy that before they any more render Odious Theſe whom they never heard, and Urge Rulers to Execute the Laws againſt them; that is, to confine, Impriſon, Excommunicate, Silence, and Undo them, they would be ſure,* what manner of ſpirit they are of. *Non-con. Plea, Part I. Epiſtle.*

The ſpirit of the Non-Conformiſts.

Mo. [*Sure of what ſpirit you are*] do ye ſay? Why Certainly your own Conſcience tells you that we are ſure of that, as *Hearing, Seeing, Feeling,* and *Underſtanding* can make us. You are by your own Profeſſions of the *Presbyterian Spirit.* The *Spirit* that made Perjury the Condition of Life, Liberty and Eſtate, to every man in the Caſe of your Covenant. The Spirit that Entred upon Sequeſtred Livings, and left not the Loyal Clergy the Freedome, ſo much as of Teaching a School, to ſupply themſelves, and their Miſerable Families with Bread. The Spirit that deny'd the King in his Diſtreſſes, the Comfort of ſo much as a Common Prayer Book, or the Aſſiſtance of his own Chaplains.

His Late Majeſties Judgement & Experience upon it.

[*A greater Rigour and Barbarity then is ever uſed by Chriſtians, to the meaneſt Priſoners, and Greateſt Malefactors; whom though the Juſtice of the Law, deprive of Worldly Comforts, yet the mercy of Religion allows them the Benefit of their Clergy, as not ayming at once to deſtroy their Bodies, and to damn their ſouls,* EIK. BAS. 207. [*They that envy my being a King, are loth I ſhould be a Chriſtian; while they ſeek to deprive me of all things elſe, they are affraid I ſhould ſave my* Soul. *Ibid.*] Behold here in a few words the *Spirit* that you plead for.

The ſpirit that *Richard* pleads for.

Ri.

Ri. *Alas poor Creatures,* [*We would* [*only*] *have a* Toleration *of all that's* Tolerable [*he that will Tolerate* All, *is* Bad ; *and he that will Tolerate* none *that differ, is* Madd.] R. B's. answer to *Dr.* Stillingfleet. *P.* 84.

Richards Toleration.

Mo. If the *Church* may be *Judge,* all that are *Tolerable* are *Tolerated allready* ; If the *People* muſt be the *Judges,* the *Intolerable* muſt be *Tolerated* for *Company.* For ſo long as every Party Makes, or Pretends it ſelf, to be in the Right, all the Diſſenters have one Common Plea. But in caſe of any Indulgence to be allow'd, it is certainly due to theſe in preference, that are quieteſt without it. I cannot but have great Compaſſion for any Party that labours under a Religious and Invincible Diſagreement, and Modeſty applies to Authority for Relief : For ſo long as they only tell their *own Tale,* I cannot but in charity believe that they have no other deſign then to do their *own buſineſſe.* But when a *Conſcientious Pretenſe* comes to be carry'd on by *Scandall, Invective, Reproach,* and ſuch Methods as are directly *Irreligious* ; the diſpute is no longer matter of *Scruple,* or *Worſhip,* but *Superiority,* and *Power.* There may be *Religion* in telling the Government what you deſire, but the expoſing of your *Superiours* to the *People,* is *Down-right Sedition.* And, as you have handled the matter, you might e'en with as good a Grace tell the *Rabble* in *plain Engliſh* : *Look ye my Maſters, here's a company of* Anti Chriſtian Swearing, Drinking Fellows, *that will not let us have* Liberty of Conſcience ; But I would fain hear *you two* debate the buſineſs of *Toleration* a little betwixt your *ſelves.*

Who are the Judges, the Government, or the People.

Modeſt Diſſenters deſerve pity.

The Diſpute is not Scruple but Power.

Plain-dealing.

Ri. *What* [*if you ſhall ſmite or caſt out a ſuppoſed Schiſmatique, and Chriſt ſhall find an able, holy peaceable Miniſter, or other Chriſtian Wounded, or Mourning out of doors.* Pet. for Peace. P. 12. [*Or ſee a Schiſmatique wounded and a Saint found Bleeding, &c.* Saints Reſt. P. 130.

Richard puts the Caſe of a Saint and a Schiſmatick.

Baxters Saints.

Ba. And now you talk of Saints, Richard [to think of ſuch a Friend dyed at ſuch a time, and ſuch a one at another time, ſuch a pretious Chriſtian ſlain in ſuch a Fight, and ſuch a one at ſuch a Fight, (O what a number of them could I name) and that all theſe are enter'd into *Reſt*; and we ſhall ſurely go to Them, but They ſhall not return to Us. *Saints Reſt. P.* 100. [In That State of Reſt, Angells as well as Saints will be Our bleſſed Aſſociates. *Ibid. P.* 101. [I think Chriſtians, This will be a more Honourable Aſſembly then you ever here beheld, and a more happy Society then you were ever of before. Surely *Pym* and *White*, &c. are now members of a more *Knowing, Unerring, Well-order'd, Right-aiming, Self-denying, Unanimous, Honourable, Tryumphant Senate*, then This from whence they were taken, is or ever Parliament will be. It is better to be door-keeper to *That Aſſembly* whither *Twiſſe* &c. are Tranſlated; then to have continu'd here the *Moderator* of *This*. *Saints Reſt. P.* 101. [Nay how many Profeſſors will raſhly rail and lye in their Paſſions? How few will take well a Reproof, bnt rather defend their ſin? how many in theſe times that we doubt not to be Godly have been guilty of Diſobedieuce to their Guides, and of Schiſm, and doing much more to the hurt of the Church, a very great Sin. *Peter, Lot*, and 'tis like *David* did oft commit greater Sins. *R. B's Five Diſdutes. of Right to Sacraments* P. 329. But a man muſt be guilty of more ſins then *Peter* was in denying and forſwearing Chriſt, that is notoriouſly ungodly; yea, then *Lot* was, who was drunk two nights together, and committed Inceſt twice with his own Daughters; and that after the miraculous deſtruction of *Sodom*, of his own wife, and his own miraculous Deliverance. Nay, a man that is notoriouſly ungodly (in the ſenſe in hand) or Unſanctify'd, muſt be a greater ſinner then *Solomon* was with his *Seven hnndred Wives, three hundred Concubines*, aud *groſſe Idolatries*, P. 326. 327.

Baxter fully reſolved to go to them that dy'd in Rebellion.

He joys to think what Company he ſhall have.

Baxter ſays, that Profeſſors will rail, and lye, &c.

But that neither Perjury, drunkenneſſe, Inceſt, Concubines, nor Idols, can make them dotoriouſly ungodly.

Mo. And are Theſe the *Saints* (Gentlemen) that you are afraid ſhould be caſt out, for *Sebiſmatiques*? They muſt be of your own *Canonizing* then, for I aſſure you I finde *no ſuch Saints* in our *Kalendar*. But let me hear I beſeech you whom we are to keep *out*, and whom to take *in*.

The Saints that are caſt out for hereticks.

Ri

Ri. *We must either Tolerate* All *men to do what they will, which they will make a matter of* Conscience *or* Religion; *and then some may offer their Children in sacrifice to the* Devil; *and some may think they do God service in killing his Servants*, &c. [*Or else you must Tolerate no Errour or fault in Religion; and then you must advise what measure of* Penalty *you will Inflict.* Church-Divis. P. 363, 364.

Either Tolerate *All* or *None*, but upon a Penalty.

Mo The two great Difficulties will be to say what Errours *are* Tolerable, and what not; and then to bring the Magistrate and the People to an Agreement upon the matter.

Ri, [*If no Errour were to be Tolerated, no men were to be Tolerated and the Wisest in the World must be numbred with the Intolerable, as well as the rest.* Church Divis. P. 348.

No men must be Tolerated, if no Errour.

Ba. [But some People make those things to be Duties which are no Duties, and Sins which are no Sins, calling Evil Good, and Good Evil; and having made a Religion of their own, confidently think that it is of God, valuing all men that they have to do with according as they are nearer or further off from This, which they account the way of God; chusing a Church or Party to joyn with, by the Test of This Religion, which their Pride has Chosen. *Church Divis. P.* 11. [Thus they divide the Kingdom and Family of Christ; destroying first the Love of Brethren and Neighbours in themselves, and then labouring to destroy it in all Others; by speaking against those that are not in their own way with Contempt, and Obloquy, to represent them as an Unlovely sort of Men; and if the Interest of their Cause and Party require it, perhaps they will next destroy their Persons: And yet all this is done in zeal of God, and as an Acceptable service to him. *Ibid.* P. 12. [And they think it a resisting of the Spirit to resist their Judgment. *P.* 13. [I have known too many very honest-hearted Christians, especially Melancholique Persons and Women who have been in great doubt about the Opinions of the *Millenaries*, the *Separatists*, the *Anabaptists*, the *Seekers*, and such like; and after earnest Prayer to God, they have been strongly resolved for the way of *Errour*, and Confident by the strong Impression that

Baxter shews the Inconveniences of Toleration,

Pride makes one mans Religion.

Faction another's.

Which ends in bloud.

And yet passes for doing God good service.

And the motion of the Spirit.

Enthusiastick zeal.

that it was the Spirits Anſwer to their Prayers, and thereupon they have ſet themſelves into a Courſe of Sin. *Ibid. P.* 162.

Dotages taken for Revelations.

And [In truth it is very Ordinary with poor phancyfull Women, and Melancholy Perſons to take all their deep Apprehenſions for Revelations. *Ibid. P.* 167.

Mo. Well; but theſe people all this while take themſelves to be in the right.

Scripture the Rule.

Ba. But as for that which is Contrary to Scripture, I am ſure it is contrary to the Will of God. *Church Diviſ. P.* 166.

But who muſt expound it?

Mo. Out of all doubt; but what if They expound the Scripture One way, and You Another?

One mans Faith muſt not impoſe upon anothers.

Ba. [Why if they believe That themſelves which they can give you no reaſon to believe, they muſt be content to keep their belief to themſelves; and not for ſhame perſwade any other to it without proof. If they ſay that God hath revealed it to them, tell them *that he hath not revealed it to You*, and therefore That's nothing to You, till they *prove* their *Divine Revelation*. If God reveal it to *them*, but for *themſelves* they muſt *keep* it to themſelves. *Ibid. P.* 166. [If they ſay that the ſpirit hath told Them the meaning of the Scripture, ſay as before that it is not *told* to *you* which is not *proved* to you. *Ibid* 167.

Miſtake will not juſtifie the Errour, nor excuſe a Diſobedience.

[But if we do through weakneſſe or perverſneſſe take *lawfull* things to be *unlawfull*, That will not excuſe Us in our diſobedience. Our Errour is our Sin, and one Sin will not excuſe another *R. B's. Five Diſput. P.* 483.

Men will be zealous even in Errour.

[He that miſtakingly thinks any thing is good or bad, Duty or Sin which is not ſo, will be zealous in perſute of his Miſtake if he be ſerious for God. *Cath. Theol. Pref.*

More zeal then underſtanding is not good.

[It is an Ill ſign when your zeal is beyond the proportion of your Underſtanding: And your Prudence and Experience is much leſſe then other mens, as your zeal is greater. *Church Diviſ. P.* 123.

None ſo fierce and bold as the Ignorant.

[Beſide that the more weak and worthleſſe, and Erroneous any ones Judgment is, uſually the more furious are they in the proſecution of it, as if all were moſt certain Truth which they apprehend. Theſe are the boldeſt both in *Schiſms*, and *perſecutions*. *Ibid.* 357.

Mo. But

Mo. But you will say, that in cases where the common people may be imposed upon by *Credulity*, *Phancy*, or *Weakneſſe*, they may repair to their Teachers to set them right.

Ba. Even the most of Teachers take abundance of things for true and good that are false and evill, and for false and bad, which are true and good: Much more are godly vulgar people Ignorant, and consequently erre in many things, *Cath. Theol. Pref.* [And I my self was mistaken in my *Aphorisms* of *Justification* and the *Covenants*, as I have acknowledged in the same Preface.

Even Teachers themselves are false Guides.

Mr. Baxter himself has been mistaken

Mo. You have had very ill luck, Sir, with your *Aphorisms*.

Ill luck with his Aphorisms.

Ri. [*I must confess that when God had first brought me from among the more Ignorant sort of people, and when I heard* Religious *Persons pray without Form, and Speak affectionately, and seriously of Spiritual and Heavenly things, I thought verily that they were all undoubted Saints, till e're long, of those whom I so much honoured, one fell of to* Sensuality, *and to* Persecuting Formality; *and another fell to the foulest* Heresy, *and another to disturb the Churches Peace, by* Turbulent Animositys *and* Divisions. Church Divil. P. 23. 24. &c.

How *Richard* was wheedled in.

i.e. he was reconci'd to the Church.

Ri. [*I thought once, that all the talk against Schisme and Sects, did but vent their Malice against the best Christians, under those Names; But since Then, I have seen what* Love-killing-Principles *have done. I have long stood by while Churches have been divided, and Subdivided; one Congregation of the Division labouring to make the other Contemptible, and odious; and This called the Teaching of Truth, and the purer Worshiping of God*; Church-Divisions. Pref.

Richard's best Christians found to be Schismaticks.

Ba. [When so great a man as *Tertullian* was deceived by *Montanus*, and his *Prophetesse*: When such a one as *Hacket* could deceive not only *Coppinger*, and *Arthington*, but abundance more; when *David George* in *Holland*, *John* of *Leiden* in *Munster*, *&c.* could deceive so many persons as they did; when the

Great men misled, and why not Mr. *Baxter*.

the pretended *Revelations* of the *Ranters*, *First*, and the *Quakers After*, could so marvellously transport many Thousands of professors of Religion in this Land, I think we have fair warning to take the Counsell of St. *John*. *Believe not every Spirit, but try the Spirit whether they be of God. Church Divis. P.*164.

Believe not every spirit.

The Dissenters Cause is still Gods cause.

Their false Prophets.

The Kings death directed by a Revelation.

Sedgwicks day of Judgment.

Vavasor Powels Prophecy of no more Kings or Taxes.

[Alas? how common was this in the Army, to set up and Pull down, do an undo, own and disown, as by the Spirit of God! There was Mr. *Erbery*, Mr. *Saltmarsh*, Mr. *Dell*, Mr. *William Sedgwick*, who as from God wrote one week to the Army, against their putting the King to Death, and the next week wrote to them quite on the other side, and that set *London* by a Prophecy or Vision on looking for the day of Judgement, on a set day. *Second. Admon. to* Bagshaw. *P.* 68. *Vavasor Powell* at *Clifton* upon *Thame* in *Worcestershire*, quickly after *Worcester Fight*, said in his Sermon that *he would tell them these things as from God that they should have no more Kings, nor any more Taxes, nor pay any more Tithes. Ibid. P.*69.

Mo. Pray'e do but consider now, if your particular Pastors disagree among themselves; if you your self, Mr. *Baxter*, have been mistaken in your Judgement as well of *Truth* in *Notion*, as of *Persons*; If those that you took for *Saints*, proved *Schismaticks*; and *Persecutors*, those that you took for *Conscientious Professors*, are we not much better in the hand of a known and Impartiall Law that cannot deceive us, then at the Mercy of a wilde *Multitude*, *Unknown* and *Prepossess'd*, who in all probability will impose upon us?

Rather the Law of the Land then the Humour of the people.

A Fear of sinning ought to be cherished, even in a mistake.

Ri. *A Fear of sinning is necessary in all that will be Obedient to God, and will be saved: It is that Fear of God which is the beginning of Wisdom. It is therefore to be loved and cherished, even when Scrupulousness mistaketh the matter.* Non-Con. Plea. 2d. Part. P.163.

Dangerous trusting to scruples.

Ba. There's no trusting to *Scruples*. [I have known some that have liv'd long in douhts and fears of Damnation who have turn'd *Anabaptists*, and sodainly had Comfort; and yet in a short

a short time they forsook that *Sect*, and turn'd to another. I have known those also that have liv'd many years in timorous Complaints, and fears of Hell, and they have turned to the *Antinomians*, and sodainly been comforted; and others have turned *Arminians* (which is clear contrary) and been comforted; and others have but heard of that Doctrine of *Perfection in this Life*, and sodainly been past their fears, as if *hearing* of *Perfection* had made them *perfect*: And from thence they have turned *Familists*, and at last shew'd their *Perfection* by *Fornication*,, and *Licentiousnesse* and mere *Apostacy*; who yet liv'd very conscientiously and blamelessely, as long as they liv'd in their Fears and Troubles, *P.* 170. *Church Divis.*

[Could I have believed him that would have told me five years ago (*This bearing date Jan.* 15. 1649.) that when the * Scorners of Godlinesse were subdu'd, and the bitter persecntors of the Church overthrown; that such should succeed them who suffered with us, who were our Intimate *F*riends, with whom we took sweet Counsel, and went up together to the House of God? Did I think it had been in the hearts of men professing such zeal to Religion, and the ways of Christ to draw their Swords against each other: and to seek each others Bloud so fiercely? Alas! if the Judgment be once perverted, and Errour hath perverted the Supreme Faculty, whether will men go, and what will they do? *O what a potent Instrument for Satan is a misguided Conscience!* It will make a man kill his deerest Friend, yea Father or Mother, yea, the Holyest Saint, and think he doth God good service by it: And to facilitate the work, it will first blot out the Reputation of their Holinesse, and make them take a *Saint* for a *Devil. Saints Rest. P.* 133. [Whence can it be, but for want of self-denyall, that Magistrates professing a zeal for Holynesse regard no more the Interest of Christ; but that the *Name* (and but the *Name*) of *Liberty*; (a *Liberty* that hath neither Moral Good, or Evill in it) is set in the ballance against the things of everlasting Consequence, and thought sufficient to over weigh them; And that the meer pretense of this Indifferent Carnal *Liberty* is thought an Argument of sufficient weight for the Introduction of a *wicked*, *Damning Liberty*, even a *liberty* to *deceive*, and *destroy* as many as they can, and to hinder those that desire mens Salvation. *R.B's Self-denyal Epist. Monitory.* [Shall every man have leave to do evill, that can be Ignorant enough to think

Who would have thought it?

The Episcopal Clergy.

Simeon and *Levi.*

O the force of a misguided Conscience!

The very Case of the seduced multitude.

The Name of Liberty does more then the consideration of Heaven it self.

Baxter against Liberty.

think (or say he thinks) that he doth well? And must Magistrates rule as men that are Uncertain whether there be a Christ, or a Church, or Heaven, or Hell; because some are found in their Dominions so foolish, or Impious as to be Uncertain of it? *Ibid.* [Will mercyfull Rulers set up a trade for butchering of Souls, and allow men to set up a shop of poyson, for all men to buy and take that will, yea to proclaim this poyson for Souls in *Streets*, and *Church Assemblies*? &c. *Ibid.* But the same Argument that tempts the sensuall to Hell ; doth tempt such Magistrates to set up *Liberty* for drawing men to Hell. *Ibid.* Is Faith and Holyness propagated by *Perswasion*, and not by *Force*? Surely then Infidelity, Popery and Ungodlyness are Propagated by Perswasion too; Again I tell you, self-love doth make such Rulers wiser then to grant Commission at liberty to all that will, to tice the Souldiers to Mutinies and Rebellion, &c. *Ibid.* Liberty, in all matters of Worship, and of Faith, is the open and apparent way to set up Popery in the Land. *Non-Con. Plea. Pref.*

And Toleration.

Liberty the way to set up Popery.

Mr. Well Mr. *Richard*: After *this* frank and sensible Declaration of your self upon this Chapter, do but teach me which way in the world to reconcile your *Practice* and your *Conscience*; for you are a Person certainly of all men Living, the most Improper Advocate for a *Toleration*; and the most unfit *Sollicitor* of a *Popular Petition*. *First*, as your *Judgement* lies directly against the thing you pleade for. *Secondly*, as you are conscious of the *danger*, as well as the *Injustice* of such a *License*. *Thirdly*, you have been a very *unhappy Instrument already* betwixt his *Majesty* and his *Subjects*. And *Lastly*, In demanding That over again from This King, by which his Father was destroy'd, you make your self suspected to have some Ill Designe: For to Triumph and Rejoyce (as you do) after the Thing is done, is lesse, a great deal, then to forethink the doing of it. And it is not only that you are sufficiently convinc'd of the mischiefs of a *Toleration*, but *your Conscience* (if I be not much mistaken)

Mr. *Richard* an Improper Advocate for Toleration.

ſtaken) will make as good a ſhift as any mans *without* it.

Ri. *We are againſt* no Biſhop *or* Church-Government *of* Gods Appointment. Prof. of Non-conformiſts P. 89. [*We hold it not unlawful to take Oathes, and make Covenants, Subſcriptions, or Declarations of things Lawfull, when Authority commandeth us.* Ibid. P. 98. *We readily Subſcribe the doctrine of the* 39. *Articles.* Ib. 98. *We are far from condemning all* Forms of Prayer, *and* Publick Liturgy, P. 100. *We pick no Quarrells about* Forms *and* Words. *Church-Div.* p. 176. [*Tell me if you can, where God* forbids *you to uſe Good and Lawfull Words in Prayer, meerly becauſe the Magiſtrate, or Paſtor bids you uſe them. Is this the meaning of all the Precepts of Honouring, and Obeying your Superiours?* [*Do nothing which they bid you do, though otherwiſe Lawful*] *O Strange Expoſition of the 4th Commandement?* p. 178. [*I take the Common Prayer to be Incomparably better then the Prayers or Sermons, of many that I hear; and to be the beſt that I expect in many places when I go to Church.* R. Bs. Letter to Mr. Hinckly p. 78. [*It's like, the* Phariſees *Long* Liturgy, *was in many things worſe then Ours, though the* Pſalmes *were a great part of it: and yet Chriſt, and his Apoſtles oft joyned with Them, and never Condemned them.* Ch. Div. P. 176. [*He is void of Common ſenſe that thinketh that his* Extemporary Prayer *is not as truly a* Form *to all the* People, *as if it had been written in a* Book. *And every Publick Miniſter Impoſeth a* Form *of Prayer upon all the Congregation.* Ibid. 179. [*We hold, not all the uſe of* Images, *even the Images of* Holy Perſons, *to be Unlawfull.* Profeſſion of Nonconformiſts. P. 104. [*We hold not a Gown, or other meer diſtinctive Garment for Miniſters to be Unlawful. And ſome of us hold a Surplice rather to be uſed, then the Miniſtry forſaken.* Ibid. [*Many of us hold it Lawfull to communicate Kneeling* Ibid. p. 105. [*We all hold that God muſt be Orderly, and* Decently Worſhipped *with the* Body, *as well as* Spiritually, *with the* minde. *And that Reverend Geſtures, and Behaviours are fit, not only to expreſſe* Mental Reverence *to God, but alſo to* Excite it, *in our ſelves and others.* Ibid. 105. *We are for the uſe of the Creed, Commandements, and Lords Prayer.* p. 106.

Richard is a Conformiſt.

Ba. [It is now about Twenty Years ſince I Preach'd at a *Faſt* to the Parliament for Loyalty; *the King the next morn-*

ing was vored home to his Crown, and Government, 2d part. of Non-Con. Plea. Preface. In This Sermon, I have given the World a Taſt of my Affections to the Church. [Gentlemen, I have nothing to ask of you for my ſelf, nor any of my Brethren, as for Themſelves; but that *you will be Friends to Serious Preaching, and Holy Living*, and will not *enſnare our Conſciences with any Unſcripturall Inventions of men.* This I would beg of you as on my Knees. 1. As *for the ſake of Chriſt.* 2. *for the ſake of Thouſands of poor Souls.* 3. For *the Sake of Thouſands of the dear Friends of the Lord.* 4. For *your own ſakes.* 5. For *the ſake of your Poſterity.* 6. For *the Honour of the Nation and your Selves.* 7. For *the Honour of Sound doctrine, and Church-Government.* &c. *Pa.* 45. *and* 46. For if you *Frown on Godlyneſſe*, under pretenſe of *Uniformity in Unneceſſary things*; and make things worſe then when *Libertiniſm*, and *Schiſme* ſo prevail'd: the people will look back with Groans, and ſay; *What happy times did we once See!* And ſo will honour *Schiſme*, and *Libertiniſme, and Uſurpation*, through *Your Oppreſſion.* 8. I beg this of you for the *Honour of Soveraignty, and the Nations Peace. Ibid.* And then for your [new-made Religions, and needleſs Scandalous Inventions, and an adoring of your Titles and Robes of Honour, covering your Ignorance, Pride, and Senſuality, which Church Tyrants call the *Order* of the Church. &c. [All the *Images* of Piety, Government, Unity, Peace, and Order, which Hypocrites and Phariſees ſat up, are deſpiſed Engines to deſtroy the Life and Serious Practice of the things Themſelves, and are ſet up in Enmity againſt Spirituality, and Holyneſs, that there might be no other Piety, Government, Unity, Peace, or Order in the Church, but Theſe Liveleſs Images. *Ch. Div. Pa.* 105. & 106.

Mr. *Baxters* Sermon that brought the King in.

Presbytery for the Lords ſake

Oh the happy times when Presbyterians rul'd.

Have a care of ſcandalous Inventions. The Ignorant Church-Tyrants.

Ri. [*Though we are not ſatisfied of the lawfullneſs of uſing the* Tranſient Image *of the Croſſe, as a* dedicating Sign, *and* Symbol *of* Chriſtianity, *ſo much Sacramental (much leſſe to refuſe from Baptiſme, and Chriſtendome, all Chriſtian Infants, unleſſe they will have them ſo Croſſed, no more then if a Crucifix were ſo Impoſed, and uſed) yet do we not Condemn* all uſe *of either Croſſe, or Crucifix. Nor do we preſume Conſcientiouſly to Reproach, and diſhonour the* Antient Chriſtians, *who living among* Pagans *that derided Chriſt Crucify'd, did ſhew them, by oft uſing this ſign, that they were not aſhamed of the Croſſe. And though we find, that they uſed more Rites,*

Richard not abſolutely againſt the Croſs.

and

and ſignifications, deviſed Signs, and Ceremonies, then we think they ſhould have done, yet we judg it our Duty to love and honour their Memorial; Nor do we take all Rites to be Sinfull *that are ſignificant.* Non-conformiſts Profeſſion *Pa.* 103. 104.

Ba. You are not ſatisfy'd of the *Lawfulneſſe*, &c. *you* ſay. But are you convinc'd of the *Unlawfulneſſe*? For [we muſt obey Magiſtrates though we know not that their Commands are *Lawfull*, ſo long as they are ſo Indeed, and we have no ſufficient reaſon to believe them Unlawfull. *Holy Com. Theſis.* 323. For [It is not our *Erroneous Conceits*, that a Lawfull Command is Unlawfull, that will excuſe any man from the Guilt of Diſobedience. *Ibid.* 357. [But if a thing ſeem to you very *needfull* to a Good End, and yet the *word be againſt it*, avoid it: &c. [And if you think that the *Scripture* commandeth you This or That Poſitive *means*, if *Nature* and *True Reaſon* aſſure you that it is againſt the *End*, and is like to do much more harm, then good, be aſſured that you miſtake That *Scripture*. *Ch. Diviſ. pa.* 205.

Baxters a Loyalliſt.

Errour is no excuſe for diſobedience.

The Preteoce of Nature, and true Reaſon avoids all Law.

Mo. It is a ſtrange thiug Mr *Richard*, that your Conſcience ſhould be ſo *eaſy* to your *ſelf*, and yet ſo *Troubleſome* to the *Government*. But your Reſerve of leaving every Pivate man to judge, Firſt, of the Condition of the *Law*, by the *Word*; and Then, of his *Judgment* of That *Scripture*, whether it be *Right* or *Wrong*, by *Nature* and *Right Reaſon*: This Reſerve I ſay undoes all again: For every man that does *Ill*, with a *Good Intention*, reckons that he has *Nature* and *Right Reaſon* on his ſide.

A Popular Fallacy.

Now for You Mr. *Baxter*; you tell us over and over ſo often of your *Faſt-Sermon* to the Houſe of Commons, and the Kings being called in the next day, as if That very Sermon had wrought his Majeſtiss Reſtauration, But I find upon Peruſall of it that you are juſt as kind to the Church in this Piece of 1660. as you were a litle before to his Majeſty in your *Holy Common Wealth* of 1659. That is to ſay; you are begging

The Presbyterian way of bringing in the King.

ging, arguing, and Casing of it all that is in you, to keep them both out; and truly This Particular piece of yours makes almost as bold with the *King himself*, as with the *Episcopal Clergy*: as you shall hear by and by. Was it not enough for you to *Adjure* the *Commons* into an Opposition of That *Order* in the *Church*, which (as he tells you) is as *Antient* as the *Monarchy* of This *Island*? An *Order*, that *you* and *your Confederates* most Undutifully *destroy'd*? But could you now have the Confidence to demand the spoyls again, which *you* first ravish'd from the *Church*, and the *Independents* afterward took from *you*, as the Reward of your *Sedition*, and *Schism*? And could you yet have the greater Confidence, in case of a Disappointment, to break out into this most *Unchristian Exclamation*, on the behalf of the People? Oh: [*What happy times did we once see!* That is to say; when the *Kingdome* was Laid in *Blood*, and *Ashes*; all that was *Sacred*, *trampled under Foot*, And all this *Confusion*, only to heave the *Presbyter* into the *Saddle*.

Richards challenge,

In justification of the Non-Conformists.

The Non-Conformists charge.

Ri. *I have described the Judgment of such* Non-conformists *as I have Conversed with*, (*not undertaking for every odd person whom I know not*) *I do desire those that seek our* Bloud, *and* Ruine, *by the false Accusation of Rebellious Principles, to tell me if they can*, [what Bodies, or Party of men on Earth have more sound *and* Loyall Principles *of* Government, *and* Obedience. 2d. Part. Non-Con. Plea. *Pref.* [*Our Accusations are.* 1. *That we are* Presbyterians, *and* Phanatiques. 2. *That we began the War in* 1641. *and* 1642. 3. *That we destroy'd the King.* 4. *That our Principles are Disloyal.* 5. *That we are Plotting a Rebellion.* Ibid. But what is a *Presbyterian*?

A Presbyterian defin'd.

Mo. A Presbyterian is a Member of a State-Faction, under a Religious denomination. For by that *Name* we do not understand such as are really of That *Classical* and *Whymsical Profession*; but a sort of People that drive

drive on a *Political design*, under the Colour of an *Ecclesiastical Scruple* of *perswasion*. And in as extensive a Latitude do you take the Word, your selves. For all the *Sects* are *Presbyterians* (or *Dissenting Protestants*, as you call them) when you have need of them in Confederacy against the Government; though the *Presbyterians* spews all the rest up again, (as they did in 1647. when they had done their work;) But pray what say ye to the *Beginning* of the *War*?

Presbyterians swallow up all other Sects at first, and then spew them up again.

Ri. [*In* 1642. *the Lamentable Civil War broke out*; *At which time as far as ever we could learn by Acquaintance with some of them, and Report of others, excepting an Inconsiderable number, the Houses of Lords and Commons consisted of Those that had still lived in Conformity to the Church of* England, *and the Episcopall Government*, &c. 1 Part. Non-Conform. Plea. p. 126. [*The Lord Lieutenants whom the Parliament chose, were almost all* Episcopal Conformists, Ibid. [*The* far Greater Part *of the Generall Officers, Colonells, Lieutenant-Colonells, and Majors of the* Earl of Essex *his Army*; *And of the Sea-Captains, and of the Major-Generals of* Brigades, *and* Counties *about the Land*, Ibid [*The* Assembly of Divines *at* Westminster *also, were men that had lived in Conformity, except about* 8. *or* 9. *and the* Scots, p. 127.

Richard says that the Episcopal men began the war. The two Houses, Lord Lieutenants, Officers Civil and Military, Assembly of Divines, almost all Episcopal men.

Mo. You do well *Richard* to say that they *HAD* Lived in *Conformity*, for the Complying humour was now going off apace; Insomuch that a profest opposition to the Orders of the Church became quickly a distinguishing mark of the disloyal Party: And all those *Parliament men*, *Officers*, and *Assembly-Divines*, Contributed Unanimously in their several Stations toward the Common Ruine. On [*Fryday Dec.* 11. 1640. A Petition was brought into the House by *Alderman Pennington* from the Citizens of *London*, in the name of 15000. Complaining of the *Church-Discipline*, in having *Arch-Bishops*, *Bishops*, &c. Using the *Crosse* in *Baptisme*; *Kneeling* at the *Communion-Table*, as unlawfull

The Kings engag'd Enemies were all dissenters.

Episcopacy strook at before the War.

lawfull in the *Proteſtant Church. Diurnal Occurrences. Pa.* 12. *Jan* 13. Petition againſt the Government of Biſhops from Several Counties. *P.* 16. *Jan.* 13. The Remonſtrance with 700. hands againſt the Biſhops and their *Prelacy* was read, *P.* 33. *March* 7. A Bill againſt Epiſcopacy read in the Houſe of Commons, &c. *Pa.* 47. *Mar.* 10. 1640. Biſhops Votes in Parliament taken away, *Pa.* 49. in *Novem.* 1641. ſeveral Tumults againſt Biſhops, and *Dec.* 11, 12. Biſhops accuſed of High-Treaſon. The Biſhops in the mean time Petitioning his Majeſty, and entring a Proteſt of their Priviledges, and againſt Tumults. *Apr.* 2. 1642. A due and neceſſary Reformation of the Government and Liturgy of the Church pretended. *Ex. Col. P.* 135.

It is to be hoped, that all Theſe violences upon the Eccleſiaſtical State, and the Perſons of the Biſhops, were not acted by Conformiſts. And it will not be deny'd, I ſuppoſe that after the Poſting and Proſcribing of the Greater part of the Clergies Friends, (as well as the Kings) The Schiſmatical Intereſt was carry'd on by the Major vote of the Remaining Fragment; and all This was before the Eruption of the War; the Earl of *Eſſex* not receiving his Commiſſion, till *July* 12. 1642. Unleſs you'le ſay that *Epiſcopal* men themſelves, were for the *Extirpation* of *Biſhops*.

The Parliament brought in the Scots.

Few worthier Aſſemblies ſince the Apoſtles days.

Ri. [*When the* Parliaments Armys *were worſted and weakned by the King, and they found themſelves in danger of being Overcome, they intreated help from the* Scots (*'tis true*) *who taking advantage of their ſtreights, brought in the* Covenant, *as the* Condition *of their* help. Non-Conf. 1 part. p. 27. *And for the* Aſſembly 1 [*I think I have not read of many* Aſſemblies *of* Worthier men *ſince the* Apoſtles days. Anſw. to Dr. Stillingfleet. p 84. *The* Covenant *and* Vow, *was taken by the* Parliament, *and by their* Gariſons, *and* Soldiers *that would voluntarily take it as a Teſt whom they might*

Truſt Non-Conf. Plea. p. 128. [*The* Aſſembly *never endeavoured to turn the* Independents *out of the* Pariſh-Churches, *and* Benefices, *nor to Silence them ; forbidding them Publick Preaching, as you do us,* &c. Anſw. to Dr. Stillingf. p. 14. *They Impoſed no* Liturgy, *no one* Ceremony; *no* Practice *on them, contrary to their* Conſcience, p. 85. *The* Presbytery *being only a* Tolerated, *or* Intended thing, *without any* Impoſition *that ever we knew of.*

Their good nature toward the Independents.

Mo. It is very well known what pains your Celebrated Aſſembly took to make the City bleed for That *Scottiſh* expidition, and we have the *Guild hall Harangues* on That Occaſion, ſtill upon Record. But I ſhall rather mind you of ſome Proceedings which you would be thought to have forgotten; to the Immortal Honour of your Confederates. Only half a dozen Words in the way to it-

The Guild-Hall harangues that brought in the Scots.

It is no wonder for men that have ſo low an Eſteem for *Generall Counſells*, as both *You* Sir, and Mr. *Baxter* profeſſe to have, in ſeveral of your Writings; to entertain yet very Reverend Thoughts of the *Pybald Aſſembly*. His Late Majeſty had quite another Opinion of them. See his *Proclamation, Inhibiting the Aſſembly of Divines, and others Summoned to* Weſtminſter, *by an Ordinance of Both Houſes of Parliament.* Bibliotheca Regia. P. 328. *Jun.* 22. 1643.

His Majeſties Proclamation againſt the Aſſembly of Divines. Jun. 22. 1643.

Whereas there hath been a long time, a deſperate and Seditious deſign amongſt diverſe Factious perſons, to alter the whole Frame, Conſtitution, and Government of this Church; ſo long and ſo happily Eſtabliſhed within this Kingdome; in purſuance whereof they have diſcountenanceed, and in a manner ſuppreſſed the Book of Common Prayer, *ſettled by Law; driven away, Impriſoned, Removed, very many Learned,* Orthodox, *Godly Divines, and Miniſters from their Cures, for diſcharging their duty and Conſcience in Preaching: and in their places, without the leaſt colour or ſhadow of Lawfull Authority, have Inſtitu-*

Painful, Able, Laborious Ministers.

The Loyall Presbyterians.

The Reformation begun

ted, or Deputed mean Factious Persons Unqualify'd with Learning or Virtue; to corrupt and poyson the minds of our Good Subjects, with Principles of reason and Rebellion, and have seized the Rents and Revenues of our Bishops, Deans, and Chapters, for their own private Lucre, or Benefit, and for the Maintenance of the Army in Rebellion against us.

Pray Observe my Friends, that this was before the *Scots* were call'd in; and the work of men too in Opposition to the Church: I come now to your *Apostolical Assembly.*

Kings Proclamation.

A Dutiful Proposition.

The Worthy Assembly.

The Kings Authority excluded.

Since These bloudy distempers, and when so many Armies are on Foot in several parts of the Kingdom, a Bill hath been presented to us for the Calling of an Assembly, *of such Divines, as are mentioned in the said Bill, the far greater part whereof are men of no Reputation or Learning; and eminently disaffected to the Government of the Church of* England: *and very many of them are persons who have openly preached Rebellion, and incited the People to take up Armes against us, and so are not like to be proper Instruments of Peace, in Church, or State; which Bill having many Clauses in it very derogatory to our Honour, and Just Rights, and very Scandalous to the Reformed Protestant Religion: not so much as any part being left to Us, either in the Choice of the Persons, or in Adjourning or Dissolving the Assembly.* Bib. Regia. *Pa.* 329.

What do you think now of the *Worthy Assembly?* your [Men *of sound, and Loyall Principles* of *Government,* and *Obedience.* These are the Men that you declare your selves Resolved to *stand* or *fall* by; (and out of your own mouths a Man may warrant This Assertion; that you are no better Friends to *This King*, then *that Parliament* and *that Assembly* were to the *Last.* Methinks This Testimony of his Late Majesty against your designes, and Proceedings, should move your Con-

Conſciences and ſtare you in the Faces, as if it were his Ghoſt.

You would have the world believe that the *Covenant* was never Impoſed, but that people might take it, or let it alone, as they pleaſed; That the *Aſſembly* ſilenced no body; forced nothing; and that Presbytery was only as a *Tolerated*, or *Intended* thing, *&c.* Now how great an Abuſe this is upon That part of the Nation that does not know the ſtory, will appear out of the Memorials of Theſe Times, under the Authority of the Faction it ſelf.

An Abuſe put upon the Nation.

The Lords and Commons took the Vow and Covenant *Jun.* 6. 1643. *Husbands Collections. Fol.* 203. and thought fit to have it taken by the Armies, and Kingdome. *Ibid.* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterburies* Temporal Livings, Dignities, and Eccleſiaſtical Promotions Sequeſtered, *June* 10. 1143. *Fol.* 207. an Ordinanee for calling an Aſſembly of Learned Divines (*Thirty of the Layety, in the Commiſſion.*) *June* 24. 208. An Order for Miniſters upon the Faſt-day to pray for a bleſſing on this Aſſembly. *June* 27. 43. The Aſſembly Petitions Both Houſes for a Faſt, and the removing of Blind Guides, and Scandalous Miniſters; deſtroying Monuments of Idolatry, *&c.* *July* 10. 1943. *Fol.* 240. [An Order for Divines that attend the Aſſembly, to go into the Country to ſtir up the people to riſe for their Defenſe. *Aug.* 10. 1643. *Fol.* 285. [An Ordinance for taking away of Superſtitious Monuments. *Aug.* 28. 1643. *Fol.* 307. An Ordinance to examine Witneſſes againſt Scandalous Miniſters, *Sep.* 6. 1643. *Fol.* 311. Souldiers to take the Covenant, *Octob.* 10. *Fol.* 359. An Order for the Aſſembly of Divines, to treat of a Diſcipline and Government, the preſent to be aboliſhed, and to prepare a Directory. *Octo.* 12. 1643. *Fol.* 362. An Order for returning the

An Extract of Parliament Proceedings. 1643.

The Aſſembly ſtir up the people to riſe.

Names of ſuch as take not the Covenant to the Houſe of Commons, *Nov.* 30. 1643. *Fol.* 390. An Order for diverſe perſons to take the Covenant at *Margarets Weſtminſter*. *Dec.* 12. 1643. *Fol.* 399. An Ordinance diſabling any perſon within the City of *London*, from any place of Truſt, that ſhall not take the Covenant. *Dec.* 20. 1643. *Fol.* 404. An exhortation for taking the Covenant, *&c.* *Feb.* 9. 1644. *Fol.* 422. An Order for taking it throughout the Kingdomes of *England*, and *Scotland*, with *Inſtructions*. *Feb.* 9. 1644. *Fol.* 420. A Second Order for demoliſhing Superſtitious Monuments. *May* 9. 1644. *Fol.* 487. An Order for none to Preach, but Ordained Miniſters, except allowed by Both Houſes of Parliament, *May* 6. 1645. *Fol.* 646. An Order for putting the Directory in Execution. *Aug.* 11. 1645. *Fol.* 715. Severall Votes for choice of Elders throughout all *England*, and *Wales*. *Feb.* 20. 1646. *Fol.* 809. An Order for taking the Negative Oath, and National Covenant. *Jun.* 2. 1646. *Fol.* 889. An Order for putting the Orders of Church-Government in execution. *Jun.* 9. 1646. *Fol.* 889. An Order for dividing the County of *Lancaſhire*, into 9. *Claſſes*, *Octob.* 2. 1646, *Fol.* 919. An Order for Aboliſhing Arch-Biſhops, and Biſhops, and ſettling their Lands upon Truſtees for the uſe of the Common-Wealth. *Octob.* 9. 1646. *Fol.* 992. An Order for the ſpeedy dividing and ſettling of ſeveral Counties of This Kingdome, into diſtinct *Claſſical Presbyteries*, and *Congregational Elderſhips*. *Jan.* 19. 1647. *Scobells Acts*, 139. The Form of Church-Government to be uſed in the Church of *England*, and *Ireland*, agreed upon by the Lords and Commons, aſſembled in Parliament, after Advice had with the Aſſembly of Divines. *Aug.* 29. 1648. *Fol.* 165.

By this time I hope you are satisfy'd that it was a Presbyterian War according to the very Letter, Or if the Nonconformists did not begin the War, pray'e who bid?

Prov'd to be a Presbyterian War.

Ri. *Our Calamities* began *in* Differences about Religion, *and still That's the wound that most needs Closing*, &c. R. B's. Fast Sermon. 1660. p. 41.

Richard says, the War began about Religion.

Ba. Do not you know, that write about the Cause, that the War was not founded in *Theologicall differences*, but in *Law differences? R. B's. Letter to* Mr. *Hinckly*. p. 25.

Baxter says, it began about matter of Law.

Ri. *The first open beginning was the* Militia, Non. Conf. Plea. p. 126.

Richard says, 'twas about the Militia.

Ba. I know how unsatisfy'd many are concerning the Lawfullnesse of the War; I cannot yet perceive by any thing which they object, but that we undertook our Defence upon warrantable Grounds. The extirpation of Piety was the then great Designe, which had so far succeeded, that very many of the most able Ministers were silenced; Lecturers, and Evening-Sermons on the Lords Day suppressed; Christians inprisoned, dismembred, and Banished; the Lords Day reproached, and devoted to Pastimes; that it was as much as a mans Estate (at least) was worth, to hear a Sermon abroad, when he had none, or worse at home; To meet for Prayer, or any Godly Exercise; and that it was a matter of Credit, and a way to Perferment to revile at, and be enemies against those that were most Conscientious; And every where safer to be a drunkard, or an Adulterer, then a painfull Christian: And that multitudes of Humane Ceremonies took place, when the worship of Christs Institution was cast out, besides the slavery that Invaded us in Civil Respects: So am I MOST CERTAIN that this was the work which *We took up Arms to resist*: And these were the Offenders whom we endeavoured to Offend. And many of those that scruple the Lawfulnes of our War, did never Scruple the Lawfullnes of destroying us; nor of that dolefull havock, and Subversion that was made in the Church of Christ amongst us.

Baxter says, the War was made for Reformation.

A lewd scandal upon the late Kings Government.

The

The fault was, that we would not more willingly change the Goſpel for Ignorance, and our Religion for a Fardel of Ceremonies. *R. B's. Saints Reſt.* p. 257. 258.

Richard will not allow of war for Religion.

Ri. [*But the Kings Subjects may not enter into Leagues, Covenants and Arms againſt him, without his conſent, and Laws, meerly to propagate Religion and Reformation in the Kingdom.* Non-conf. Plea, 2d. part, pa. 77. [*If Governors command us to ſin againſt God, Subjects muſt not obey, but yet not Reſiſt; Much leſs take up Arms to Reform Others, or even to bring in a True Religion by Unauthoriſed Violence.* Ibid. p. 56.

Baxter is for a Religious Wer.

They are fools that think otherwiſe.

Ba. It is but a deluſory courſe of ſome in Theſe Times that write many Volumns, to prove, that *Subjects* may not bear Arms againſt their *Princes* for *Religion. Ho. Common-wealth*, p. 441. [It is either Confuſion and Ignorance of the State of the Queſtion, or palpable errour in them that maintain, that it is unlawfull to fight for Religion. It is one thing to fight to make others Religious, and another thing to fight to preſerve our own Religion, and to preſerve the means of Religion, to Us, and the Nation, and our Poſterity, *Ibid.* Perſecutors will take away our Lives or Liberties, if we worſhip God according to his Will, and uſe the neceſſary means of Salvation. In fighting againſt this Perſecution, we fight principally, and ultimately, for our Own, and Poſterities Salvation, and *next*, for the Neceſſary means thereto, and *Proximately* for our Lives and Liberties. *Ibid.*

In caſe of perſecution we fight for our own, and our poſterities ſalvation.

Mo. The Rancour, and Inhumanity of This Scandal makes me take the Leſſe notice of your ſhifts and contradictions; ſo that I ſhall wave the Courſe of your Reaſoning, and ſpeak a Word to your Conſcience.

The late Kings ſafferings forgotten among greater grievances.

Pray'e caſt a back Thought upon the Piety, the Moderation, the Unexampled ſufferings and Conſtancy of That Incomparable Prince, whoſe Government, and Adminiſtration is here ſo Diabolically Traduc'd. It is a wonderfull thing to me, that the Legal Juſtice that was executed upon two or three

Contu-

Contumacious Schiſmatiques, ſhould be ſo freſh in your Memory, and yet the Tragedy of that Royal, and Proteſtant Martyr that fell a Sacrifice to the Idol of your Enthuſiaſtical Reformation ſhould be ſo utterly forgotten. How can you ſo call to mind the ſilencing of a Stubborn Cabal of Lawleſs Mutineers; And the Bloud of *Canterbury*, your Sacrilegious Robbing, and Taking Poſſeſſion, not fly in the Faces of your Complices? Eſpecially conſidering how much you your ſelves have contributed to the common Fate.

Pryn, Burton, and *Baſtwick* lamented, but not a word of the Royal Martyr.

Ri. [*How far the Parliament was from being* Presbyterians, *may be ſeen in the Propoſitions ſent from them by the* Earl of Eſſex, *to the King at* Notingham, *and partly their defeating all the deſires and endeavours of Thoſe that would have* Presbytery *ſettled thorow the Land. We know of no places, but* London *and* Lancaſhire, *where it was commonly taken up, and ſome little of it at* Coventry, *and ſome few ſuch places*, Non-Conf. Plea, 1ſt. part, 128.

Presbytery not ſetled, ſays *Richard.*

Ba. [It is not known that the Presbyterian Government hath been exerciſed in *London*, in *Lancaſhire*, and in *many Counties* theſe *many years* ? 5. *Diſp. Pref.* 28. 29. [Look into this County where I live, and you ſhall finde a faithful, humble, laborious Miniſtry, Aſſociated, and walking in as great Unity as ever I read of ſince the Apoſtles Days: No Difference, no Quarrels, but ſweet and amicable Correſpondency, and Communion, that I hear of. Was there ſuch a Miniſtry, or ſuch Love and Concord, or ſuch a Godly People under them in the Prelates Reign? There was not: Where we had Ten drunken Readers Then, we have not One now; and where we had One Able, Godly Preacher Then, we have many Now: and This is our Loſs and miſery in theſe times, which you ſo much lament. *Ibid.*

Baxter contradicts him, And comforts himſelf with comparing the days of *Richard* Protector with *Charles* I.

Ten ſchiſmatical Hypocrites Now for One formerly.

Mo. This laſt paſſage I finde in a Preface Entitled [*To thoſe of the Nobility, Gentry, and Commons of This Land that adhere to* Prelacy: *Publiſhed in the year* 1659. and uſher'd in, by an *Epiſtle Dedicatory*, [*To his Highneſs* Richard *Lord* Protector *of the* Common Wealth *of* England

Baxters Complement to the Sons of the Church, 1659.

England, Scotland, *and* Ireland: with this expreſſion in the laſt Page. [Your zeal for God will kindle in your SUBJECTS a zeal for You: *and for a Farewell*, [A Faithfull Subject to your Highneſs, as you are an Officer of the Univerſal King.

Richard Cromwells faithfull Subjects.

Richard Baxter.

It is worthy of a Note Mr. *Baxter*, that your Pen cuts more ſtill in 1659. then it did in ſeven years before, and that your Humour runs much, (about That ſeaſon) upon Caſuiſtical Points, and the Collation of Affairs, and Times. Now all the Reaſon I can diſcern for your change of *Topique* ſtill upon That *Criſis*, is This. The Wheel was almoſt come round again, and Rebellion upon the very point of finiſhing its Courſe. For they had run the *Monorchy* down, into an *Ariſtocracy*; *That*, into a *Democracy*; *Cromwell* took up the Government next, in a *Single Perſon*. But all theſe Succeſſive Uſurpations were ſo Grievous, and Inſupportable to the people, that neceſſarily the next Remove muſt be the Reſtoring of the *King*, to *perfect* the *Revolution*. Now ſo ſoon as ever you diſcover'd the dawning but of the leaſt hope for his Majeſties Reſtauration. what Miſts did you preſently caſt before the Peoples Eyes in your *Political Aphoriſmes*, upon the Queſtion of *Authority*, and *Obedience*? What pains did you take to poſſeſſe the Nation with an Opinion of the bleſſed differences betwixt the State of Matters uoder *Richard* the *Uſurper*, and *Charls* the *Martyr*? and to hammer into the heads of the Multitude, the danger of *Re-admitting* their *Lawfull Sovereign*? Pray'e tell me Sir, was Mr. *Dance's Sequeſtred Living*, and your Little *Worceſterſhire Aſſociation* ſo Ineſtimable a Prize, that you could part with the *Blood* of a moſt

Mr. *Baxters*, Political Aphoriſmes compoſed expreſly to keep out the King.

Religious

Religious Prince; the *Lives* of at leaſt *Fourſcore* Thouſand *Chriſtians*; the *Order* of the *Government*, both *in Church* and *State*; your *Lives*, *Liberties*, and *Eſtates*; the *Peace*, *Honour*, and *Well being* of *Three Kingdoms*, and all This, in Exchange for *Infamy*, *Beggery*, and *Bondage*, and yet reckon your ſelf a Gainer by the Bargain?

Ri. *The Common-wealths-men perſecuted me and Others, ſo far as to make Orders to Sequeſter us, for not taking the* Engagement; *and for not keeping their* Faſts *and* Thankſgivings *for the Wars againſt* Scotland. R. B's. 2d. Admonition to Bagſhaw. p. 90.

Poor *Richard* like to have ſequeſtred for not faſting and praying againſt the Scots.

Ba. [It is a dreadfull Obſervation to ſee ſo much of the Spirit of *Malignity* poſſeſſing thoſe that once ſaid they fought againſt *Malignants*; and that the Miniſters and Servants of the Lord, are rayled at by many of *Them*, as formerly they were by the worſt of Thoſe that *Their hands* deſtroyed; and with this dreadfull Aggravation, that *Then* it was but *Some* that were Reviled, and now, with *many*, it is *All*. *Then*, it was but under the Name of *Puritans*, and *Round-heads*; and *Now* it is openly, as *Miniſters*, under the Name of *Prieſts*, and *Black-Coats*, and *Presbyters* and *Pulpiteers*. *Self-denyal*, *Ep. Monitory*.

The ſpirit of Malignity has taken poſſeſſion of the Army.

The Presbyterians Perſecuted.

Mo. This is to Intimate that the *Presbyterians* were under a *Perſecution*, Who were the *Perſecutors*, I beſeech ye? Even *Your own Fourney men*; who when they had wrought Sedition long enough under you, took the Trade into their Own hands, and ſet up for Themſelves. And that you may not value your ſelves upon the Merits of your ſufferings; Pray'e what was it that you ſuffer'd for? *Presbytery* is too *Tyrannical* for the ſpirit of an *Independent* to bear. The Stomack of That Party would not brook it, and ſo they caſt it up again: For there is, though a *Licentious*, yet ſomewhat of a *Practical*, and *Accomodable Generoſity* in that Party. But are not you aware, Gentlemen, that the

The Presbyterians Journeymen (the Army) ſet up for themſelves.

Somewhat of an accomodable Generoſity in the Independents.

worse you speak of these people, the greater is your Condemnation; for making the *Episcopal Party* still, more *Insupportable* then *These*, at the very *Worst*?

The poor Presbyterians persecuted by the Army, for not joyning against the Scots.

Ri. [*Was it not* Persecution, *when many* Anabaptists *and* Separatists *made such work in* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland, *in* Cromwells *time, and after, as they did? when so many were turn'd out of the* Universities *for not Engaging, and so many out of the* Magistracy, *and* Corporation-Priviledges? *And when an Ordinance was made to cast out all Ministers who would not pray for the success of the Wars against* Scotland, *or that would not give God thanks for their Victories. When I have heard them profess, that there were many Thousand Godly men, that were kill'd at* Dunbar (*to instance in no other*) *and yet* WE *were all by their* Ordinance *to be cast out, that would not give God thanks for This.* Ch. Div. Pa. 256. 1668. *What more harsh kinde of Persecution could there be then to force men to go Hypocritically to God against their Consciences, and take on them to beg for the Success of a War which they Judg'd Unlawfull. and to return him a Publick Counterfeit Thanks for Bloodshed; yea, for the bloud of Thousands? &c.* Ibid.

Oh the persecution of forcing men against their Consciences.

But so long as they do not suffer as evil-doers.

Ba. Only See to This Brethren, that none of you suffer as an evill-doer; as a busy-Body in other mens Matters; as a Resister of the Commands of Lawfull Authority; as Ungratefull to Those that have been Instruments of our Good; as evill-Speakers against Dignities; as Opposers of the Discipline, and Ordinances of Christ; as Scornfull Revilers of your Christian Brethren; as Reproachers of a Laborious, Judicious, Conscientious Ministry, *&c. Saints Rest. Pa.* 131.

No persecution to oppresse the Church and all that love it.

Mo. You do not speak I suppose of the *Seven* or *Eight and Twenty Cathedralls* that were *Defaced*; The 115. *Ministers* forced out of their Livings within the Bills of Mortality: nor of the History of *Querela Cantabrigiensis*. You accounted it no *Persecution* the forcing of men to Pray for the Successe of a *Rebellion* against their *Sovereign*; and to give God thanks for the Victories over the King, and the Loyal Assertors of his Majesties, and the Churches Rights and Government.

As

As for you, Mr. *Baxter*, your Counsell is very good, if it were not that in the *Dignities*, and *Lawfull Powers* you have plac'd the *Crown* upon the *wrong head*: and directed an Obedience to the *Faction*, in stead of the *King*: after your usual Method of *Crushing* the *One*, to *Advance* the *Other*. But it will be a hard matter I believe to convince you that the *Presbyterians* destroy'd the King, and that they did it *as* Presbyterians too, though I reckon it to be very easily Probable both from their Practises, and *Positions*. And This I should not at This time have made the Question, but that your self Mr. *Baxter*, have been pleased to bring it upon the Carpet.

Mr. *Baxter* places the Crown upon the wrong Head.

The King destroy'd by Presbyterians, as Presbyterians.

Ba. [The Generality of the *Orthodox*, *Sober Ministers*, and Godly people of This Nation, did never consent to *King-Killing*, and Resisting *Sovereign Power*, nor to the Change of the *Antient Government* of this Land. But they have been True to their Allegiance, and Detesters of Unfaithfullness and Ambition in Subjects; and Resisters of Heresy and Schisme in the Church, and of Anarchy, and Democraticall Confusions in the Common-wealth. *R.B. Sermon before the Commons, Anno.* 30. 1660. *Pa.* 44.

The Loyalty of *Baxters* Orthodox sober Ministers.

Ri. *It is most certain Brother, that we did never directly* consent, (*as you say*) *But Unhappily there hath been a difference among us* which is the higher Power, *when Those that have their Share in the Sovereignty, are divided: But whether we should be Subject to the higher Power, is no question with us.* Ibid. 45.

Richard subject to the Higher power, but not resolv'd which it is.

Mo. If by your *Orthodox*, *Sober Ministers* you *mean*, the *Episcopal Divines*, your Assertion holds good, or in a *Litterall Construction* either; but if you intend the *Non-Conformists*, under these Two *Epithets of Orthodox*, and *Sober*; What do ye think of Mr, *Manton*, *Calamy*, *Case*, *Douglas*, *Burton*, *Herle*, *Goodwyn*, *Woodcock*, *Brooks*, *Bridges*, *Marshall*, *Cockayn*, *Faircloth*,

An Even score of Orthodox sober Divines.

cloath, *Saltmarsh*, *Sterry*, *Strickland*, *Newcomen*? And for Brevity sake, *F. O. W. F.* and *R. B.* shall make them up an even score. I could shew ye how these Reverend Authors have traced the *King killing Cause*, from the very *Egg* to the *Apple*; (as they say) Preach'd the *Lawfullness* of the *War*; the *People* into a *Rebellion*; the *Kings Head* to the *Block*; and then Justify'd all when they had done. And yet who but these men of Bloud, to Quarrell with the Government, because they cannot get themselves Priviledg'd above the *Peaceable* and *Obedient Sons* of the Church?

The last Kings bloud not valu'd at a Ceremony.

What do ye think of the Author of *CELEUSMA*; that told the Commons in a Sermon *Sept.* 25. 1656. [That the Remove of Prelatical Innovations Countervail'd for the Bloud and Treasure shed and spent in the Late Distractions:] Is not this person now with his *Clamor ad Cœlum*, a very *hopefull Solicitor* for a *second Reformation*? He that has Solemnly declared, that **[If the Re-Imposing of Ceremonies could have brought the Late King to Life again, he would never have yielded to it.]** At the Rate of Computation, why shall not a *Ceremony* at this day, out-weigh the Life of the *Son*, as Formerly it did That of the *Father*? But what needs more proof then the very Order of *Aug.* 10. 1643. *For the* Assembly-Divines to *stir up the People to rise for their Defence*?

There is another person also who is engaged in This present Controversy, to whom I would gladly Recommend a due Consideration of this following Extract.

[When

[When Kings Command Unrighteous things, and people ſuit them with willing Commplyance, none doubts but the deſtruction of them both, is Juſt and Righteous] *A Faſt Sermon to the Houſe of Commons. Jan.* 31. 1648. *Pa.* 5.

The Kings Murther juſtify'd the day after it was committed.

He that is Entruſted with the Sword, and dares not do Juſtice, on every one that dares do Jnjuſtice, is affraid of the Creature, but makes very bold with the Creator. *Pa.* 15.

[The *Kings* of the Earth have given their Power to *Anti Chriſt*. How have they *earn'd* their *Titles? Eldeſt Son of the Chuach*; The *Catholiek*, and *moſt Chriſtian King*; *Defender of the Faith*; and the Like. Hath it not been by the Bloud of Saints? is there not in every corner of Theſe Kingdomes, the Slain and the Baniſh'd ones of Chriſt to Anſwer for? *A Faſt Sermon of Apr.* 19. 1649. Pa. 22. Do not the *Kings of all theſe Nations* ſtand up in the Room of their *Progenitors*; with the ſame *Implacable Enmity* to the *Power* of the *Goſpel?* Pa. 22.

All Chriſtian Kings Anti-Chriſtianiz'd.

There are Great and Mighty Works in hand, in this Nation. Tyrants are puniſh'd; the Jaws of Oppreſſors are broken; bloudy Revengefull people in Wars, diſappointed, *A Thankſgiving Sermon for the* Scots *defeat* at Worceſter, *Octo*, 24. 1651. *P.* 2.

A Reflection upon his Majeſty after his Defeat at *Worceſter.*

[What is This Prelacy? A meer Antichriſtian Encroachment upon the Inheritance of Chriſt, *Pa.* 5.

Prelacy Anti-Chriſtian.

[A Monarchy of ſome hundred years continuance, allways affecting, and at length wholly degenerated into Tyranny; deſtroy'd, pull'd down. Swallow'd up a great mighty Potentate that had cauſed terrour in the Land of the Living, and laid his Sword under his head, brought to Puniſhment for Blood, P. 6.

A Pedant triumphing over *Charles* the II. and Monarchy it ſelf.

[If.

And calling the King Tyrant.

[If any persons in the World had cause to sing the Song of *Moses*, and the *Lamb*, *We* have this day. The *Bondage* prepared for *us* was both in *Spirituals*, and *Temporalls*, about a *Tyrant* full of *Revenge*; and a *Discipline* full of *Persecution*, hath been our Contest: whether the Yoke of the One and the Other, should by the Sword and Violence, be put upon our Necks, and Consciences, is our Controversy, *Pa.* 7.

Are These Fit Agents for Unity and Peace?

Is it not a Prodigious boldness for such Spirits as These, to obtrude themselves, either upon the Government, or the People, as men of *Scruple*, and the most competent Agents for the Promoting of *Unity*, and *Peace*? And you your self Mr. *Baxter*, have not been out neither at this great work of Reforming Confusion, as your own Confessions in some measure, but your Conversation and Writings do Abundantly bear Witness.

Richard True to the King, but he mistook the King.

Mr. *Richard* here I must confess, furnishes you with a *Salvo* that *Ignatious Loyola* himself would have blush'd at. You were ever *True* to the *King*, you say, but you did not know *Who* was *King*. Some would have him to *be* where he was *NOT*, and Others would *not* allow him to be where he *WAS*. Sir, This doctrine might have done well enough in a Pulpit at *Coventry*, when you were *helping the Lord against the Mighty*; but from such a *Restauration-Sermon, the Lord deliver us*! There is *first* not one word of *Restoring* the *King* in't, though it was a *Fast* that had a *Particular Regard* to *That Debate*. 2. It Asserts the *Loyalty* of the *Presbyterians*, and yet at the same time, supposes the *Supreme Power* in the *Two Houses*, which, in few words makes the *Late King* both a *Subject*, and (with Reverence) a *Rebell*. 3. The Setling of the Presbytery, for that's allways the English of their *SOUND DOCTRINE*

Baxters Restauration Sermon. Asserts the Presbyterian Loyalty. Makes the King a Subject, and worse. Pleads for Presbytery, without a word of restoring the King.

CTRINE, and *CHURCH-GOVERNMENT*, Pa. 46.) is violently preſt as the firſt thing to be done. Give *FIRST* to God, the Things that are Gods. 43. with a Phariſaical Oſtentation of the *Conſcionable, Prudent, Godly*, People of the Land, Pa. 46. in oppoſition to the *Prophane*. You could not do any thing in the world more to obſtruct his Majeſtys Return, and yet you are pleaſed to make this Sermon an Inſtance of your Zeal to advance it.

Ri· [*The Parliament did not raiſe War againſt the* Perſon or Authority of the King, *nor did I ever ſerve them on any ſuch Account: but to defend themſelves againſt the Kings* Miſ-guided will. Holy Common-Wealth. Pa. 476. *Their Commiſſions*, (*all that ever I ſaw*) *were for* King and Parliament. *We had* Two Proteſtations, *and a* Solemn League *and* Covenant *Impos'd upon the Nation, to be for King and Parliament. And if Declarations, Profeſſions, Commiſſions, and National Oaths and Covenants will not tell us, what the cauſe of the War was, then there is no Diſcovery*. Ibid. Pa. 477.

The War rais'd for King and Parliament.

Their Oaths & Covenants were faſt and looſe at pleaſure.

Mo. Theſe *Commiſſions*, *Oathes* and *Covenants* tell you the *Pretext* of the War, but you muſt go to their *Proceedings*, and *Practices* to find the *Cauſe* of it. The Two Houſes Seize the Kings Towns, Magazins, Forts, and Shipping. They violently take the *Militia* into their own hands; Vote an Ordinance of Both Houſes as binding as an Act of Parliament. Declare his Majeſtys Commiſſions Voyd, Iſſue out Orders for Securing the Kingdome: Vote the Maintaining of a War, and the Seizing of his Majeſtys Magazins; Sequeſter the Church and Crown Revenues: and juſtify all theſe Injuries, as done in purſuance of their *Proteſtations*, and *Covenants*, and This is your way now of being *FOR* the King. Suppoſe that any man had beaten you, and Plundred ye, and Impriſon'd ye, and abus'd your Friends for your ſake, and a body ſhould tell

The pretext of the War, Religion; the Cauſe, Ambition.

The Loyal Presbyterians uſurp Sovereign Power.

tell you all this while that this man was *FOR* Mr. *Baxter*. If you were *really* for the *King*: why would not *For the King* according to the *Oath* of *Allegiance* do the buſineſſe as well as *For the King* according to the *Covenant*? Or how came you to *Alienate* your ſelf from his *Majeſties Juriſdictino*, and to turh *Subject*, to the *Two Houſes*? Who *Abſolv'd* you from the *One Oath*, or who *Authoris'd* you in the *Other*? or when you found that the *King* in the *Covenant* clash'd with the *King* in the *Oath* of *Allegeanee*. why did you not rather comply with the *Law*, then with the *Uſurpation*? For it is *Impoſſible* to be *True* to *both Intereſts*, under ſo manifeſt an *Oppoſition*. You ſee the *Colour* of the War, and I ſhall not need to tell you that the Cauſe of it was *Ambition*, of *Dominion*, which was exerciſed to the higheſt degree of *Tyranny*.

The Two Houſes were the King in the Covenant.

No Reconciling of the Covenant King & the Legal.

Richard holds Oaths to Princes to be Diſpenſable

Ri. *If a People that by Oath and Duty are obliged to a Sovereign, ſhall ſinfully diſpoſſeſs him, and contrary to their Covenants, chuſe and Covenant with Another; they may be obliged by their Latter Covenants, notwithſtanding the Former.* Holy-Common-Wealth. Pag. 188.

Baxter holds Oaths of Allegiance to be Indiſpenſable.

Ba. That cannot be, my Friend; for we hold it [Impious and Papal to pretend to abſolve Subjects from their Oaths to their Sovereign. *Holy Com. Pa.* 359. [It is not in Subjects Power, by Vows to with-draw themſelves from Obedience to Authority. *Non-Confor. Plea. P.* 213.

Mo. But why can ye not now diſpenſe with your Covenants, as well as you did formerly with the Oath of Allegeance?

Richard will hate the Covenant binding as it is a Vow.

Ri. *Part of This Covenant is* [againſt Popery, Superſtition, *and* Profaneneſs; *and all that is againſt Sound Doctrine and Godlineſſe*, &c. *which the Non-Conformiſts take to be Lawful and Neceſſary things.* Non-Conf. Plea. 1ſt. Part. P. 142. *But the Controverſy*

troverſy is not This, *and* That, *but whether as* a Vow made to God, *it binde to things Neceſſary. P.* 143.

Ba. Soft a little. This that you ſpeak of is the *League* and *Covenant*, not the *Vow*, and *Covenant*. The *Latter* was only a *Bond* of *Confederacy* to aſſiſt the *Parliaments Forces* againſt the *King*; and taken by the Lords ane Commons *Jun.* 6. 1673. and then Ordred *Jun.* 27. to be taken all over the Kingdome. But the *Other* was Compoſed afterwards and upon cloſing with the *Scots* accomodated to the *Scottiſh Model*, and Order'd, *Feb.* 2. 1643. to be taken throughout *England* and *Wales*, and Entitled, For *Reformation*, and *Defence of Religion*; *the Honour and Happineſs of the KING*, &c. [By this Covenant, you are bound, not only to an *Extirpation* of *Biſhops*, but to endeavour the Introducing of a *Scottiſh Presbytery*: How can you then diſpence with an Admittance of the *Primates Epiſcopacy*, as you propounded, in Contradiction to the Terms of that Engagement?

The League and Covenant and Vow and Covenant.

The League and Covenant Impos'd.

Baxter is his own Confeſſor and abſolves himſelf.

Mo. Favour me with a word I pray'e. Did ye not Covenant [*to preſerve and defend the Kings Majeſtys Perſon, and Authority?*]

Ri. *Yes*, [in the Preſervation and Defence of the True Religion.

The Covenant for the King, qualify'd for Religion.

Ba. But in caſe of the Kings Oppoſing it, we are ſtill Obliged [*to continue therein, againſt all Oppoſition, and to promote the ſame, according to our Power, againſt all Lets, and Impediments whatſoever.* See the *Covenaut.*

If the King be againſt Religion the Covenant is againſt him.

Mo. Let it ſuffice Gentlemen that your Party deſtroy'd the King; it is no great matter *How.*

Ri. [*As to the Death of the King, I have in the times of Uſurpation, proved that the Presbyterians deteſted it. That it was a Proud Conquering Army, by the Contrivance of* Ol. Cromwell, *and the applauſe of a* Few Phanatiques *that did it by the conſent of a* ſmall care of *the Old* Parliament, *called the* Rump, *that durſt not truſt the King in Power.* Non-Conf. Plea. part. 2. Preface.

Richard lays the Death of the King to *Oliver.*

The *Baxterians* attack'd the King.

Ba. Prethee *Dick* Speak truth and ſhame the Devil. What: did we raiſe Armyes for? And Attaque the King himſelf in the Head of his Troops? Wee'l maintain *That*, by our *Principles*, and *Aphoriſms*. [War is not an Act of *Government*, but *Hoſtility*. Men are not in Reaſon to be ſuppoſed to Intend their Enemies Good, if they *fight* we are to believe, they would *Kill*: and Nature believeth not *Killing* to be an Act of *Friendſhip*. *Holy Common-Wealth. Pa.* 422.

And they fought to kill.

Baxters Unfeigned Repentance.

I do Unfeignedly Repent that I did no more for Peace in my Place then I did; and that I did not pray more heartily againſt Contention, and War, before it came: and ſpake no more againſt it then I did; and that I ſpake ſo much to blow the Coals. For This I dayly beg forgiveneſſe of the Lord, through the Pretious bloud of the Great Reconciler. The hatred of ſtrife, and War, and Love of Peace, and Obſervation of the Lamentable Miſcariages ſince, have call'd me often to ſearch my heart, and try my ways by the word of God; whether I did Lawfully engage in That War, or not: (which I was confident then, was the Greateſt outward ſervice that ever I performed to God. And whether I Lawfully encouraged ſo many Thouſands to it. *Holy Common-Wealth. Pa.* 485. 486.

Mr. *Baxter* conſulted the Word of God about Oppoſing the King.

Mr *Baxter* would be the ſame man if another King were to be Depos'd and Murthered.

[But yet I cannot ſee that I was miſtaken in the main Cauſe; nor dare I repent of it, nor forbear the ſame, if it were to do again, in the ſame State of Things. I ſhould do all I could to prevent ſuch a War, but if it could not be prevented, I muſt take the ſame ſide as then I did. And my Judgment tells me, that if I ſhould do otherwiſe, I ſhould be Guilty of Treaſon or diſloyalty againſt the SOVEREIGN POWER of the Land, and of Perfidiouſneſſe to the Common-Wealth, and of preferring Offending Subjects, before the Laws, and Juſtice; and the Will of the King above the ſafety of the Common-wealth, and conſequently above his own Wellfare. *Ibid*, And then for you ſo *Impudently* and *Impertinently*——

Mr. *Baxter* very cautious of Treaſon againſt the two Houſes.

Baxter falls foul upon *Richard*.

The Moderator interpoſes

Mo. Nay, let's have none of this, Gentlemen I beſeech ye, why You Two are Old Acquaintances; Fellow-Labourers, Fellow-Sufferers, and One Womans Children as we ſay.——

Ba. I ſhall not eat my words I aſſure ye; I may forget my ſelf perhaps, but I am not a man for Recantations. I ſay again, that it was *Impudently* and *Impertinently* done to reflect upon

Baxter vindicates *Oliver*.

Oliver

Oliver Cromwell, as if he had done an Ill thing. My *Holy Common-wealth* [was written while the *Lord Protector* (Prudently, Piously, Faithfully, to his Immortal Horrour, how ill soever you have used him) did Exercise the Government. *Holy Common wealth, Preface to the Army.* [And I have *forborn to change any One* Word of it all, that you may see the worst of my Intendments. And that *True Principles will stand in all Times, and Changes*, though to the shame of those Changes that make bad Times. *Ibid.* These are my own words, and do you think that I would ever have bestowed upon a detestable wretch, the Epithetes of PRUDENT, PIOUS and FAITHFUL? And again; If *Oliver* had not been a Religious, and Gratious Prince, can you Imagine that I should ever have treated his Son *Richard* with this Complement? [We pray that you may INHERIT a Tender care of the Cause of Christ. *Key for Catholiques, Ep. Ded.* which shews both that *Oliver* had a *Tenderness* for *Christs Cause*; and necessarily Implys that the *Cause* he *Managed* was the *Cause* of *Christ*.

A prudent, pious, Faithful Prince.

Baxter prays that *Richard Cromwell* may Inherit the Piety of his Father.

And then you shuffle it again upon the *Phanatiques*, and the *Rump*, that durst not trust the King with Power. Why prethee what Power did we allow him? We took away his Arms and his Men, and his Money, and his Credit, and his Towns, and his Ships, and his Laws, and his Liberty, and all the Ensignes of Royalty: and the Maxims whereupon we supported our Proceedings, did his besineſſe. The Two Houses and the Army were no more then the Gun and the Ball; The one gave fire and the other kill'd him.

The Presbyterians Disarm'd the King, and the Independents Kill'd him.

Mo. Mr. *Baxter*; I (as you say) you do *Unfeignedly Repent, that you spake so much* Formerly *to blow the Coals.* Why are ye blowing of them again? You carry'd Thousands you say, into the War, and Engaged in it your self, and would do the same thing over again upon the like Occasion: And your Judgment tells you that it were *Treason against the Sovereign Power of the Land* to do otherwise. According to This *Doctrine*, a Remnant of the Lords and Commons may do as much to This King as they did to his Father, and the Presbyterians Pulpits shall justify the Prooceeding. You do Generously however to own your Positions. But yet methinks you should have some regard to the dismal Consequences that have ensu'd upon this Controversy.

Baxter repents, and then repents of his Repentance.

Baxter thanks God for his Blessings upon this Nation in consequence of the Rebellion.

Ba. [It were too great Folly, by *Following Accidents*, that were then unknown, for me to Judge of the *Former Cause*. That which Is Calamitous in the Event, is not allways sinfull in the Enterprize. Should the Change of Times make me forget the State that we were formerly in, and Change my Judgment, by losing the sense of what then conduced to it's Enformation, This *Folly* and *forgetfullnesse* would be the way to a *sinfull*, and not an *Obedient Repentance*. Nor can I be so Unthankful as to say, for all the sins and Miscarriages of Men since, that we have not received much mercy from the Lord: *Holy Commonwealth. Pa.* 487.

The Blessed Difference betwixt the Government of the Late King, & of *Cromwell*

When Godlyneſſe was the Common Scorn, the Prejudice, and shame most lamentably prevail'd to keep men from it, and so encouraged them in Wickedneſſe: But through the great mercy of God, many Thousands have been converted to a Holy, upright Life, proportionably more then were before, since the Reproach did cease, and the Prejudice was removed, and Faithfull Preachers took the Place of Scandalous ones, or Ignorant Readers. When I look upon the Place where I live, and see that the Families of the Ungodly are here one, and there one in a street, as the Families of the Godly were heretofore (though my own Endeavours have been too weak and cold) it forceth me to set up the stone of Remembrance, and to say [HITHERTO HATH THE LORD HELPED US. *Ibid.* [Oh the sad, and Heart-piercing Spectacles that mine Eyes have seen in four years space. [*This was* Jan. 15. 1649.] [In this Fight, a dear Friend falls down by me: From another, a Pretious Christian brought home wounded, or dead: Scarce a month, scarce a week, without the sight or Noise of Bloud. *Saints Rest, P.* 139.

Baxters Comfortable Effects of a Civill War.

Mo. Here's first a most Evangelicall accompt of the blessed Effects of a Civill War: [*The Propagation of Holynesse.* And Then, a most Remarkable Calculation of the date of your Calamities, which commences precisely from the Armies getting the Ascendent of the Two Houses, without any respect to the Outrages both upon the Church and State, while the Presbyterians Govern'd.

The Blessed Times we had till the Army got the better of the Two Houses

Ri. *Pray'e will ye* [*patiently read over the Representation, or Letter of the* London Ministers *to the Lord Generall*, Jan. 18. 1648.

Mo. Very

Mo. Very well, and since you are pleas'd to cast the Cause, and the Integrity of your Party upon That Issue, wee'l see what they say.

['It is allready sufficiently known (besides all former Miscar- 'riages) what Attempts of late have been put in Practice against *Lawfull Authority: Letter P.* 3. ['This Lawfull Authority *was a* 'Faction *of the* Two Houses] Especially by the Late Remon- 'strance, and Declaration, published in Opposition to the Pro- 'ceedings in Parliament. [*Here's the* Crimen *læsæ Majestatis.*] '[As also by seizing, and Imprisoning the Kings Person with- 'out the *Knowledge*, and *Consent* of Parliament. *Ibid.*

London-Ministers Letter to the Lord-General *Jan* 18. 1648

The Armies Crime was the opposing of the Parliament, and Imprisoning the King without Leave.

[Here's only a plain *Seizure of the Kings Person, without the* Parliaments Privity *or* Leave; *No Condemnation of the Thing it self, further then as it was done without his* Mesters Consent. *Nor was the King more a Prisoner in the hands of the* Army, *then he had been at* Newcastle, *in the hands of the* Presbyterians.]

Only a *Seizure* of the Kings Person.

' *But now they come to* [That late *Unparall'd violence* offer'd to 'the Members of it; forcibly hindring above one hundred of 'them (if we mistake not the Number) from sitting in Parlia- 'ment: Imprisoning many of their Persons; though many of 'them are known to us to be men of Eminent worth, and Inte- 'grity; and who have given most Ample Testimony of their 'Real Affection to the good of the Kingdome. *Ibid.*

But an *Unparallel'd Violence* upon the Members of the House.

Being men of Eminent Worth and Integrity.

Pray'e take notice, that it was upon the *Members*, an Unparallel'd violence; upon the *King*, no more then a *Simple Seizure*; and methinks they might have bestowed some kind Epithete upon his *Majesty*, as well as upon the *Eminent* and *Worthy* Members. But 'tis only the bare *King*; and That's All.

['And besides All This, [There is an Intent of Framing and 'contriving a New Model, as well of the Laws, and Govern- 'ment of the Kingdom, as of the Constitution of a new kind of 'Representative. All which Practices we cannot but Judge, to 'be manifestly opposite to the *Lawfull Authority* of those Maje- 'strates which God hath set over us; and to the Duty and Obe- dience, which by the Laws of God and man, and by our mani- 'fold Oaths, and Covenants, we stand obliged to render to 'them. *Ibid.*

A Factious Remnant, the Magistrates which God hath set over us.

You

The *London* Miniſters Mediation little leſſe then Treaſon.

You are not aware, Mr. *Richard*, that to Juſtify the Doctrine of theſe Letters falls very little ſhort of Juſtifying downright Treaſon; unleſſe you can ſhew a Law that places the Supreme Power in the Two Houſes.

Gods Ordinance violated when Magiſtracy is oppos'd.

The Divines fear full of oppoſing God, in an Ordinance of the Two Houſes.

[' The Fear of God therefore, (whoſe Ordinance is violated, ' when Magiſtracy is oppoſed) makes us affraid of medling with ' Thoſe who without any Colour of Legal Authority, meerly ' upon the Preſumption of ſtrength, ſhall attempt ſuch Changes ' as theſe are. And we cannot but be deeply Affected with ' Grief and Aſtoniſhment, to ſee that an Army raiſed by Autho- ' rity of Parliament, for the Preſervation of the Priviledges ' thereof, and of our Religion, Laws, and Liberties, ſhould con- ' trary to their Truſt, and many engagements, do That which ' tends to the Manifeſt ſubverſion of them All. *P.* 4.

None of theſe ſcruples in the caſe of the King.

Pray'e where was the Fear of Cod, when the King was oppoſed? what Legal Authority had the Two Houſes over his Majeſty, more then the Army had over the Two Houſes! Or by what Law did That Parliament raiſe That Army?

The Presbyterians True to the Faction from the beginning.

[We have not forgotten thoſe Declared Grounds and Principles, upon which the Parliament firſt took up Arms: and upon which we were induced to joyn with them: (from which we have not *hitherto* declared, and we truſt through Gods Grace, we NEVER SHALL.) *Pa.* 5.

The Standard of the Presbyterian Loyalty why not as tender of a breach of Truſt, according to Law, as againſt it?

We have here in few words, the Judgment, and the Reſolution of the Presbyterian Divines, aud the ſtandard of their Loyalty, from the Lips of the very Oracle of the Party. I wonld fain know now which was the fouler breach of Truſt, That of the Two Houſes toward his Majeſty, to whom both by Law and Conſcience they were obliged, (beſides ſo many Gratious Conceſſions) or that of the Army, to the Two Houſes! The one being like the Robbing of an Honeſt man, and the other, the Pillaging of That Thief: Over and above that the Army was Trayn'd up in the Trade of turning out their Maſters.

There was no Intent to diveſt the King of his *Legal Right*.

[' And moreover; although the PARLIAMENT thus took ' up Arms for the defence of their Perſons & Priviledges, and the Preſervation

'Preſervation of Religion, Laws, and Liberties; yet was it not 'their Intention, thereby to do violence to the Perſon of the 'King, or diveſt him of his Regal Authority, and what *of Right* belongeth to him. *Pa.* 7.

Do but ſhew me now any one Eſſential of Sovereignty which thoſe people left him, if they could take it away, and I will be anſwerable to forfeit my head for't. But ſtill it is but what [*of Right*] belongeth to him; and That's a *Salvo* for all the Violences Imaginable.

But he had a Right to nothing then, for they took all away.

['We diſclam, deteſt, and abhor the Wicked, and bloudy 'Tenents, and Practices of *Jeſuits* (the whrſt of Papiſts) Con- 'cerning the oppoſing of Magiſtrates, by Private perſons, and 'the Murthering of Kings by any, though under the moſt ſpeci- 'ous, and Colourable Pretenſes. *Pa.* 11.

The Presbyterians tell us they are no Jeſuits.

This is All, which upon that deſperate *Criſis* of *State* was ſaid for that Pious and unfortunate Prince: the ſaving of the King, being (if any) Incomparably the leaſt part of the Miniſters buſineſs. Beſide that the dethroning of him was more Criminal then the beheading of him. And in ſuch a caſe, it would have been no longer a Murther, when they ſhould once have voted the Fact to be an Execution of Juſtice.

Not one word for the King in the whole Letter.

['We deſire (*Say they*) that you would not be too Confident 'on former ſucceſſes. If God have made you proſper while 'you were in his way, this can be no Warrant for you to walk 'in ways of your Own. P. 12. [*So that the Old Cauſe is Gods ſtill, 'to this very day.*]

The Army in Gods way while they joyn'd with the Presbyterians.

'And beſides; [you have engaged your ſelves by an Oath to 'preſerve his Majeſtys Perſon, and the Priviledges of Parlia- 'ment; and This is moſt clear, that no Neceſſity can juſtify 'Perjury, or diſpenſe with Lawfull Oaths. Pa. 15.

Sworn to preſerve his Majeſties Perſon and Priviledges of Parliament.

I ſhould be glad to know now, how you came to be abſolv'd of the Oath of Allegiance, or how you can honeſtly pretend to Stand up for any Intereſt, that renders the King Accountable to his Subjects.

Who abſolv'd the Presbyterians of their former Oaths.

Ba. [Yet if I had taken up Arms againſt the Parliament in

If *Baxter* alſerv'd the king

he had been a Traytor.

in That War, my Conſcience tells me I had been a Traytor, and Guilty of Reſiſting the *Higheſt Powers*. *Holy Com. Pa.* 433.

Mo. At This Rate, the King was a Traytor on the other ſide.

Baxters Holy Com. wealth, to be taken as *Non-Scriptus*.

Ba. Why do yon cite the *Holy Common Wealth*, ſo often? for I have deſired that the Book be taken as *non Scriptus*. *Non-Con.. Plea 2d part. Pref.*

A ſhift, not a Recantation.

Mo. And would not any Malefactor that were deprehended in the manner, ſay as much as this amounts to; and wiſh that the thing might be taken as *Non Factum*? This is rather a *Shift*, then a *Retractation*.

For the Aphoriſms were Level'd directly againſt the King.

And then again; it is a wonderfull thing that you ſhould overſhoot yonr ſelf ſo much upon a Subject that was expreſly [*Suited to the demands, and doubts of Theſe Times,*] *Holy Com. Pa.* 102. That is to ſay; The Reſtoring of the King was the point then in Agitation, and out comes your Book of *Aphoriſms* expreſly to poſſeſſe the People againſt it.

Baxters Recantation.

Ba. If you would have a Recantation more in Form, [I do here freely Profeſs that I repent of all that ever I thought, Sayd, Wrote, or did, ſince I was Born, againſt the Peace of Church or State, Againſt the King, his Perſon, or Authority, as Supreme in himſelf; or as Derivative in any of his Officers, Magiſtrats, or any Commiſſioned by him. *2d Admonition to Bagſhaw. Pa.* 52.

A Repentance that will paſſe neither upon God, nor Man

Mo. This *Mock Repentance* is a Trick that will not paſs either upon God or Man. The Kings Headſman might have Sayd as much, and yet account that execrable Office a meritorious work. You are at your *Faſt Sermon* again; Always *Obedient* to the *Higheſt Powers*, but divided ſomewhere about the *Receptacle* of the *Sovereignty*. You ask God forgiveneſſe for all that ever you *Thought*, *Sayd*, *Wrote*, or *Did*, againſt the *King*, and the *Publick-Peace*. And what ſignifies This Repentance, ſo long as you perſiſt in maintaining, that all the violences acted upon the Perſon, Crown and Dignity of his Sacred Majeſty, in the Name of the King and Parliament, were not AGAINST the King, but FOR him, This is All, but the *Hypotheſis* of a Tranſgreſſion.

Transgression. *Lord forgive me all that ever I did amiss.* That is to say, *if ever I did any thing amiss.* But I charge my self with no Particulars. Why do ye not Touch the *Thesis* that you condemn; and say *This, That,* and *tother Aphorisme* I *Renounce*? Nay, why do ye not Reform and Correct your mistakes, and state the matter aright, toward the bringing of These people into their Wits again, that have been Intoxicated by your false Doctrine, and Poyson'd from your very Pulpit?

Ba. [If you Quarrell with my Repentance as not In *Particulars enow*; I answer you, that as in the Revocation of the Book, I thought it best to *Revoke the whole,* (though not as *Retracting* all the Doctrine of it) because if I had named the Particular Passages, some would have said I had mentioned too *Few,* and some too *many,* and few would have been satisfi'd. *Admon. to Bagshaw. Pag.* 53.

Baxter Reasons why his Repentance is not Particular

Mo. You have Mark'd [*Revoke,*] and [*Retract*] with an Emphatical Character, to give to Understand, that you do not *Retract,* though you do *Revoke,* and you have put them in *Italique,* to shew that there lies a stresse upon Those two Words. *You* Revoke *the whole* [Book] you say, *not as* Retracting *all the Doctrine of it*: If by *Revoke* you mean *Call in,* or *Suppress*; you might as well call back your Breath again, as the venome that was diffused by those Aphorisms. And then to say that you do not [*Retract All* the Doctrine of it] does not necessarily Imply, that you Retract any part of it. Or if you do, your Repentance is yet Frivolous, for want of distinguishing the Right from the Wrong; that your Disciples may not take the One from the Other.

Mr. *Baxters Pia Fraus.*

A Jesuitism.

Your Apprehension indeed of saying *too much,* or *too little* if you should come to *Particulars,* is very Reasonable: For to please the Lovers to their *Prince, Church,* and *Countrey,* you must not leave one Seditious, or Schismatical Principle behind ye. But then on the other side, if you come to pronounce the Levying of Arms, the making of a Great Seal, and Exercising other Acts of Sovereignty, without, and against the Kings Commission, to be High Treason by the Established Law, you are lost to all Intents and Purposes, with your own Party. So that for fear of disobliging the One side or the Other, by Con-

For fear of too Much or too Little, Mr. *Baxter* confesses just nothing at all.

fessing too much, or too little, you have resolved upon the middle way of confessing just nothing at all.

Mr. *Baxter* proceeds in his repentance

He ever *opposeth* what he sometimes *encouraged*. A Baxterism.

Ba. [I do Repent (again) that I no more discouraged the spirit of peevish Quarrelling with Superiours, and Church-Orders ; and (though I *ever disliked* and *opposed* it, yet) that I *sometimes* did *too much Encourage* such, as were of this Temper, by speaking too sharply against Those things which I thought to be *Church-Corruptions* : and was too loth to displease the Contentious, for fear of being Uncapable of doing them good, (knowing the Prophane to be much worse then They) and meeting with too few Religious persons, that were not too much pleased with such Invectives. *Ibid.*

B's very Repentances are Calumnies.

Mo. This Clause of Repentance, is every jot as much a Riddle to me as the former. You did not sufficiently *discourage* the *spirit* of Quarrelling with *Superiours*. [Which *spirit* you your *self Raised*.] You were a little *too sharp* upon what you *thought* to be *Church-Corruptions*, [So that here's a Bit, and a Knock, You were a little *too sharp* ; but it was against *Corruptions* in the *Church* ; Your very *Repentances* are *Calumnies*. But you were willing to oblige a Contentious Religious Party that was pleased with Invectives, you could have done them no good else. And what good I beseech ye did you do them by it, but mislead, and confirm them in Principles of *Di*sobedience ? only you consider'd you say, that the *Prophane* were much *worse* then the *Other*.

He Repents and Relapses in the same breath.

What is the reason that Mr. *Baxter* will be perpetually thus Inconsistent with himself ; First you Repent for no more *Discouraging*, and then (by a side wind) for *Encouraging* ; and before the Repentance is out of your Mouth, you are at it again, with your CHURCH-CORRUPTIONS, and your opposition of the PROPHANE forsooth to the *Godly*, to Enflame the Division, and to Harden the Non-Conformists in their Dissent.

Prophanness in Habit, and in Conspiracy

Now as to your Stigmatizing Character of *Prophane*, There is a *Personal Prophaneneſſe*, and there is a Prophaneneſſe of *Association*, and *Confederacy*. There are many men I know, that have gotten so diabolical a Habit of Swearing, Cursing and Blaspheming the holy name of God, that they can hardly speak Ten words without an Oath, or a Curse : This is without dispute a most abominable Sin ; But it is withall so Disagreeable,

able, and ſo offenſive, that it gives a man a Horrour for the Imitation, and Practice, of ſo Unprofitable, and ſo Monſtrous a Crime; and though it be a grievous *Wickedneſs*, it is not of ſo dangerous an Example. But what ſay you to Sacramental Leagues againſt Order, and Law? To the forcing of a whole Nation either to Swear or ſtarve? to the calling God into a Conſpiracy againſt Government and Religion? To the Robbing of Altars; demoliſhing of Temples; dethroning of Kings; degrading of Biſhops? *&c.* And all This, *in the Name of the moſt High God*, and with *hands held up unto the Lord*. But go on with your Repentance.

A Covenanting Prophannesſe worſe then a Perſonal.

Ba. [I do Repent (alſo) that I had not more Impartially and dilligently Conſulted with the beſt Lawyers that were againſt the Parliaments Cauſe, (for I know of no Controverſy in Divinity about it, but in Politiques and *Law*;) and that I did not uſe all poſſible means of full Acquaintance with the Caſe. *Ibid.*

He repents that he did not adviſe with Lawyers.

[And that for a little while the Authority of ſuch Writers as Mr. *Richard Hooker*, *Lib.* I. *Eccleſ. Polit.* and *Biſhop Bilſon*, and other *Epiſcopal Divines* did too much ſway my Judgment toward the Principles of *Popular Power*.

An Invidious Reflexion upon *Hooker*.

[And ſeeing the Parliament *Epiſcopal*, and *Eraſtian*; and not hearing when the War began, of Two Presbyterians amongſt them all, nor among all their Lord Lieutenants, Generalls, Major Generalls, or Colonells, till long after; I was the Eaſilyer drawn to think, that *Hookers Political Principles* had been commonly Received by all; which I diſcerned ſoon after upon ſtricter Enquiry, to be Unſound, and have my ſelf written a Confutation of them. *Pa.* 53.

Mo. This way of Dodging, in one of the Prophane (as you ſtile us) would have been *Jeſuitical*. Here's only a bare wiſh that you had made a ſtricter Enquiry into the Cauſe, but no Acknowledgment that you were in the Wrong. And again, If you knew of no Controverſy in Divinity about it; why are all your Writings ſtuffed with ſuch a Huddle of Texts for Obedience to the Two Houſes? What did you *ſearch the Word of God for*, in the Caſe? *Holy Com. Pa.* 486.

Jeſuitical Dodging.

If you were miſled by Mr. *Hookers Firſt Book of Eccleſiaſtical Polity* in Favour of *Popular Power*; why would ye not let him ſet

Why could not *Hooker* ſet

him Right to the *Church*, as well as wrong to the *State*. *Hookers* popular power nothing to Co-ordination.

the Right in your *Eccl-ſiaſtical Politiques*, and in your Duty to the Authority, and Diſcipline of the Church, to make ye ſome amends? the Biaſſe which you will have him to take, in favour of Popular Power, being not one jot to your purpoſe, but regarding only the Specification of Government, and not the Fountain; and who ly Forrein to your Phanſy of a *Co-ordination*: Whereas That Great mans diſcourſe in vindication of the *Rites* and Injunctions of the Church comes directly to your Point: and ſtands as firm as a Rock againſt all the Inſults of Calumny, and Oppoſition; without any pretenſe to a Reply. But you ſerve Mr. *Hooker* in *This*, and the *King himſelf*, and the *Engliſh Clergy* in *Other* Caſes, as you do the Biſhops in your *Church-Hiſtory*: you turn over *Indexes* and *Common-Places* for matter of Reproach againſt them, and then obtrude upon the World, the Frailties of ſome, and your own moſt Uncharitable miſtakes of Others, for the Hiſtory of the Order; but not one word of Their Virtues. (It would make a black book, the Story of the *Presbytery* drawn up at the ſame Rate.) It is your way ſtill, under a Pretext of advancing the *Miſtical* Church, to depreſs the *Viſible*, and to put the people out of Love with both *Civill* and *Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitutions*.

Baxters Writings are a direct Satyr upon Government.

Ba. [Pray'e do but obſerve and ſee of what manner of perſons the Viſible Church hath been Conſtituted, in all Ages of the World, till now. In the firſt Church, in *Adams* Family, a *Cain*, In a Church of Eight perſons, the Father and Paſtor overtaken with Groſſe Drunkenneſs, and one of his Sons was a Curſed *Cham*. In a Church of ſix perſons, Two of them periſh'd (in *Sodom* (in the flames among the Unbelievers, and a Third turn'd into a Pillar of Salt: The Two remaining Daughters, committed Inceſt. In *Abrahams* Family, an *Iſhmael*; in *Iſaacks*, an *Eſau*: even *Rebecca*, and *Jacob* gnilty of deceitfull Equivocation; an *Abraham* and *Iſaac* deny'd their Wives to ſave themſelves in their Unbelief. In *Jacobs* Family a *Simeon* and *Levi*, that ſold their brother *Joſeph*. Of the Church of the *Iſralites* in the Wilderneſs but Two permitted to enter into the Land of Promiſe, *&c.* [The Ten Tribes were drawn by *Jeroboam* to Sin, by ſetting up Calves at *Dan* in *Bethel*, and making *Prieſts of the Vileſt of the People*; and forſaking the Temple, and the *True Worſhip of God* and the *Lawfull Prieſts*. And theſe *Lawfull Prieſts* at *Jeruſalem* were Ravening Wolves and Greedy Dogs,

B's quarrel to the Viſible Church.

Dogs, and careleſs, and cruell Shepherds. The falſe Prophets who deceived the People were moſt Accepted.] *Ch Div. Pa.* 35. 36. 37. And if you run throngh the Churches of *Rome*, *Corinth*, *Galatia*, *Coloſſe*, *Epheſus*, *Pergamus*, *Thyatira*, *Sardis*, *Laodicea*.] *Pa.* 39. 40. 41. *you'le finde it to be the ſame caſe.*

Mo. But what's your end in all This?

Ba. [Not to make Sin leſs Odious, nor the Church or Godly leſs Eſteemed: but to ſhew you the Frame of the *Viſible Church*, in all Generations, and how it differeth from the *Jewiſh*; leſt you ſhould take on you to be wiſer then God, and to build his houſe after a better Rule then his Goſpel and the Primitive Pattern. *Ibid. Pa.* 36.

The Reaſons of B's Unkindneſs to the Viſible Church.

Mo. This is by Interpretation, The *Non-Conformiſts* are the *Inviſible* Church; and the *Epiſcopall Clergy* are the *Ravening Wolves*, and the *Greedy Dogs*, and all the Sons of the Church of *England*, are the *Church Viſible*, According to your moſt obliging way of Alluſion. But there's one thing I forgot.

He makes Diſſenters the Inviſible Church and Conformiſts the Viſible.

You ſay, the *Presbyterians* did not begin the War; which with your Favour is a great miſtake, and yet not a pin matter to the caſe in Queſtion; whether they did or not. Did not the *Kirk* lead the Dance, and the *Republican Faction* in *England* pay them their wages, and call them their *Dear Brethren* for their pains? And then the *Presbyterian* war was denounc'd in the *Pulpit*, and in the *Parliament-houſe* too, long before the *Republican* broke out openly in the *Field*. What if the firſt Publick Sticklers, were not at that time *Declar'd Presbyterians?* They were yet in the *Conſpiracy* againſt *Biſhops*, though under another Notion; and quickly after they Liſted themſelves under That very Profeſſion, as the beſt cover in nature for their purpoſe; for That Schiſme was never without a State-faction in the Belly on't. But nothing is more Notorious, then the Intelligence that was held, from the Beginning, betwixt the *Republican Caball*, and the *Presbyterian Divines*! The one drew the Bellowes, and the Other Play'd the Tune. And take notice likewiſe, That Presbyterian was a mark of the *Faction* rather then a note of the *Religion*, and uſed in *Contradiſtinction* to *Royalliſt*. But Pray'e finiſh your Repentance.

Presbyterians began the War.

A State Faction as well as a Schiſme.

Ba. For

B's Implicite Repentance.

Ba. For [All the reſt of my Sins in this buſineſs, which I know not of Particularly, I do Implicitly and generally Repent of, and ask of God to give me a particular Converſion, *&c.*] *Ibid* 53.

B's account ſoon caſt up.

Mo. If you have told all the Particulars you know of, your Account, Mr. *Baxter*, is ſoon caſt up.

You begin with a *Generall Suppoſition. All that ever I Thought, Said*, &c. without any One *Inſtance*; or *Acknowledgement.* If you had ſayd, *I have committed many Sins of This kinde, and of That*, it had been ſomething.

A General Particular Repentance.

Your Second Branch of Repentance, is for *no more diſcouraging Peeviſhneſſe* toward *Superiours*; and Then ſometimes *too much Encouraging* it by being too *Sharp* your ſelf againſt what you took to be *Church Corruptions*. Why Sorry for no MORE diſcouraging, when you were ſo far from diſcouraging *at all*, that on the Contrary, you Repent in the ſame Period, for *too much Encouraging*? This is, at the beſt; but a Lame and a *Generall Particular Repentance*. That which you make no more of then the Spirit of *Peeviſh* Quarrelling (as if the people had only piſt upon a Nettle) you ſhould have ſpoken out, and call'd it the Spirit of *Contumacy*, and *Rebellion*. And what is it that you charge upon your ſelf here, more then that you were a little too Mealy-mouth'd? But wher's your Vindication of the *Church-Orders* you mention? where's your Determination which are the *Right Superiours*. Why do ye not tell the People that you were miſtaken in the Opinion of our *Church-Corruptions*; and Inſtruct them in their Duties of *Obedience* to *God*, aud the *King*? Without ſo doing, That which you call Repentance, is only a Snare to the Multitude, and a Scandal to the Government.

Rebellion and Peeviſhneſſe.

B. Repents of being too mealy-mouth'd.

Your next Pang of Repentance, is for not Conſulting the beſt Lawyers that were againſt the Parliament, more Impartially and dilligently then you did.

A Repentance without a Confeſſion.

Is This the Repentance, Mr. *Baxter*, of a *Confeſſor*? A *Repentance*, without a *Confeſſion*: an arrant peice of *Artifice*, and Deſign, to put on the Diſguiſe of a Recantation, and without any charge or diſcharge of Conſcience, to keep in with Both Parties. The Sin does not Ly in your not *Adviſing* with Lawyers concerning the State of the Controverſy, but in Plunging your ſelf and Others into Bloud, hand over head, contrary to the Laws of God and man, without ſo much as conſulting the

grounds

grounds of the Quarrell. To the *Royallists* it looks like an excuse of your Disloyalty to the King; as who should say; *'Tis true, I was to blame: It was a Poynt of Law, and I should have taken better Advise upon't.* And if the Other Side accuse you as a desertor of the Cause, you can acquit your self There too, that you have not Repented of any one Poynt to their Prejudice. If it be not as I say, and that you mean Good Faith, do but publish your Loyalty to the World, in the manner, or to the effect Following, and I'le ask your Pardon.

And an abuse upon Both Parties.

I Do Declare, that the Lords and Commons Assembled in Parliament, are still the Kings Subjects, **and that it is not Lawfull for them to exercise any Act of** Sovereign Power, **Without or Against the** Kings Command, **or** Consent. **I do likewise declare that the War, Raised by the pretended Authority of the Lords and Commons in** 1642. **With all their Orders, Ordinances, and Impositions in pursuance thereof, were also unlawfull: And that All Acts of Hostility done by Them or their Order, against the King, or the Party Commissioned by him, during the Command of the Earl of** Essex, **were Acts of disloyalty, and Rebellion.**

Mr. *Baxter's* Test.

If you be really the man that you would be thought to be, you'le never Boggle at This Test: But if This will not down with ye, (let me tell you Sir, that to my knowledge worse then this, has) you will make me think of the Lady in the Proverbs, that [*Eateth, and wipeth her Mouth, and saith I have done no Wickedness.*

Ba. You

Mr *Baxter's* Challenge.

Ba. You Reflect in Theſe Reproaches either upon my Particular Principles, or upon the Principles of the Party, or upon Both. As to my ſelf; [If any man can prove, that I was Guilty of, hurt to the Perſon, or deſtruction of the Power of the King, or of Changing the Fundamental Conſtitution of the Common-Wealth] *&c. Holy Com. Pa.* 489. 490. [I will never gain-ſay him if he call me a moſt perfidious Rebell; and tell me that I am Guilty of far greater Sin, then Murther, Whoredome, Drunkeneſſe, or ſuch like. *Ibid.*

Or if they can ſolidly Confute my Grounds, I will thank them, and Confeſſe my Sin to all the World. *Ibid.*

Richard takes him up and proves him guilty as to the Kings Perſon.

Ri. *Nay Brother* Baxter, *you muſt give* Me *leave to put in a Word now; and firſt to your* Practice, *then to your* Grounds. *Did not you animate the Party that was in Arms againſt the King; as much as any man, and was That no hurt to his* Perſon? [*Remember* (ſay you to the Army) *how far I have gone with you in the Warr —And ſhall I be affraid of my Old moſt Intimate Friends?* &c. Holy Com. Pref. *Will you have it now that* This Army, your Old, and intimate Friends, *did no Hurt to his Majeſties Perſon? And now bethink your ſelf, of your Challenge in the* Preface *to your* Holy Common wealth. [*Prove that the* King was the Higheſt Power, *in the time of* Diviſions, *and that he* had Power to make that War, *which he made, and I will offer my Head to Juſtice as a Rebell.*] *Is not This Deſtructive of the Kings Power? And is not This a Change of the Fundamental Conſtitution of the Common-wealth, to ſay that* [*the Members of Parliament conſidered* disjunctly, *may be* Subjects, *but that* Conjunctly, *as a* Houſe *or* Body, *they have the Sovereignty.*] Holy Com. Pa. 433. *And again,* pa. 462. [*That the Parliament hath a part of the Legiſlative Power, (even of ENACTING, and not only of* Propoſing) *is undoubted.*

An Oppoſer of the Kings Power.

And the Fundamental Conſtitution.

He acknowledgeth the Protectors Soveraignty. And bleſſeth the Providences that brought Richard to the Government.

Ba. Nay if you go to That *Richard,* I ſhall call *You* to Accompt for your *Practiſes* and *Propoſitions* too. Do not you remember a certain *Dedicatory Epiſtle,* to *Richard Protector,* in your *Key for Catholiques,* where you have theſe words? [Give not leave to every ſeducer to do his worſt to damn mens Souls. when you will not Tolerate every Traytor to draw your *Armies* or PEOPLE into Rebellion.] *And again,* [This is one that rejoyceth in the preſent happineſs of *England,* and honoureth all the Providences of God, by which we have been brought to whatwe are.] Do not you here acknowledge *Richard* the *Protectors*

tectors Sovereignty ? and bleſſe all the Providences that have brought matters ſo Comfortably about?

Ri. *Ay, Ay,* Baxter; *Thats a Doctrine you taught me in your* Commouwealth. [*I am bound to ſubmit to the Preſent Government, as ſet over us by God, and to Obey for Conſcience-ſake, and to behave my ſelf as a Loyal Subject towards Them. For a Full and Free Parliament hath own'd it, and ſo there is notoriouſly the* Conſent of the People, *which is the Evidence that former Princes had to Juſtify their Beſt Titles.* Pa. 484. *Whereas in Truth neither was This a* Free Parliament, *nor any* Parliament *at all; neither was your ſubmiſſion to the preſent Power, an Act of Conſcience, for the* ſame Conſcience *would have oblig'd you as well to the* King, *upon the* ſame Grounds.

Richard had his Principles from *Baxter.*

Baxter makes the *Protectors* Title as good as the *Kings.*

Ba. In good time *Mr. Richard*: And who taught ye, I wonder your Complements to *Prince Richard* in the *Five diſputations*? Where you Addreſſe your ſelf [*To His Highneſſe, Richard, Lord Protectour of the Common-Wealth of* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland.] *Ep. Ded.* And further ['Your Zeal for God 'will kindle in your SUBJECTS, a zeal for you. The more 'your Life & Government is Divine, the more Divine will you 'appear; and therefore, the more Amiable, and Honourable to 'the Good, and Reverend to the Evill. Parliaments will Love 'and honour you, and abhor the Motions that tend to a Diviſi-'on, or your *Juſt Diſpleaſure.* Miniſters will heartily pray for 'you, and prayſe the Lord for his Mercies by you, and Teach 'all the People to Love, Honour and Obey you. The People 'will Rejoyce in you; and you will be lov'd or Fear'd of All. 'Such Happineſſe attendeth Serious *Piety*, when Impiety, ſelfiſh-'neſſe, and Neglect of Chriſt, is the ſname and Ruine of Prince 'and People. I crave your Highneſſe Pardon for this Boldneſs, 'and your Favourable Acceptance of the Tender'd Service of,

Baxters Addreſſes to *Richard* Protector.

'A Faithfull Subject to your Highneſs, as you 'are an Officer of the Univerſal King,

Richard Baxter.

Baxters Resolution in three Cases, expresly to keep out the King.

Ri. *I keep still to my Old Master Doctour of the* Aphorisms, [*If a Person enter into a military State against the People, and by Them be Conquered, they are not obliged to Restore him, unless there be some other Special Obligation upon them, beside their Allegeance.*] *Thes.* 145. And moreover [*If the Person dispossest, though it were Unjustly, do afterward become Uncapable of Government, It is not the Subjects duty to seek his Restitution.*] Thes. 146. *And yet again* [*Whosoever expells the Sovereign, though Injuriously, and resolves to revive the Common-Wealth, rather then he shall be restored: and if the Common-Wealth may prosper without his Restauration, It is the Duty of such an Injur'd Prince, for the Common Good to resign his Government; and if he will not, the People ought to Judge him as made Incable by Providence, and not to seek his Restitution to the Apparent Ruine of the Common-Wealth.*] Thes. 147.

Mo. Praye let me put in a Word betwixt ye. What do you call *Incapacitys?*

Baxters Incapacities for Government.

Dominion is founded in Grace.

Want of Power deposes a Prince.

Ba. [When Providence depriveth a man of his *UNDERSTANDING*, He is *Materia Indisposita*, and *Uncapable* of *Government*, though not of the *Name*.] *Thes.* 135. [If God permits Princes to turn so *WICKED*, as to be Uncapable of Governing, So as is consistent with the Ends of Government, he permits them to depose Themselves.] *Thes.* 136. *Again*; [If Providence Statedly disable him that was the Sovereign, from the executing of Laws, Protecting the Just, and other Ends of Government, it maketh him an Uncapable Subject of the Power and so deposeth him.] For a Government so Impotent, is None. A capacity for the Work and Ends is necessary in the Person; and when That ceaseth, the Power ceaseth.] *Hol. Comm. Pag.* 137. 138.

Ri. *And then you say further,* Thes. 153. *That* [*Any thing that is a sufficient Sign of the Will of God, that This is the Person, by whom we should be Governed, is enough (as Joyned to Gods Laws) to oblige us to Consent, and Obey him, as our Governour.*) *Upon which Ground, you your self do Justify all that I have either said, or done, in submission to* Richard. *And so you do likewise in your* Thesis 149.

A Case against his Majesties Restauration.

[*If the Rightfull Governour be so long dispossest, that the Common-Wealth can be no longer be without Government, but to the apparent hazzard of it's Ruine, we ought to Judge that Providence has dispos-*

sest

ſeſt the Former, and preſently conſent to another.] *We muſt not ſay, that* [*becauſe we cannot have ſuch a man, wee'l have none, but be Ungoverned; This is to break an Expreſs Commandement, and to caſt off the Order and Ordinance of God, for a Perſons ſake.*] P. 162. *And then there's another thing*; You put all the *Caſes* that ever you could muſter up, againſt the Kings Return. [*If a King (you ſay) diſſolves the Government he can be no Governour. If an Enemy, no King. A deſtroyer cannot be a Ruler, and Defender; He proclaimeth Hoſtility, and is Therefore not to be Truſted.*] Pa. 539.

Caſes of Forfeiture.

Ba. Well, well? *Richard.* If you had pleaſed, you might have found out ſome other Aphoriſmes, where I have done as much Right I'm ſure to Sovereign Power as any man living. Do not I ſay *Theſ.* 326. That [It is the Subjects Duty to defend their Prince, with their Strength, and hazzard of their Lives, againſt all Forreign and Domeſtique Enemies, that ſeek his Life, or Ruine?]

Baxter aſſerts Obedience at all hazzards.

Ri. *If you ſpeak This to the Cauſe in Queſtion; how will you come off where you ſay* [*If I had known that the Parliament had been the Beginners, and in moſt fault, yet the Ruine of our* Truſtees, *and* Repreſentives, *and ſo of all the* Security *of the Nation, is a* Puniſhment greater *then any fault of theirs againſt a King, can from him deſerve: and That Their faults cannot diſoblige me from defending the Common-Wealth. I Owned not all that ever they did: but I took it to be my Duty to look to the mayn End. And I knew that the King had all his Power for the Common Good, and therefore had none againſt it; and Therefore that no Cauſe can Warrant him, to make the Common-Wealth the Party, which he ſhall exerciſe Hoſtility againſt.*] Ho. Com. Pa. 480. [*All this ſeemed plain to me*] *And* [*When I found ſo many things Conjunct, as* Two *of the* Three Eſtates *againſt the* Will *of the King Alone, the Kingdoms Repreſentatives and Truſtees aſſaulted in the Guarding of our Liberties, and the Higheſt Court defending them againſt* offending Subjects, *and ſeeking to bring them to a Legal Tryal; and the Kingdoms Safety, and the Common Good, involved in their Cauſe* (which may be more fully manifeſted, but that I would not ſtir too much in the Evils of times paſt;) *All theſe, and many more concurring, perſwaded me, that it was* Sinfull to be Neutrals, *and* Treacherous to be againſt the Parliament in that Cauſe.]——[*It were a wonder if ſo many humble, honeſt Chriſtians,* fearful *of* ſinning, *and* Praying

Baxter againſt the King though the Parliament had been in the wrong.

B. does not love to rub old ſores.

Neutrality a ſin, and Treachery to ſerve the King.

The praying Rebels against the Loyall Damme's.

for Direction, *should be all mistaken in so weighty a Case, and so many* Damme's *all in the Right.*] pa. 481.

A just way of Deposing a King imply'd.

Ba. Very Learnedly apply'd. But do not I say *Pa.* 437. That [if a Parliament would wrong a King, and depose him Unjustly, and change the Government, for which they have no Power, the Body of the Nation may refuse to serve them in it, yea, may forcibly restrayn them? If they *Notoriously* betray their Trust, not in some Tolerable matters, but in the Fundamentalls, or Points that the Common Good dependeth on, and engage in a Cause that would destroy the Happyness of the Common-wealth; It is then the Peoples duty to forsake them, and cleave to the King against them, if they be Enemies to the Common-wealth.] *Pag.* 438.

A Parliament may betray their Trust, too.

Tho a Prince be injur'd, the people may joyn with his Enemies.

Ri. *Now I beseech ye Mr.* Baxter *be pleased to Compare* pa. 437. *with* pa. 424. *where you lay down This* Thesis [*Though some injury to the King be the Occasion of the War, it is the Duty of all the People to defend the Common-wealth against him; Yet so, as that they protest against That Injury.*]

No Obedience due to an Usurper.

Ba. But what say ye all this while to the Case of making Court to an Usurper? [When it is Notorious (*say I*) that where a man has no Right to Govern, People are not bound to Obey him, unless by Accident.] *Thesis* 339.

Usurpers must be oppos'd

They have no true power.

Who are Usurpers.

The people to be Judges.

Ri. [*We detest their Ooinion, who think that a strong and prosperous Usurper, may be defended, against the King, or that the King is not to be defended against him, to the hazzard of our Estates, and Lives.*] Non-Conf. 2d. part. Pa. 77. [*Meer Conquest without Consent, is no* Just *Title.*] Ibid. *P.* 108. *And again,* [*Usurpers have no True Power, nor do their Commands bind anb one in Conscience to formal Obedience: nor may they be set up and defended against the Lawfull Governour.*] Pa. 55. [*And Those are Usurpers who by Force or Fraud depose the Lawfull Governonr and take his place.* Ibid. [*If Usurpers claim the Crown, the Subject must Judge which is their King and must defend his Right.*] Non-Con. Plea. 70.

The people may mis-judge.

Ba. But what if the People shall Miss-Judge? [All things are not destructive to the Common-wealth, that are Judg'd so by Dissenting Subjects.] *Holy Com. Pref.* [Nor are Subjects allow'd

allow'd to Reſiſt, whenever they are confident that Rulers would deſtroy the Common-wealth.] *Ibid.* [Oh how happy would the beſt of Nations under Heaven be, If they had the Rulers that our Ingratitude hath caſt off.] [Our old Conſtitution, was King, Lords, and Commons, which we were ſworn and ſworn, and ſworn again to be faithfull to, and to Defend. The King with-drawing, the Lords and Commons Ruled alone, though they Attempted not the Change of the *Species* of Government. Next This, we had the *Major part* of the Houſe of Commons in the Exerciſe of Sovereign Power, the *Corrupt Majority*, (as the Army call'd them) being caſt out.] *Ibid.* &c. *'Tis no matter for the Following Revolutions*; [To reſiſt, or depoſe the *Beſt Governours* in all the world, that have the Supremacy, is forbidden to Subjects on point of Damnation. *Ibid.*

Baxt. lamenting the loſſe of the late Rulers.

Sworn, and ſworn, to King, Lords and Commons.

The Lords & Commons rule alone, and the Government not changed.

Ri. *Pray'e hold your hand a little Mr.* Baxter. *If the Government was in King, Lords, and Commons, how came the Two Houſes to Rule* Alone, *with an Uſurpation? And without changing the* Species *of the Government? or how came we, that you ſay were ſworn over and over to all Three, to depoſe the Head, and Submit to the other Two; and to let the Government ſink from a Monarchy, into an Ariſtocracy? and why might not the* Commons, *caſt out the* Lords, *and the* Army *the* Commons, *as well as the* Two Houſes *caſt off the* King? *Eſpecially by your own Comment upon,* [Let every Soul be Subject to the Higher Powers.] Ho. Com. 3E9. *Where you expound* the Higher Power, *to be Intended of the Governours in* Actual Poſſeſſion. *What hindred this Argument from holding, when the* King *was in Actual Poſſeſſion?*

Raxter charg'd with contradiction.

The Higher Powers are the Governors in poſſeſſion.

Ba. [A people may give an Honourary Title to the Prince, and not give the ſame to Others, that have part in the Sovereignty.] [So that *Names* are not the only Notes of *Sovereignty*. Wherefore one muſt not Judge of the Power of Princes by their Titles, or Names.] *Ho. Com. Pa.* 432. [The Law ſaith the King, ſhall have the Power of the *Militia*, ſuppoſing it to be againſt Enemies, and not againſt the Common-wealth, nor them that have part of the Sovereignty with him. To Reſiſt him here is not to Reſiſt Power, but Uſurpation, and Private Will. In ſuch a Caſe, the Parliament is no more to be Reſiſted then he, becauſe they are alſo the Higher Power.] *Ho. Com. Pa.* 431.

'Tis not the Name that makes the King.

The people Judges of the King and of the Law.

Seize the Kings Revenue, and he is no longer a King.

Pa. 431. *And there's more in't yet.* [If a Prince be ſtatedly made a *Begger*, or forſaken, or Ejected by a Conqueror, and ſo Uncapable of Governing, if it be but *pro Tempore*, the Subjects for That time, (that have no opportunity to Reſtore him) are diſobliged from his Actual Government. [*Pa.* 139.

Inferiour Magiſtrates ſtill Subjects.

Ri. *So that the Seizing of a Prince's Revenue, depoſes him from his Sovereignty, and deſcharges his Subjects of their Obedience. But I took* [*Inferior Magiſtrates to be Subjects of the King as well as the meaneſt men; and to have no more Power to Depoſe, or take up Arms againſt him, then other Subjects.*] Non-Con. Plea, 2d. part p. 57.

Richard ever True to the Crown.

And [*In all the times of Uſurpation, and ſince, I ſaid, and wrote, that the Kings Perſon is Inviolable, and to be Judg'd by none, either Peer, or Parliament, and that it is none but Subjects, that they may call to Account, Judge, and Puniſh.*] Pref.

The Law of Nature is above the Law of the Land.

Ba. I ſhall leave [Others to Judge, in what Caſes Subjects may Reſiſt Kings by Arms; We ſhall only Conclude, that no Humane Power can Abrogate the Law of Nature, *Non-Con. Plea. 2d. Part Pa.* 57.

Modeſt Subjects ſtudy their own Duty not the Kings.

Ri. *And may not the Two Houſes be Reſiſted by the Law of Nature as well as they oppoſed the King?* [*Modeſt Subjects ſhould rather ſtudy what Laws God hath made for* Themſelves, *then what Laws he hath made for Kings; and what is their* Own duty *then what is the Kings:* [**Though of This they are not bound to be Ignorant.**] *Non-Con. Plea, 2d. Part. Pa.* 48.

Sovereign Power not to be reſtrained by the people.

Ba. Nay I am as little for Reſtraining of Sovereign Power as any fleſh breathing. [It is not ſafe or Lawfull for the People to Limit, or Reſtrain the Sovereign Power, from diſpoſing ſo far of the *Eſtates* of All, as is neceſſary to the ſafety of All, which is the End of Government.] *Theſis* 115. Nay [A Governour cannot Lawfully be Reſtrayned by the People from preſerving them.] *Theſ.* 120. [For the Multitude are Covetous, Tenacious, Injudicious, and Incompetent Judges of the Neceſſities, or Commodity of the Common-wealth.] *Pa.*115.

The Multitude no Judges of Government.

Ri. *But what was it you were ſaying e'en now of the* Beſt Governours *in the World?*

Ba.

Ba. I was saying, that [the Best Governours in all the World that have the Supremacy have been Resisted or deposed in *England.* I mean 1. Them that the Army called the *Corrupt Majority:* or an Hundred Forty and Three Imprison'd, and Secluded Members of the Long Parliament, who, as the *Majority*, had, you know what power. 2. The Powers that were last layd by. I should with great Rejoycing give a Thousand Thanks to That man, that will acquaint me of One Nation upon all the Earth, that hath better Governours in Sovereign Power (as to Wisdome and Holyness Conjunct) then those that have been Resisted, or deposed in *England. Ho. Com. Pref.*

The Secluded Members and the two *Cromwells* the best Governors.

Ri. *You Speak of the* Secluded Members, *and the* Two Cromwells. *But they all came in by Violence*; *And* [*I know none of the Non-Conformists that take it not for Rebellion, to pull down or set up forcibly by the Sword, any thing against the Supreme Ruler, or* Without *him*] R. Bs. Letter to Mr. Hinckly. Pa. 88.

Rebellion to oppose the supreme Rulers.

Ba. [The Parliament did Remonstrate to the Kingdom, the danger of the Subversion of Religion, and Liberties, and of the Common Good and Interest of the People whose Trustees they were] *Ho. Com. Pa.* 471. And [If a Nation Regularly chuse a Representative Body, of the most Noble, Prudent, Interested Members, to discern their dangers and the Remedies, and preserve their Liberties and Safety, the People themselves are to discern These Dangers, and Remedies by *THEIR* eyes.] *Thes.* 356. And I think [it was time for us to believe a Parliament concerning our Danger, and Theirs, when we heard so many Impious persons rage against them] *Pa.* 472. [the Irish professing to raise Arms for the King, to defend his Prerogative and their own Religion against the Parliament. I say, in such a time as This, we had Reason to believe our entrusted Watchmen, that told us of the danger, and no Reason to suffer our Lives and Libertyes to be taken out of their Trust, and wholly put into the hands of the King. We had rather of the two, be put upon the Inconvenience of Justifying our Defence, then to have been Butcher'd by Thousands, and fall into such hands as *Ireland* did.] *Pa.* 473. But [all the Wars that have been since the Opposition to the Parliament, and Violence done to the Person of the King: were far from being own'd by the Com-

The Parliament told us our danger.

And we were bound to see with Their Eyes.

The King himself opposed and *Baxter* resolved to justify it.

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mon Sort of the *Now Non-Conformists, &c.*] *Non-Conf. Plea. Pa.* 138.

Ri. *You were saying a while agoe as I remember, that a* Parliament *that destroys* Fundamentals, *is an* Enemy *to the* Common-Wealth, *and the* People ought *to* oppose *them. Pray'e Say: Is not the Freedome and Right of the* Electors, *as much a* Fundamental, *as the* Priviledge, *and* Trust *of the* Elected? *How comes it then that you propound the* Reducing of Elections to the Faithfull, honest Upright men,] *&c.* Pref. to the Ho. Com.

A Fundamental destroy'd.

Baxter defends it. Parliaments may be corrupt.

Ba. Let me speak afterwards of the *Necessity*, and of the *Utility* of This Cause.

1. [It is known that Parliaments *quà Tales*, are not Divine, Religious, Protestant, or Just. The Six Articles by which the Martyrs were burnt, were made by a Parliament. All the Laws for the Papal Interests in the days of Popery, have been made by them. They have often Followed the Wills of Princes to and fro, and therefore they are not Indefectible, nor Immutable, as such. *Ho. Com. Pa.* 243.

Instances of Parliamentary Corruptions.

Mo. Very right; and all the late Orders and Ordinances for Sequestring Crown and Church-Revenues, Commitments, Plunders, Decimations and the like, were made by that which you call a Parliament. But see now in what a Condition That people must be, that sees with the Parliaments Eyes, in case of such Parliaments, as you suppose: and the Remedy you prescribe, is worse then the disease; for take away the *Freedome* of Choyce, and the Persons Chosen are a *Faction* rather then a *Parliament*.

Votes may be crrried by Faction.

Ba. 2. [It is known that there are Mambers of Various minds in them all, and sometime, the miscarrying Party is so strong, that by a few more voices they might brsng Misery on the Common-wealth.] *Ibid.*

As appears to our cost.

Mo. This we have found in severall cases upon Experiment; to the Ruine of three Kingdomes.

The *major* part of Electors are ill men.

Ba. 3. [It is well known that in most parts, the Major-Vote of the Vulgar that are Chusers are Ignorant, selfish, of Private

Private Spirits, ruled by mony, and therefore by their Landlords, and other Great and Powerful men, and withall, they are bitterly distasted against the Serious, diligent Practice of Religion, according to the Rules of Christ.] *Ibid.*

4. [It is therefore apparent, that if they had their Liberty, They would chuse such as are of their minds; and it was by Providence, and Accident that heretofore they did not so.] *Ibid.*

And will chuse others like themselves.

Mo. Here's a Compendious Model Mr. *Baxter* of your Project [for the due Regulation of the Electours, and Elections of Parliament] *Thes.* 211. First, you propound to take away from the People of *England*, their Ancient, and Undoubted Right of Chusing their own Representatives. 2. to Unqualify all the Nobility, Gentry, and Commonalty of the Land that are Well Affected to the Government of Church and State. And 3ly. To Pack a Faction under the name of a Parliament of your own Leaven. Or if that will not doe, 'tis but employing the Rabble again to give the House a swinging Purge, and you are at yonr Journeys End. Proceed.

Baxter's model for Regulation of Elections.

The Peoples Right of Election taken away by partial qualifications.

A Faction packt under he name of a Parliament.

Ba. 5. [It is certain, that the Wars, the Change of Church-Government, and Forms of Worship, the Differences of Religious men, and the many Sects that have lately risen up among us, and the strict Laws of Parliament about the Lords day, *&c.* and Specially their Taxes, have deeply discontented them, and exasperated them against such as they think have caused these, so that many would now purposely design Their Ruine.] *Ibid. In fine,* [Without Regulating Elections, what Probability is there, but the next that is chosen by a Majority of Votes, with absolute Freedom, will undoe all that hath been done; and be revenged to the full on all that were so odious to them, and Settle our Calamity by a Law?

The People are disoblig'd, and not trusted with chusing their own Representative.

Mo. This is a more Candid Account Mr. *Baxter*, then you Intended it. For the People may well be allow'd to have Cursed the Authours of those bloudy Broyles; The Prophaning of our Temples; The suppressing of our Church-Government, and Liturgy, the Propagating of so many Sects and Schisms; and bringing the Nation to Grone under Their Taxes, like the Asse under the Burthen. But how is That the Peoples Representative, that Shuts the people out of the Election, and acts

The people sick of their Representative.

both Without, and Againſt their Conſent? The Tenth part of this encroachment upon the Common Liberty, from the King, would have been Cry'd out againſt, as Arbitrary And Tyrannicall. But what way would you direct for the Limiting of the Qualifications?

The Paſtors to approve of the Electors.

Pa. [Let all Paſtors in *England*, that are Approved, have an Inſtrument of Approbation, and all that are Tolerated, an Inſtrument of Toleration; and let no man be a chuſer or a Ruler that holdeth not Communion with an Approved or Tolerated Church, and is not ſignify'd under the Paſtors hand, to be a Member thereof.] *Theſ.* 219.

The Empire of Presbytery.

Mo. A moſt excellent Invention to advance the Empire of Presbytery, and enſlave all other degrees and Perſwaſions of men whatſoever.

The Petition and Advice concerning Elections.

Ba. [The Humble Petition and Advice determineth, that under the Penalty of a Thouſand pounds, and Impriſonment till it be paid, no perſon be Elected and ſit in Parliament but] [*Such as are perſons of known Integrity, fear God, and of Good Converſation.* They are ſworn alſo for *Fidelity to the Protector*, &c.] *Baxters* admirable Expedient. A more excellent Act hath not been made, for the happyneſſe of *England*, concerning Parliaments, at leaſt, ſince the Reformation.] *Ho. Com.* 257. 258.

His qualifications accepted.

Mo. But what is it that you mean by this *Known Integrity*? or who are to be the *Judges* of it? I take That man that Publickly Sacrifices his Life, his Fortune, his Family, and his Freedome to the ſervice of his Prince and Countrey, according to the Law, to be a man of *Known Integrity*: and him that Acts in oppoſition to the Law, and to his duty, to be clearly the contrary. I take the *Publican*, that ſmites his breaſt, and crys, *Lord be merciful unto me a ſinner*; to have more of the *Fear of God* in him, then the *Phariſee*, that *Prays* in the *Market Place*, and *thanks God that he is not as Other men are*: And I take him to be of as *Good a Converſation*, that ſubmits quietly to the Rules of the Government; Reverences Authority, and contents himſelf with his Lawful Lot, As he is that values himſelf upon Outbraving Publique Order, Reviling his Betters; Living upon the ſpoil, and devouring the Bread of the Oppreſſed.

The Phariſee and the Publican.

[What

What would you ſay now to the turning of the Tables, and ſetting up of *your Qualifications* on the *other ſide?* and to the Kings excluding of the Non-Conformiſts by an Oath of Fidelity to himſelf, as your *Richard* [*excluded delinquents in the late Elections.*] *Ho.Com. P.*244. [*So that the People durſt not go according to their Inclinations.*] *Ibid.* Bnt why do I argue from your *Practiſes*, when your *Poſitions* do naturally leade to *the ſame unduty-full Ends?*

What if the King ſhould take upon him ſo?

Ba. [My dull Brain could never find out any one point of difference in *Theology*, about the *Power* of *Kings*, and the *Duty* of *Obedience* in the *People*, between the Divines called *Presbyterians*, and *Epiſcopal*. If you know any, name them me, and tell me your Proofs. *R.B's. Letter to* Mr. *Hinckly*,] *Pa.* 26.

Baxter findes Presbyterian and Epiſcopal Loyalty the ſame.

Ri. *'Tis a Confounding of your* Metaphyſicks *methinks with your* Politiques, *to talk of Points of* Theology, *in matters of* Civil Power *and* Obedience; *without diſtinguiſhing between our* Credenda *and* Agenda, Notion *and* Practice; Supernaturall Truths *and* Moral Duties. *And why* [The Divines CALLED Presbyterians] *and not rather the* Presbyterian Divines? *For they are not* ALL, Presbyterians, *that are ſo* CALLED; *and there's a great deal of difference betwixt the Principles of* Presbyterian Divines, *as* Presbyterian, *and the Principles of thoſe very* Presbyterians, *as they are ranged under the Banner of a* Civil Intereſt. *But over and above all This, you have carry'd it a great deal too far, to ſay that the* Epiſcopal, *and the* Presbyterian Divines *hold the* ſame Principles *in the Point of* King *and* Subject. *You ſhould rather have acknowledg'd the diſagreements, and maintain'd the Principle.*

Baxter confounds his Metaphſiycks with his Politicks.

We hold, 1. [*That the Parliament by the Conſtitution, have part of the Sovereignty.*] Ho. Com. Pa. 457. [2. *That the Sovereignty is joyntly in King, Lords and Commons, as Three Eſtates.*] 465. [3. *The Parliament have a Power of Enacting Laws as well as of Propoſing them.*] Pa. 462. *Whereas The Epiſcopal Party pronounce the Sovereignty to be only in the King*; 2. *They aſſert the Kings ſole Supremacy in all Cauſes, and over all Perſons, whatſoever as well Eccleſiaſtical, as Civill, and* 3. *That the two Houſes have no ſhare at all in the Sanction. We hold likewiſe that It was Treaſon to reſiſt the Parliament, as the Enemy did, apparently in Order to their Subverſion.*] Ho. Com. 478. [*That the Parliament was the higheſt In-*

Presbyterian Poſitions,

Epiſcopal Poſitions.

Presbyt. Poſit.

terpreter of Laws that was then Existent, in the Division.] Ibid. *And so we find that every step of the Parliamentary War was Justify'd by the Assembly, and the whole Current of the Presbyterian Divines: The Episcopal Clergy Unanimously declaring themselves to the contrary. Who but the Assembly* July 19. 43. *in the Names of Themselves and Others, to call for the Execution of Justice, on All delinquents?* Husband 2d. Vol. of Collections, 241. *And who again,* Aug. 10. 1643. *but The Divines of the Assembly that are Resiants of the Associated Counties, and now Attending the Assembly, are desired to go down into their several Counties, to stir up the people in Those severall Counties, to rise for their Defence.*] Ibid. 285. *So that in the Main, we differ upon the very* Constitution *of the* Government; *the* Power *of the* Prince, *the* Duty *of the* Subject, *and upon every point of the* Parliamentary War: *And we are no lesse divided upon the Scheme of* Forms, *and* Ceremonies.

Episc. Posit.

The Assembly crys out for bloud. And stir up the people.

Mr. *Baxter* never wrong'd any man.

Ba. [Prove that I or any of my Acquaintance ever practised Ejecting, Silencing, ruining men for things Unnecessary; yea or for Greater things. Whom did we ever forbid to Preach the Truth? Whom did we cast out of all Church-Maintenance? Whom did we Imprison!] *R. B's. Answ. to* Dr. *Stillingfleet. Pa.* 97.

Richard refreshes his memory.

Ri. *You forget your self Brother: and I am for speaking the Truth, though I shame the Devill. Pray look into* Mecurius Rusticus *his Accompt of the* London Clergy *that were* Ejected, Silenced, *and* Ruin'd *by Order of Parliament: See his* Querela Cantabrigiensis, *for the* Heads, Fellows, *and* Students, *of Colledges, that were There* Ejected, Plunder'd, Imprison'd, *or* Banish'd *for their Affections to the* King, *and the* Establish'd Religion. *Consider that You your self took the liberty to Graze upon another mans Pasture: And all these Violence were carry'd on by your Encouragement, Influenced by your Approbation; and the Principal directors of them, extold to the Skyes, as the* [Best Governours *for* Wisdome *and* Holyneſſe,] Ho. Com. Pref. *under the Cope of Heaven.*

Mr. Baxters Governours.

A Plot upon the Presbyterians.

Ba. But however, [Either they must prove that we hold Rebellious Principles, or they shew that they do but in Plot accuse us.]

I know

I know very well that [*The Transproser Rehearsed, Pa.* 48. saith Mr. *Baxter in his Holy Common-wealth mayntainteth that he* (the King) *may be called to Account by any Single Peer.*] [Must we say nothing to such bloudly slanders? Never such a Thought was in my mind, nor word spoken or Written by me. But all is a meer False-Fiction: Nay in all the times of Usurpation, and Since, I said and Wrote, that the Kings *Person* is *Inviolable*, and to be Judg'd by none, either *Peer*, or *Parliament*, and that it is none but Subjects that they may call to accompt, and Judge, and Punish; and that neither the King may destroy or hurt the Kingdome, nor the Kingdome the King, (much lesse a *Peer*) but their Union is the Kingdomes Life. And the very *Book Accused*, goeth on *such Principles*, and hath not a word meet to tempt a man in his Witts to This Accusation. Judge now by this one Instance, and by the Cry of the *Plotters* now against Us, [*Catilina Cethegum*,] seeking our destruction, and the Parliaments, as supposed to favour us (which for ought I know never did any thing for our Relief, or Ease) whether it be meet, that I should dye in silence under such horrid Accusations: Against which I appeal to the Great and Righteous Judge, before whom I am shortly to appear, begging his Pardon and Reforming Conviction whereever I Erre.] *Apr.* 16. 1680. *Non-Con. Plea, 2d Part. Preface. last Page.*

A bloudy slander.

Alas! the *Ho. Com.* a most Innocent Book.

Mr. *Baxter* lies under horrid Accusations.

Mo. Be not so Transported Mr *Baxter* at the *bloudy Slander*, as you call it: for the very excusing of your self after This Manner, falls heavier upon you, then the Accusation it self. There was a Gentleman of a Good Family, that had Stol'n a *Silver-Spoon*; and it was layd home to him, as a mighty Aggravation of the Crime, that a man of his Quality could let himself so low, as to pilfer for such a *Trifle*. Ay Sir, Says he, you say very Right, if That had been All; But in good Faith Sir, my Aym was at the *Great Tankard*, If it had been a *Single Peer*, it had been indeed a *bloudy Slander*; But your Ayme was the calling of the *King* to an *Account*, by the Authority of the *Two Houses*. And then you are pleased to blesse God for the next Change that call'd Them to Account too: for you give the *Two Usurpers* much better Words, then any you could afford to the *Lords Annoynted*. You call Them the *Higher Powers*, and enjoyn *Obedience* to Them upon the pain of *Damnation*; which is a Favour you would never allow to his Late Majesty.

Mr. *Baxter* transported.

Any Government but the Right.

Any,

Any Government but the Right will down with ye, and Still That which was a *Rebellion* in the *Enterprize*, proves to be a *Providence* in the *Execution*.

But do you ſay Mt *Baxter*, that you have allways aſſerted the *Kings Perſon* to be *Inviolable*, &c. and that *the very Book accuſed goeth on ſuch Pronciples*? Why then it is no *hurt* to the *King*, to be *Aſſaulted*, *deſpoyl'd* of his *Regalitys*; *Depoſed*, *Impriſoned*, *Try'd*, *Condemn'd* and *Exeeuted*. For the *King* you ſay is but a *Title* of *Reſpect*, not a *Character* of *Power*: a *Nominal*, *Empty buſineſſe*. A kinde of *Dignity*, *Party-perpale*, *Half-Prince*, *half-Subject*; and 'tis but taking him on the Popular ſide, and you *may* do what you will with him. This is the *Chimera* of a Prince, according to your *Aphoriſmes*: A kind of *Mock-Majeſty* ſet up, for every *Seditious Libertine* to throw a *Cudgell* at. You make his Authority to be ſo Conditional, and Precarious, that he is upon his good behaviour for his Crown. If his *Adminiſtration* be not anſwerable to the *Ends* of *Government*: If he wants either *Power*, or *Money*, or *Grace*, or *Underſtanding*; or (which is worſt of All) If the Licentious Rabble will but ſay, that he wants This, or That, hee's gone, and Depoſed, *Ipſo facto*, as an Unqualifi'd Perſon. For according to your *Theſis*, The *Multitude* are to be the Judges of Theſe *Incapacities*. It is a hardy Adventure, M. *Baxter* (unleſs you can make *Almanacks*) to ſet up ſuch Poſitions as Theſe, at This time of day. 'Tis True, They were *printed* in *Fifty-nine*, But they are now *Reſum'd*, and *Avow'd* in *Eighty*. But your Patience yet a little further Sir.

A King is a name of Reſpect not Power.

The Kings Authority made precarious.

And under ſeveral Incapacities.

Is it ſuch a *Horrid Accuſation*, to ſay *that Mr Baxter Maintains the King, may be call'd to Account by a* Single Peer? Conſider firſt, that it is a Church-man charges it upon you, and you are before-hand with him: for you have over and over, ſet forth Thoſe of the *Church-way* (without exception either of *King*, *Lords*, or *Commons*) to be a Crew of *Superſtitious*, *Formal*, *Prophane Wretches* that out of a meer *Enmity* to *Godlyneſſe*, ſet themſelves in Oppoſition to the ways of *Chriſt*. Take notice again, if you have not deliver'd the Doctrine aforeſaid in expreſſe Termes, It is already made appear that you have ſaid as much as That amounts to. And over and above the *Whymſies* of your *Aphoriſmes*; your *Thirteenth Chapter*, *of the Late Wars* is one of the Rudeſt and the falſeſt pieces of Calumny againſt the Late King, that I know anywhere Extant.

Baxters Horrid Accuſation.

His Character of our *Churchmen*.

Your

Your Appeal upon *This One Instance* (as yon call it) for *Equity* of *Judgement*, and *Liberty* of *Speech*, would move the very Stones in the Walls, to give you a Hearing. And yet if, I had been of your Counsell Mr. *Baxter*, you should have bethought your self, before you *Exclaim'd*, whether the Enquiry into the Subject-matter of your Complaint, might not possibly lay open something that was worse, As undoubtedly it has; for This *Holy Commonwealth* of yours, is a kind of (send me well deliver'd of the Word) a kind of *Theologico-Political Whole-Sale Shop*; and furnished with *Cases*, of all Sorts and Sizes. for the *Consciences* of the *Weak*, and the *Pretentions* of the *Malitious*. In One Case, the King is *Dispossest* by *Providence*; In another, he is *deposed* for *Incapacity*; In a Third, he must not so much as dare to *Return*, even if the *Door* wer set *open* to him: In Such or such a case, the *People* are bound *not* to Re-admit him; and in such another, they may if they *please*, but they are not oblig'd to't: and every one of These Cases, Calculated for this very Poynt, which was at That Time in Agitation. Insomuch, that the *Application* of your Arguments was yet more Criminal then the *Errour* of them.

Baxters damnable Cases of Conscience.

But what do ye mean, I beseech ye, by the *Cry of the Plotters against ye*? As if they knew their Friends no better then So. Their business is the *Subversion* of the *Government*, and of the *Protestant Religion*, that falls with it. What should they cry out for against the *Separatists*, that are all this while, doing the *Papists business* to their *hands*? The Kings Wittnesses Speak no such matter; but on the Contrary; that the Priests and Jesuits make use of the Schismatiques toward our Common Ruine. So that by *Plotters* in This place *Mr. Baxter*, it is Intended (I presume,) according to your Wonted Benignity) not the *Popish Plotters*, but the *Episcopal Plotters* against ye; *which* (as you would gladly have the World to believe) *Seek your Destruction, and the Parliaments, as supposed to Favour ye* &c. Now to my thinking, *the Parliaments Destruction, and Ours*, would have run every jot as well, as *Our Destruction and the Parliaments*. Beside that it is not yet come to That Pass I hope, that *Parliaments*, and *Schismatiques*, must *Stand* or *fall together*. Neither can I Imagine why This Parliament should be suppos'd more Inclinable to favour ye, then

Baxt. dreams of a Plot upon him.

The Cart before the Horse.

former

former Parliaments have been. The Reasons for *Uniformity* are the same *now* that ever they *were*; and the same, *Here*, as in *other Places*. And then the boldnesse, and Importunity of the Dividers encrease the necessity of the Injunction. If you have forgotten the *Commons Votes*, and *Addresse* of *Feb* 25. 1662. upon This Subject, Pray let me remember you of them.

Resolved, *&c.* Nemine Contradicente.

Votes for Uniformity. *That the humble Thanks of This Honse, be returned to his Majesty, for his Resolution to maintain, the Act of Uniformity.*

Resolved, &c.

That it be presented to the Kings Majesty, as the humble Advise of the House, that no Indulgence be granted to the dissenters from the Act of Uniformity.

For these Reasons.

Reasons against Toleration. 1. *It will establish Schisme, by a Law, amd make the whole Government of the Church Precaeious, and the Censures of it, of no moment or Consideration at all.*

2. *It will no way become the Gravity or Wisdome of a Parliament to passe a Law at One Session for Uniformity, and at the next Session, (the Reasons of Uniformity continuing still the Same,) to passe Another Law to frustrate, or Weaken the Execution of it.*

3. *It will expose your Majesty to the Restlesse Importunity of every Sect or Opinion, and of every single person also, who shall presume to Dissent from the Church of* England.

4. *It will be a cause of encreasing Sects, and Sectaries, whose Nnmbers will weaken the true Protestant Religion so far, that it will at least be difficult for it, to defend it self against them. And which is yet further Considerable, those Numbers which by being Troublesome to the Government, find they can arrive to an Indulgence, will as their Numbers encrease, be yet more Troublesome, that so at length they may arrive to a General Toleration; which your Majesty hath declar'd against; and in time, some prevalent Sect, will at last contend for an Establishment, which for ought can be fore-seen, may end in Popery.*

5. *It*

3. *It is a thing altogether without Precedent, and will take away all means of Convicting Recusants, and be inconsistent with the Method, and Proceedings of the Laws of* England.

Lastly, It is humbly conceived, that the Indulgence Proposed will be so far from tending to the Peace of the Kingdome, that it is rather likely to Occasion great Disturbance. And on the Contrary; that the Asserting of the Laws, and the Religion Established, according to the Act of Uniformity, *is the most probable means to produce a settled Peace, and Obedience throughout your Kingdome: Because the Variety of Professions in Religion, when openly divulged, doth directly distinguish men into Parties, and withall gives them opportunity to count Their Numbers; which considering the Animosities that out of a Religious Pride will be kept on foot, by the severall Factions, doth tend directly, and Inevitably to open disturbance.*

Nor can your Majesty have any security, that the Doctrine or Worship of the severall Factions, which are all govern'd by a severall Rule, shall be Consistent with the Peace of your Kingdome.

And if any Persons shall presume to disturb the Peace of the Kingdome, We do in all Humility declare, that we will for ever and in all Occasions, be ready with our utmost Endeavours, and Assistance, to adhere to, and serve your Majesty, according to our bounden Duty, and Allegiance.

Only one Word more: and That must be to tax you with Infinite Ingratitude; in saying, that [*Parliaments, for ought you know, never did any thing for your Relief or Ease*] what do ye think of the *Act of Indemnity*, I beseech ye? Was it *Nothing?* to give you your *Lives*, *Liberties*, and *Estates* again, when all was *Forfeited*? Nay and it is come to that Point now too; that those very Instruments that were *forgiven* by the *King*, for the Ruin of the Church and Three Kingdoms, will not at this day *forgive* his *Majesty*, for Endeavouring according to the Advice of his Parliament, to *Reestablish* and *Preserve* them. Mr. *Baxters* Ingratitude.

Ri. *If you would understand us aright, you must repair to our* [Declarations, Professions, Commissions, National Oaths and Covenants,] *and the Like.* Ho, Com. Pag. 477. *And pray Observe the Tenor of our* Stile, Addresse. Protestations, *and other Proceedings.* How to understand the Presbyterians.

Words. [*Your Majesties most Humble, and Loyal Subjects, the Lords and Commons*, Dec. 14. 1641. [*Most Humble and Faithfull Subjects*,] Dec. 15. [*Most Humble and Obedient Subjects*,] Exact Collections. Pa. 2.

Practises. *Mo.* And now put That Libellous Remonstrance of *Dec.* 15. in the Scale against Three or Four Words of Course, of the same date.

Words. Ri. *The Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses of the House of Commons, your Faithful and Loyall Subjects, &c.* Ibid. Pa. 44. Dec. 31. 1641.

Practises. *Mo.* This was a Message to his Majesty for a Guard, which the King most graciously offer'd them, but One of his Chusing it seems would not do the Businesse.

Words. Ri. [*Your most faithful and Obedient Subjects, the Lords and Commons in this Present Parliament.*] *&c.* Ibid. Pa. 65. Jan. 29.

Practises. *Mo.* They Petition'd to have *the Tower* of London, *and all other Forts, and the whole* Militia *of the Kingdom* to be FORTHWITH put into the hands *of such Persons, as both Houses should Recommend*, &c, Ex. Coll. Jan. 29. 1641. And what did his Majesty now get by the Complement?

Words. Ri. [*Your Humble and Loyal Subjects, the Lords and Commons*,] &c. Ibid. Feb. 22. 1641. Pa. 80.

Practises. *Mo. His Majesties Humble and Loyal Subjects*, are pleas'd to declare in this Petition; that if the King does not Instantly grant them their Petition abont the *Militia*, they are bound by the Laws of God and man to take the *Militia* into their own hands.

Words. Ri. *Your Majesties most Loyal, and Obedient Subjects, the Lords and Commons*;] &c. Ib. Mar. 1. 1641. Pa. 92.

Practises. *Mo.* In this Petition they threaten *to dispose of the* Militia *by the Authority of the Two Houses.* They Order his Majesty *where to dispose of his Person*: and absolutely *deny the Kings Power of the* Militia, *but by Authority and consent of Parliament.*

Ri.

Ri. *Your most Dutyful and Loyal Subjects, the Lords and Commons,*] &c. Ib. 138. Apr. 1642. *Your Majesties most Loyal and Faithful Subjects, the Lords and Commons,* &c.] Ib. Apr. 8. 1642. Pa. 141. Words.

Mo. Very Good! And the Former of These was for Leave to remove the Magazin at *Hull*, to the Tower of *London*: And the Other was to divert the King from going into *Ireland* to suppresse the *Irish Rebellion*: (which had certainly been done) and to tell him, that if he went contrary to the Advice of his Parliament, They were resolved, in his Absence, not to submit to any Commissioners he should appoint: but to preserve, and Govern the Kingdome by the Counsell and Advice of Parliament.] *&c.* Practises.

Ri. *Your Majesties Loyal Subjects the Lords and Commons in his Parliament.*] Ibid. 258. May 1642. Words.

Mo. Here His Majesties Loyal Subjects presse the King to disband his Troops at *York*, or otherwise they'le take the Quiet of the Kingdome into their own Care. And passe These following Votes. Practises.

Resolved upon the Question.

1. *That it appears that the King (seduced by wicked Counsells) intends to make War against the Parliament.* &c. The War charg'd upon the King.

2. *That whensoever the King maketh War upon the Parliament, it is a Breach of the Trust reposed in him by his People, Contrary to his Oath, and tending to the Dissolution of This Government.*

3. *That whosoever shall serve, or Assist him in such Wars, are Traytors by the Fundamental Laws of this Kingdome, and have been so Adjudg'd by Two Acts of Parliaments, and ought to suffer as Traytors.*] &c. Treason to serve the King.

Ri. *Your Majesties most humble and Faithful Subjects, the Lords and Commons in Parliament.*] &c. Ib. Jun. 2. 1642. Pa. 307. Words.

Mo. This was the Petition that Accompanied the Nineteen Propositions: *demanding from the King* [the discharge of all his Ministers *and* Embassadors, *and none to be taken into their Places but what the Parliament shall approve. That all matters of State may be transacted only in Parliament; the Privy Counsell to be by Them approved from time to time and supply'd. All Great Officers to be Chosen by* The 19. Deposing Propositions.

their Approbation: They to have the Education of the Kings Children, and the Choyce of their Servants. No Match to be treated of without them. A Reformation of Church-Government and Liturgy to be contrived by their Advice: The Militia to be ſettled in them till ſettled by a Bill; and all Proclamations againſt it to be recalled. New Oaths for Privy Councellors, and Judges. All Judges and Officers to hold their Places, Quamdiu ſe bene Gererint: *Parliament-Juſtice upon all Delinquents. An Amneſtry with ſuch exceptions as the Parliament ſhall adviſe. All Forts and Caſtles under Gouernours approved by Parliament. All Forces to be Diſbanded; and a Prohibition of any Peers hereafter to be made, from Sitting or Voting in Parliament, without the Conſent of Both Houſes.*] Are not theſe the Propoſitions think ye, of *Moſt Humble and Faithful Subjects*?

Words. Ri. *Your Majeſties Loyal Subjects, the Lords and Commons in Parliament,* Ibid. Sept. 24. 1642. Pa. 617.

Practiſes. *Mo.* His Majeſties Loyal Subjects had now ſent the Earl of *Eſſex* to fall upon the Kings Army, and deſired his Majeſty to leave them and come to his Parliament: And they Petition'd his Majeſty to the ſame Purpoſe again. *Pa.* 630. And ſo as the Humour took them, to the very Treaty at the *Iſle of Wight*: But whether Theſe were the Actions of Rebells, or Loyall Subjects, be you your ſelf the Judge.

Words. Ri. *Well, But what ſay ye to the Stile of* [*We your Humble and Loyal Subjects of both Kingdomes.*] Appendix to Husbands Ex. Coll. 2*d.* Part. Fol. 22. Jan. 13. 1645.

Practiſes. *Mo.* Theſe were the *Humble, and Loyal Subjects,* that, in the ſame Paper, Refuſed his Majeſtys Proffer of a *Perſonal Treaty* with Them at *Weſtminſter*. [*Your Majeſty* (ſay they) *deſires the Engagement, not only of the Parliament, but of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, Common-Councill and* Militia *of the City of* London; *the Chief Commanders of* Sir. Tho. Fairfaxes *Army*; *and Thoſe of the* Scots *Army*; *which is againſt the Privileges and Honour of the Parliament, thoſe being Joyn'd with them, who are Subject and Subordinate to their Authority.*

Their Profeſſions. At the ſame rate they Proceeded iu Their *Profeſſions*; [*They deſire only to Lay a Foundation of Honour, Safety, and* Happineſs to the Kings Perſon and Throne.] *Ex. Coll. dec.* 14. 1641. [*The Greatneſſe*

Greatneſſe and Proſperity of his Majeſty, and his Royal Poſterity.] Ib. Dec. 15. Pa. 2. [*His Majeſtys greatneſſe and Honour*] Ib. Mar. 1. 41. Pa. 94. [*Honour and greatneſſe*] Mar. 2. P. 102. [*Honour, Safety, and Proſperity of your Majeſty*] Mar. 16. P. 118. [*We ſeek nothing but your Majeſties Honour*] Mar. 15. P. 123. [*The Safety of his Majeſties Perſon, and his Royal Poſterity*] May 5. 42. Pa. 173. [*Our moſt Dutyfull care for the Safety of your Royal Perſon*] May 9. P. 180. [*For the Preſerving and Mayntaining the Royal Honour, Greatneſs, and Safety of your Majeſty, and Poſterity*] Jan. 2. 42. P. 310. And then ſee their Remarkable *Proteſtation* of *Octob.* 22. 1642. [*We the Lords and Commons in this preſent Parliament Aſſembled, do in the Preſence of Almighty God, for the Satisfaction of our Conſciences, and the Diſcharge of That Great Truſt which lyes upon us, make this Proteſtation and Declaration to The Kingdome and Nation, and to the whole World; That no Private Paſſion or Reſpect, no Evill Intention to his Majeſtys Perſon, no deſign to the Preiudice of his Juſt Honour and Authority, Engaged us to rayſe Forces, and take up Arms againſt the Authours of This War, wherewith the Kingdome is now Enflamed*] Ibid. Pa. 663. [*Without any Intention or deſire, (as we do here profeſſe before the Ever-living God) to hurt, or Injure his Majeſty, Either in his Perſon, or Iuſt Power.*] b. P. 666.

In the preſence of the Almighty.

A Rebellion in the Name of the everlaſting God.

I could give you Inſtances of this kind, without End, and as many, of the groſs and Unqueſtionable violations of Theſe Profeſſions; For every *Order* they *paſt*, and every *Piſtol* that they *Fired*, was a *poynt-blank Contradiction*, to their *Pretenſions*. Beſide that in the ſame Breath, they Uſurped all the *Regalities* of the *Crown*, and yet Wrote Themſelves, *His Majeſties moſt Obedient* SUBJECTS. So that This Stile of *Loyalty* was at the ſame time a *Blind* to the *Well-meaning Multitude*, and a Note of *Confederacy* among *Themſelves*: a *Loyal Subject*, according to the *Covenant*, Importing, in plain Terms, a *Traytor*, in the eye of the *Law*. And yet the *Cauſe*, and the *Obligation* of this *Covenant*, and the Proceedings upon it, are openly Aſſerted at This very day.

Covenant-Loyalty.

Ba. Yes, yes; There's The *Counterminer*, the *Popiſh Dialogue*, and many others, that continue lowdly to Accuſe us, and make men believe that we are *Plotting* a new War, and that our *Principles* are *Rebellious* &c.] *Non Conf. Plea.* 2d *Part. Pref.*

Slanders upon the harmleſs Presbyterians.

Mo. What do ye think of maintaining, that [*Whatſoever the Two Houſes declare for Law, muſt paſs for Law, without Controul;*

Presbyterians Poſitions.

both

both upon King and People] *Ex. Coll.* 297. [*That they may do whatever they pleaſe*] Ibid. [*That the Major Part of Both Houſes are the abſolute Maſters of the Lives and Liberties of the Subject?*] Ibid. [*That no member of the Houſe of Commons be medled with for Treaſon, Felony* &c. *Without Leave of the Houſe.*] Ibid. [*That the Sovereignty reſides in the two Houſes, and that the King has no Negative Voice*] Ibid. *That there lyes no Treaſon againſt the* Perſon *of the King.* Ibid. [*That the Two Houſes may Depoſe the King and not be blamed for ſo doing.* Ibid.

Mr. *Baxters* beſt Governors in the world.

Now in calling Thoſe people that did all This, [*The Beſt Governors in the World*] as in the Preface to your *Holy Common-Wealth*: And in Vindicating That Book, from any Principles of Diſloyalty toward the *Perſon* of the King, as you do, toward the cloſe of your *Preface* as to the 2*d. Part of the Non-conformiſts Plea Apri.* 16. 1680. What is This, but the *Aſſerting* of *Rebellious Principles*? And the *Preaching* of the *old Doctrine* to the people over again, What Is it but the *Preface* to *another War*?

The Innocent Non-Conformiſts.

Ba. [What have we done theſe Twenty years againſt the King or State? Unleſs it be our Crime to live under Reproach, and Scorn, and Poverty. and ſometime Impriſonments; and never once ſo much as Petition a Parliament, either to *Pitty* us, or to *Hear* us once *Speak* for our Selves *&c.*] *Ibid.* If any *Odd* perſons, or whoſoever have ſaid or done any thing againſt the King or Kingdome, or their Neighbours Right or Peace, or have been Guilty of any Fraud, Drunkenneſſe, Perjury or Immorality beſides their *Unavoidable Non-conformity*, let them be puniſht as the Law requires, but let not the *Innocent*, yea *Thouſands* be *Slandered*, and Deſigned to *Deſtruction* for Them.] Ibid.

The principles of the Late Rebellion revived.

Mo. If you Speak of the *Nonconformiſts*, they have juſtifi'd, from *Sixty* to *Eighty*, all the Indignities that were put upon the Government, from *Forty*, to *Sixty*: and there is not any one *Seditious*, or *Schiſmatical Principle* of the *Old Stamp*, which they have not afreſh, *Reviv'd*, and *Recommended* to the People. And for the *Moderation* you boaſt of, I dare be anſwerable to produce almoſt as many *Hundreds* of *Clamorous Libels* againſt *Authority* from the *Diſſenting Party*, as you reckon *Years* of *Silence*, and *Forbearance*. But theſe are ODD Perſons you ſay; and ſo is every Diſſenter in the Kingdom: for *Ten Millions* of men, are but as ſo many *Individuals*, when *diſincorporate*, and *Lopp'd* off from the *Body*. If I durſt be ſo bold Sir, I ſhould venture to

Mr. *Baxters* Odd perſons.

ſay

He Himſelf One.

ſay that Mr. *Baxter himſelf* is one of the ODDEST *perſons* that I know in the *whole Party*. You have *Firſt*, a *Perſwaſion*, to your *ſelf*; for you are neither a *Presbyterian*, nor an *Independent*, nor an *Anabaptiſt*, nor of any *Tribe* of the *Diviſion* that ever yet had a *Name* to be known by; but a pure *Original*, and a *Chriſtian* of your *own making*: You have *Secondly*, as Peculiar a *Conſcience* too; that had rather leap a *Precipice*, then keep the *Kings high-way*. It *riſes* and *falls* like a *Weather-Glaſs*, upon Change of *Ayre*: and makes St. *Paul* blow *Hot* or *Cold* at *pleaſure*: [*Let every ſoul be Subject to the Higher Powers*] requires *Obedience* to Dick Cromwell, upon pain of *Damnation*, and *Diſobedience* to *Charles the Firſt*, upon the *ſame penalty*, (as we have had it already.) And then you have this further Advantage, Sir, that you are *your own King*, and *your own Pope*; you *Preſcribe* your *own Laws*, and *Grant* your *own Pardons*.

Mr. *Baxter* his own King and Pope.

Baxters Argument againſt Ceremonies.

Ba. You may prate as long as you will. [*I am againſt the Impoſing* of Myſtical Ceremonies, *as* Croſſing, or Surplice] *&c. Five Diſp. Pa.* 467. [*For to Impoſe new* Symbolicall Rites *upon the Church, which Chriſt hath not Impoſed, doth ſeem to me an Uſurpation of his Sovereign Power.*] Ibid. [*And to accuſe Chriſt of Ignorance*, or *Negligence, in that he himſelf hath not Impoſed them.*] *And ſo doth it Imply an Accuſation of his Laws, and of the Holy Scriptures, as if they were Inſufficient,*] Ibid. 468. [*And Theſe Impoſitions ſeem to be plain Violations of Theſe Prohibitions of God, in* which we are *forbidden to* Add to his *Worſhip*, *or diminiſh* FROM IT.] 469. And moreover; [*God hath allready given us ſo perfect a* Directory *for his Worſhip, that there is nothing more that we can reaſonably deſire.*] Ib. 481.

The Caſe well Reſolved

Ri. *Now for my part, I am for the Amiable way.* [*Chriſtians ſhould not be Over-buſy in Prying into the work of their Governours; nor too forward to ſuſpect their determinations.*] [*The* Duty *of* Obeying *them being* Certain, *and the* Sinfulneſſe *of the thing* Commanded, *being* Uncertain, *and* Unknown, *and only* Suſpected; *we muſt go on the ſurer ſide.*] Ibid. 484. [*In diſobeying the Lawfull Commands of our Superiours, we diſobey Chriſt.*] Ibid. 485. *Beſide that* [*Diſobedience in matters of* Circumſtance, *will exclude, and Overthrow the* Subſtance *of the Worſhip it ſelf.* Pa. 486.

Poſtſcript.

POSTSCRIPT, To the Reader.

MR. *Baxter* has certainly given, in this *Extract*, the greatest blow to the *Non-conformists* that ever they Received. For there are no *Arguments* against *That Party* like their *own Arguments* against *Themselves*. To the cleareſt Evidences of *Authority*, and *Reaſon*, they'le oppoſe *Clamour*, and *Paſſion*; and make a ſhift to wriggle themſelves *Off* and *On*, with *Wire-drawn Texts* and *Riddling diſtinctions*. But when the very *Oracle* of That Intereſt comes to play *Faſt* and *Looſe*, and ſhift his *Conſcience* with the *Seaſon*, the *Maſque* is then taken off; for as there can be no *Denyal* of the *Fact*, ſo there can be no *Excuſe* for the *Hypocriſy*. How comes *Toleration* to be a *Sin*, under the *Presbyterians*, and a *Duty* under the *Biſhops*? How comes it to be *Damnation*, in the caſe of the *Late King*, and *Richard Cromwell*, to *Obey* the *Former*, and *deſtroy* the *Latter*? Even according to Mr. *Baxters* own *Expoſition*, which is, that by St. *Pauls Higher Powers*, is Intended *Thoſe* in *Actual Poſſeſſion*? How come *Biſhops* to be *Antichriſtian*, at *one time*, and *Warrantable* at *another*? Or the *Civil Magiſtrate* to have more power in *Eccleſiaſtical matters*, under an *Uſurper*, then under a *Lawful Prince*? How comes an *Epiſcopal Uniformity* to be more a *Perſecution* then a *Presbyterian*? Or a *Common Prayer-Book* more Intolerable then a *Directory*? What can more expoſe the *Credit* of the *Diſſenters*, then this *double-dealing* in the *Foreman* of the *Party*? to ſee Mr. *Baxter Lye down* in *One Opinion*, and *Riſe*, in *Another*; ſtill Accomodating his *Scruples* to every *Criſis* of *State*? And to Conſummate the Iniquity of the *Pretenſe*; He has no ſooner Inveigled the People into a *Schiſme*, but he preſently follows it with a Plat-form of *Sedition*: and having wrought a defection from the *Eccleſiaſtical*, he falls to work, in his *Caſes* and *Aphoriſmes*, upon the *Foundations* of the *Civill Government*.

The End.

The Way of Peace:

OR, A

DISCOURSE

OF THE

Dangerous Principles and Practices

OF SOME

PRETENDED PROTESTANTS

Tendered to the Conſideration of all ſober and ingenious Perſons.

BEING

Certain Brief Collections

Out of the late Writings of ſeveral Learned Proteſtant Authors.
With divers Additions perſwaſive to PEACE.

By the Author, a Proteſtant of the Church of *England*.

Nec mendacii utilitas eſt diuturna, nec veritatis damnum diu nocet.

LONDON:
Printed for *Henry Brome* at the Weſt End of S. *Paul's*. 1680.

A Letter of the Authors to a Gentleman in London, *upon occaſion of his ſending unto him the following Diſcourſe.*

SIR,

THE ardent affections I bear to my Religion, Prince, and Country, have importuned me in order to Publick Peace, to preſent the incloſed Papers to your judicious view, hoping your Candor and Ingenuity will ſo far prevail with you, as not to reject this bold addreſs from an unknown hand. I leave them freely to your peruſal, and correction alſo; and if you correct them as it is ſaid *Philoxenus* in *Plutarch*, did the Book that was ſent him to amend, with one great great blot from the beginning to the end, I ſhall not be offended with you, for probably they may deſerve it. But if you ſhall think them, or any part of them, may be uſeful for the publick good, to commit them to the Preſs; or if not, to the Fire. I ſee or hear of daily what mean and unworthy, yea, ſeditious and wicked Pamphlets come a-

broad to abuſe the Government, to corrupt and debauch the Nation, and increaſe thoſe flames, we ought all ſtudiouſly to indeavour to quench. I hope if mine ſhall happen to ſee the light, although very mean and unworthy, Country-like, will not be hurtful to any, and will give offence to none, but ſuch as are certainly bad. I hope I may with modeſty ſay thus much of the main ſubſtance and matter of the Diſcourſe; If it were (as it is nothing but ſolid Truth) impreſſed upon all our hearts in this Nation, it would certainly not only make his Sacred Majeſties Government more eaſie and portable to him, but this Church and Nation happy. I hope Sir you will pardon

Feb. the 4th. 1679.

Your very humble Servant.

THE

The way of PEACE:

OR,

A DISCOURSE

OF THE

Dangerous Principles and Practices

OF SOME

Pretended Proteſtants, &c.

THere is nothing caſts ſo indeleble a blemiſh upon Religion (as a late worthy Author hath it) *as when the Profeſſors of it are turbulent, impersuadable, ungovernable; when that which ſhould ſtrengthen the hands of the Magiſtrate ſhall weaken them; when that which ſhould eaſe his care, and ſave the labour of his animadverſions, ſhall it ſelf awaken and raiſe his jealouſie; when that which ſhould enact his Laws in the very Conſciences of men, ſhall pretend to abrogate or diſpenſe with them; when men ſhall ſmite the two Tables one againſt the other, and put other limitations and conditions upon Princes than God hath* —— Whereſoever this is done, *That Prince or Magiſtrate need be a very devout man indeed, that caſts a benigne aſpect upon that profeſſion which hath ſo malignant an influence upon his Government. And all conſidering men will with great reaſon doubt, whether that Religion be of God, that gives ſuch trouble to his Vicegerent, and whether that will carry men to Heaven hereafter, that makes Tumults, Confuſions, and a Hell upon Earth.*

An inquiry into the cauſe of the preſent ſeparation from the Church of *England*, Printed, 1674.

The

The more raiſed and elevated any Religion pretends to be, the more it profeſſeth a contempt of the World, the more it ſpeaks of Patience, Contentation, Humility, and the more it glories in the hopes of another world, ſtill the more horribly abſurd, and contradictious will it be, that they that profeſs it, ſhould give countenance to diſobedience and diſturbance of Government, Tertullian gives ample teſtimony, *Apol.* c. 37. *We want* (ſaith he) *neither numbers nor Leaders, nor ſpirit to enable us for any attempt, but that we have learned to ſuffer ill, and not to do it; to obey and ſubmit, not to contend with our Rulers. And* Ammianus Marcellinus *a Pagan Soldier in* Julians *Army, gives this ſhort deſcription of the Chriſtian Religion.* Nil niſi juſtum ſuadet & lene. *Its faith is compounded of nothing but mildneſs and innocency; it makes men juſt and honeſt; it fills mens hearts with vertuous principles —— it teacheth men not to be troublers of the world, but to go quietly and inoffenſively through it, with as little noiſe and provocation as is poſſible, and ſo to arrive at eternal reſt and peace in Heaven.*

Aut hoc non eſt evangelium, aut nos non ſumus Chriſtiani.

And as this is the known glory of Chriſtianity in general, ſo it was peculiarly of the Engliſh Reformation; it was eſtabliſhed orderly by Law, and did not force its way by popular Tumult —— and its pity it's glory afterwards ſhould be ſtained by the inſolence and impatience of thoſe that pretend to it.

It's a great blot in the Writings of Mr. Calvin, *that after he had diſcourſed rarely well of the power of Princes, and the duty of Subjects, he undoes all again with an unhappy exception in theſe words,* De privatis hominibus ſemper loquor, *a paſſage of that ill aſpect upon Government, that it is ſuſpected by ſome, and not altogether without cauſe, that moſt of the Confuſions of Kingdoms which have happened ſince, and eſpecially the troubles of theſe Nations, have received encouragement, if not taken riſe from thence: But whether that be ſo or no, it is certain that it hath furniſht the Papiſts with a recrimination upon the Proteſtant Doctrine. —— If it can be objected againſt us that our Churches are always infeſted with diviſions; and the States under which we live, imbroiled in troubles, we have reaſon to be concerned; for it cannot be, but either the ſeed muſt be very bad that brings forth ſuch fruits, or the ſoyl very corrupt that makes good ſeed ſo degenerate; and whatſoever of theſe two things be concluded on (as it is certain one muſt, and both may) we ill conſult, either for our ſelves or our profeſſion, that by our Diviſions, Diſputes, Turbulencies, and Diſobediences, make*

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the aforesaid Dilemma inevitable. And all the wit and courage we shew in defending our private opinions, and maintaining our several parties, when the common cause and interest is by this means rendered odious and contemptible, is but like the foolish solicitude of him that shall be adorning his private Cabin when the Ship is sinking. If neither the consideration of the sin of Schism, nor the dishonour to our Religion, by our divisions, will prevail to unite us, yet perhaps the apprehension of danger may. It was observed of old, that the Conquest of this Island by the Romans *was facilitated by the intestine divisions of the Inhabitants.* Dum singuli pugnant universi vincuntur. *And we have too great cause to fear the Religious interests of this Nation now may be endangered upon the same point that the Civil were lost then; I mean, that while we contest with one another, and with our Rulers about little things, we lose the main, and by the opportunity of our divisions and sub-divisions, a common Enemy break in upon us. —— And therefore, unless we could be so fond as to persuade our selves we have no Enemies; or so mad as to think them as supine as our selves, it must be unreasonable presumption to think our selves safe in this distracted condition.*

Now further to illustrate the dangerous principles of the Presbyterians, and other Dissenters from the Church of *England*, let us consider what King *James* in the Conference at *Hampton Court* did first declare. *That of all the Translations of the Bible into the* English *tongue, that of* Geneva *was the worst, and that the Notes upon it were partial, untrue, seditious, and savouring too much of dangerous and traiterous conceits, his Majesty instanced in two places, the one in* Exod. 1. 19. *when disobedience to Kings is allowed of. The other,* 2 Chron. 15. 16. *Where* Asa *is taxed for deposing his Mother, and not killing her; a Note whereof* (as the Author of the said relation speaks) *the Scottish* Presbyterians *made special use of, not only deposing* Mary *their lawful Queen, but persecuting her openly and under hand, till they had taken away her life. Again, the* Geneva *notes upon* Matth. 2. 12. *promise ought not to be kept, where Gods honour and preaching of his Truth is hindered, or else it ought not to be broken. Now what a wide gap* (as the said Author further observes) *doth this open to the breach of all Promises, Oaths, Covenants, Contracts and Agreements; not only betwixt man and man, but between Kings and their Subjects; what Tumults, Rebellions have been raised in all parts of Christendom, in* England, Scotland, Ireland, France

Dr. *Heylin* his Animadversions on the Church-History of *Brittain*, pag. 178.

France, *the* Netherlands, Germany, *under colour that Gods honour and the preaching of the Truth is hindered. If this once pass for good Doctrine, neither the King, nor any of his good Subjects, in whatsoever Realm, can live in safety.*

And as to dangerous practices, *it is set out by* Mr. *James Howel* in the Life of *Lewis* the 13th. K. of *France. There were thirteen Rebellions that King suppress; most if not all by the* Presbyterian Protestants *of that Kingdom: They being Enemies within doors, were made use of by discontented Princes upon all occasions.* And to testifie what their principles were, the said Historian further relates the speech of the Duke of *Rohan*, the Head and Leader of them all, to an Assembly of the chiefest of them: Saying, *Gentlemen, I pray do not ye think that since our cause is conjoyned with that of God, but that I continue as strong a zeal and inclination as ever towards it —— Can we doubt but our defence, though lawful, as being for Religion and liberty of Conscience —— For although our Parsons cry out daily in their Chairs, that we ought not to despair of Heavenly succour, yet receiving every day proofs of the Wrath of the Eternal, there is more appearance to expect punishment for our sins, than miracles for the re-establishment of our affairs —— If your wisdoms find it to purpose that it be more expedient to seek our Conservation with the exercise of our Religion and liberty of Consciences within the obedience which we owe to our lawful Prince than in Resistance; which though just in it self, is held by the Enemies of our faith no other than Rebellion and High Treason.*

In the 4th. lustre of his said book.

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To which may be added the Testimony of the famous *Grotius*, who saith, *If we inquire into the causes of the Wars which have so long wasted* Europe, *we shall find the flame to have been kindled principally by them that should have been the Preachers of Peace. That the Civil Wars of* France, *most of them, were raised by them that stile themselves Ministers of the Gospel, needs no stronger witnesses than the fresh memory of Kings, Peers, and People, together with very many Letters both of the Duke of* Bouillon *and* Plessis *complaining thereof: And also the very Comentaries which the Duke of* Rohan *hath written of the last Wars. Yet I except* Camero, *who was ever of another mind, and fared much the worse for it; if there were any more like him, I would not deprive them of their due praise. We have seen a prodigious thing, Troops and Companies mustered, Arms and Ammunition gathered under the*

name

Grotius his Vote for the Churches Peace.

name of the Reformed Churches: Whence is this power, from Heaven or from Earth? For my part, being one who do not only diſſuade Subjects from taking Arms, but intreat Kings alſo to make a ſparing uſe of their Prerogatives, who think them to be leſs miſerable that are Condemned to the Galleys, than ſuch as are devoted to an everlaſting War. And the ſaid Author in another place, treating of ſome dangerous opinions, ſpeaketh thus, *Some opinions there be, that will not permit any State longer to be ſafe than force is wanting. Many think that there is every where a certain Contract or Covenant between God, the King, and the People upon ſuch terms; that if the King depart from God, the people alſo may deſert the King.* And the ſaid Author inſtanceth in divers particulars. *Thoſe firſt, as they imagin depart from God, that acknowledg the Popes primacy in the Church; for in all reaſon they muſt loſe that power which they have delivered up unto the Beaſt. Thoſe next, who attempt any Reconcilement with that Church that co-heres to the* Roman Church, *that is, with the ſynagogue of Satan, as they pleaſe to ſpeak. Laſtly, thoſe who retain any of the Rites and Ceremonies uſed in the* Roman Church, *ſuch as are retained not in* England *only, but in the Northern Kingdoms, they are all Papiſtical, and therefore Idolatrous*——And the ſame Author concludes thus, *Theſe are in truth things ſomewhat ridiculous, but of a very ſad conſequence.*

And further ſpeaking of obedience to Governours——*I inculcate into Subjects obedience towards them all according to the precept of Chriſt and his Apoſtles: Let them deſire the beſt, give God thanks for the middle ſort, bear with the worſt for the doctrin and example of Chriſt; let them ſuffer even crafty Foxes, ſuch as* Herod, *cruel Lyons, ſuch as* Nero. *And when I ſpeak of Subjects, under that name I comprehend alſo inferiour Magiſtrates, who in reſpect of the higheſt power are but Subjects, ſent by the King as St.* Peter *ſaith: I Preach not* Evangelium armatum, *an armed Goſpel——not Obedience only, but Honour alſo, and Reverence are due unto them, even to the froward; what elſe ſaith* Sophocles, *they are Princes;* But St. *Paul* with Apoſtolical gravity, *They are Gods Miniſters: And if the doubtful actions, even of private men, are according to the rule of Charity to be interpreted on the better part, how much more of Kings, who are not bound to render an account of their actions to any, nor can they ſometimes do it without peril of the Common-wealth.* Alſo as a worthy Divine

heretofore of the Church of *England*, ſpeaking of the duty of Subjects, ſaith thus, *We muſt look to our place, where God hath ſet us; if we be in ſubjection to others, their Authority ought to ſway with us; neither is it the calling of thoſe that are Subjects to enquire over-curiouſly into the myſteries of Government, for that both in Peace and War, breeds much diſturbance, and would trouble all deſigns.* And the late Learned and Judicious Doctor *Hamond* delivers himſelf thus: *You may diſcern* (ſaith he) *how far from the practice and Goſpel of Chriſt are thoſe doctrins of Ambitious men, which have made Chriſtian Religion a ground or excuſe of moving and diſquieting of States, and ſhaking, if not diſſolving of Kingdoms: All that will be uſeful to learn from thence*, ſaith that worthy Author, *is the Unchriſtianneſs of thoſe actions in Subjects, which are built on ſuch Antichriſtian principles as theſe; ſuch are Rebellions, Treaſons, Sedition, attempting the Commotion of States on colour of Religion. I ſhall put you in mind of this great Truth, That Chriſt and his Diſciples were of all the Doctors that ever were in the world, the moſt careful to preſerve the doctrin and practice of Allegiance, even when Emperors were the greateſt oppoſers of the Chriſtian Religion: And if we mean to be accounted followers of them, we muſt go and do likewiſe.*

Dr. *Sibs* in Souls conflict.

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Practical Catechiſm.

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In the Primitive times (as *Lactantius* ſpeaks) *believing was not an excuſe for diſobedience, or a commutation for a holy life, but a foundation of obedience to all the Laws of God and man; then all the profeſſors of Chriſtianity had one heart and one lip.* Defendenda Religio eſt, non occidendo, ſed moriendo, non ſævitia, ſed patientia, non ſcelere ſed fide, illa enim bonorum ſunt, hæc malorum. *Lactantius* his Admonition. And further (as a late Author ſpeaks) *It is by Gods ſpecial appointment and deſignation that Kings are his Vicegerents in the world: It is by his peculiar care and protection that their Authority is preſerved, and that their perſons are at any time fenced from the malicious deſigns, or the outragious violences of wicked and unreaſonable men. The nature of Government in the world is ſuch, that it requires a divine wiſdom, and an uncontroulable power to ſuſtain it, and to maintain its intereſts.*

To the ſame purpoſe the worthy *Grotius* afore-mentioned ſpeaks, in his excellent diſcourſe of God and his Providence. *That God permitteth not the effects of malice to range whither they would, but reſtrains them ſo, that Government might never be overthrown, nor the knowledg of divine Laws utterly extinguiſht.*

And

And 'tis a known wiſe ſaying of *Tacitus* (as a late Author alſo hath it) Bonos Principes expetere debemus qualeſcunque pati; Et quomodo ſterilitatem, aut nimios imbres, & cætera naturæ mala, ſic luxum & avaritiam dominantium tolerare. *The world muſt be governed as it may be, not by* Angels, *but by men* —— *And there never was any lawful Magiſtrate ſo bad, whoſe Laws and Government were not more conducive to the preſervation of the common good, than his oppreſſion was to ſubver it. And 'tis wiſe to ſuffer a leſs evil, rather than loſe a greater good.*

Now how dangerous and deſtructive the *Presbyterian* and Fanatick Principles and Practices before mentioned are? How ſubverſive of all Government, Order, and Peace in the world? And how contrary to the Doctrin of the true Proteſtant Church of *England*, I leave to all wiſe, ſober, and ingenious Chriſtians to conſider? more fit to be abominated and deteſted, and exploded out of the Chriſtian world, than cheriſhed and countenanced. What more miſchievous and wicked principles in the world than theſe two Antichriſtian Doctrins? Firſt, that nothing ought to be practiſed in and about the worſhip of God, but what we muſt have an expreſs rule or warrant for out of the Scriptures. Secondly, that we may do wickedly, rebel againſt our lawful Prince, break our Oaths and Promiſes for the ſake of Religion. The firſt of which, at one ſtroak, cuts the throat of all Eccleſiaſtical Government, and thereby lays waſt the Church. The ſecond turns the world into a Shambles, brings in nothing but War, Blood, and Confuſion, and thereby lays waſt the State.

And when we ſhall conſider, as Dr. *Stillingfleet* hath obſerved, that the Jeſuits furniſhed the Enemies to Epiſcopacy, and the Church of *England*, with ſo many Arguments to their hands, to manage their bad cauſe with; this way of proceeding makes men wonder at them and ask the queſtion and ſay, What other reaſon can be imagined, why theſe men of ſuch intolerable and inſolent ſpirits and principles are now ſo earneſt in proſecution of the Romaniſts, from the worſt of whom (*viz.* the Jeſuits) they take their principles and practices; but only this, That certainly they are emulous, of of having the *Papiſts* to have a hand in doing that, which as the cauſe of God, a noble and worthy atchievement, they are reſolved to do themſelves; that is to ſay, to ruinate and de-

Of the Idolatry practiſed in the Church of Rome, *p.* 372.

ſtroy the once famous and flouriſhing Proteſtant Church of *England*, the Bulwark of the Proteſtant Religion; being reſolved ſhe ſhall fall by no other hand but theirs, which in the end will aſſuredly prove no other than the reſolution of *Samſon*, to pull that excellent Fabrick down to the ground, although they themſelves periſh alſo in the ruins thereof.

As for all ſuch howſoever, who have been in integrity of their hearts formerly ingaged againſt their lawful Prince and Soveraign, and the Church of *England*, upon Religious pretences; that have ſince manifeſted their abhorrence of ſo great a Crime (*Et nullus pudor eſt ad meliora tranſire*) ſo they deſerve to be reſpected by all good Proteſtants: But as for ſuch pretended Proteſtants (for I cannot call all Diſſenters from *Rome*, Proteſtants, for then *John* of *Leyden*, and his Religiouſly mad Crew were ſuch, which I cannot agree to) I ſay therefore, as for ſuch pretended Proteſtants as ſhall ſtill perſiſt in their ſaid wicked and deſtructive principles and practices, and are ready once more to involve theſe Nations of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland* in War and Blood, upon the account of Religion: I ſhall ſay no more but this, *Quos Jupiter vult perdere dementat prius*. Let them beware, and that whenever they ſhall appear in action, as they will be then certainly doing the works of darkneſs, ſo the Prince of darkneſs will aſſuredly be their General, the innocent Blood of the Martyr'd *Charles* the Firſt, of bleſſed memory, will attend them, and the Lord of Hoſts will be againſt them, and the iſſue muſt needs be accordingly aſſured deſtruction; for *Pertinaciæ nullum remedium poſuit Deus*. And they whoſe wickedneſſes are winked at for a time, are wont to pay dearly for the forbearance of their puniſhment, and muſt ſuffer what God ſhall command, becauſe what he commands they would not do, as *Grotius* ſpeaks.

Now dear Country men, *Truth hath a Cognation with the ſoul* (as one ſpeaks) *ſo Lyes and Impoſtors are no more able to make reſiſtance againſt the power of Truth breaking forth, then darkneſs is able to diſpute with light*. Yea, Truth is the Off-ſpring of God, and mother of Peace. Let us from the conſiderations aforeſaid be exhorted to abhor that which is evil, and cleave to that which is good: Let us weigh things well in the balance of reaſon; for ſhall it be ſaid of us *Engliſh-men*, that we are the greated Fools or Mad-men in the world; that when Nature

hath

hath by our ſituation made us as it were impregnable as againſt forreign Enemies; that when they have not been able to hurt us; that we have deſtroyed our ſelves by our ungovernable and tumultuous tempers, by our Diſobediences, Rebellions, and Contempts of lawful Authority. Is not Order, Rule, and Government the ſinews of the Univerſe? Is it not that which upholds Kingdoms and Nations, yea, the whole world? And can there be any ſuch thing as Government without due, orderly, and peaceable ſubjection of Subjects to their Prince? the Prince to command according to his Laws, and his Subjects to obey. And doubtleſs the juſt Prerogatives of the Crown, and the Subjects Liberties are conſiſtent one with another; and when there is no incroachments made on either part, the Prince and People are very happy. *Protectio trahit ſubjectionem, & ſubjectio protectionem.*

But alaſs! are we not become Fools or Children in underſtanding, and are not able to call to mind the actions of the other day? Cannot we call to mind the years Forty-one and Forty-two, with the mad and tumultuous proceedings of thoſe times, together with the ſad and doleful effects thereof, what then was the conſequence of the loud clamours againſt Popery and Prelacy, and of the ſeditious Petitionings, the factious ſupporting and countenancing of that Factious and Diſloyal Cabal, that Peſt and Plague of the Nation, which involved us in War, Blood, and Confuſion, till at the laſt we had loſt our Religion Laws, and Liberties, and were reduced to a perfect condition of Slavery, to a company of Red coats, a Mercenary Army, and in that ſad condition muſt have lain to eternity, had not the Almighty miraculouſly delivered us, by the happy Reſtoration of his Gracious Majeſty that now is. And can we now hate the effects, and yet be in love with the cauſe? And are we ſo void of reaſon, as not to conſider that now the ſame cauſes will (in all probability) produce the like, or as bad effects, eſpecially when there ſeems to be a Tranſmigration of ſouls, when the ſame ſouls now ſeem to animate other bodies? Or rather that there are the like ill ſpirits raiſed and conjured up from the bottomleſs pit by ſome Diabolical and Schiſmatical Conjurers of our times, who make uſe of the names of God and Religion, as charms to that purpoſe. Are we not yet ſenſible that there are Juglers and Cheats in Religion

gion among us, that the *pia fraudes* are not only to be found at *Rome*? *But I beseech you consider, that the power of Truth* (as one speaks) *is victorious in sober men, and will not suffer us to be cheated with false shews.* Oh what Religious and glorious pretences have been made use of in our late times of Confusion, for the effecting the horridest and foulest facts? And can we be so senseless not to perceive that there are some among us begin the same dance again, by clamoring against Popery and Prelacy, and prosecuting lately Petitions, and thereby (as it may be justly thought) counting their numbers as formerly? But let all true-hearted Protestants not fear their thousands or ten thousands, so long as they cannot make God of their number. And whereas to palliate, if not justifie the proceedings of those times of Usurpation, they would indeavour to make the King one of the three Estates. To say no more, they may find their vain fansie and opinion disowned even by *Calvin* himself, in his Institutes, who there maketh the Prince distinct from the three Estates.

I beseech you, dear Country-men, to consider, *That true divine zeal* (as one observes) *is no Corybantick fury, but a calm and regular heat, guided and managed by light and prudence, always acknowledging a due subordination to that Authority, Civil and Ecclesiastical, that is over us.* And shall we be nevertheless so infatuated and transported by our passions and humours upon the discovery of a late Popish Plot, as to be Seditious, Tumultuous, and Ungovernable, and not to be able to recover our reason again, and consult soberly our own safety? and will we not be governed and ruled by our Prince and Governour? Shall we rather like a company of mad men, with flambeaux and fire-brands in our hands, set all on fire about us? And may not the Papists triumph at our follies, and say among themselves, what unwise people are we to trouble our heads with Plots, and lose our Lives, Liberties, and Estates, when we need run none of these hazards, but only sit still and have a little patience, and the pretended Protestants in *England* will do our work for us; that is to say, ruin and destroy the Church of *England*, the chiefest strength of the Protestant Religion; yea, they will sooner effect it themselves, than we can by all our plots and designs; *For a House divided against it self cannot stand.* Mark iii. 25.

And

And how can the Phanatick party in reaſon reproach and hate the Papiſts for thoſe Crimes and Villanies, of which they are ſo groſly guilty themſelves? For did the Papiſts plot and deſign the deſtruction of the King and State by the Gun-powder Plot? And did not the Presbyterian and the reſt of the Phanatick party alſo afterward, by Gun-powder and Guns, Swords, Piſtols, and Bullets, and a cruel and wicked Rebellion, not only deſign, but effect and accompliſh the deſtruction of the King and State? There was this only difference between them, The Papiſts were always unproſperous and unſucceſsful in their wickedneſs; but the Phanaticks were moſt proſperous and ſucceſsful in theirs. Now let all impartial and ſober men judge which of theſe two wicked Adverſaries is moſt to be feared and provided againſt, either the wicked Papiſt that hath been diſappointed in all attempts, or the induſtriouſly ſucceſsful and fortunately wicked Phanatick; the firſt being not a ſortieth part of the Nation; and the latter (it is much to be feared) bearing the ſame proportion in number to true Proteſtants in *England*, as the *Mahumetan* bears to the Chriſtians at this day in the world. The Plots alſo of the one, *viz.* the Papiſts, being fully diſcovered, and thereby prevented: But the deſigns and ſubtil Contrivances of the other (although in malice little inferior to that of the Papiſt) lying ſtill under ground undiſcovered, ſaving what was manifeſt by the *Scottiſh* Rebellion laſt year. And further, they are leaſt under ſuſpition of any ſuch deſign of Subverting the Proteſtant Church of *England*, being Enemies within doors, Pretended Proteſtants. It very nearly concerns us Proteſtants therefore, I humbly conceive, to have a great care, that in avoyding *Scylla*, we be not ſwallowed up in *Charybdis*.

And one would think that the ſaid Phanaticks, although they are ſo zealouſly bent to the Rigorous proſecution of the Papiſts, upon the account of the late Plot, do not certainly believe there was really any ſuch Plot, or that the Papiſts were carrying on ſuch grand deſigns againſt the Proteſtant Religion: For if they did, ſurely they would not take that as an opportunity to plot miſchief alſo againſt the Proteſtant Intereſt, as the *Scottiſh* Presbyterians did laſt Summer; who upon diſcovering of the ſaid Popiſh Plot, moſt wickedly Murdered the Innocent,

and

Rom. iii. 8.

These

Theſe in truth are ſad deluſions, and of the number of thoſe opinions, which although they are ridiculous, yet are of a very ſad conſequence, as the excellent *Grotius* hath obſerved. But I would not be miſ-underſtood: I ſpeak not this to diſparage true Piety and Vertue, which I highly honour and reſpect; but nothing is more hateful to me (and I think to all good men) than *Ahabs* Faſts, when it was for the deſtruction of *Naboth*, for doubtleſs, *Simulata ſanctitas eſt duplex iniquitas*. They will nevertheleſs ſay of me, that I am of a bitter perſecuting ſpirit, and cruel towards them: But I ſhall ſay this for my ſelf, Thoſe that have to do with ſtubborn and inveterate maladies, it is cruelty in ſuch to uſe *Lenitives*, and not *Corroſives*. To which I may further add (in the words, as I remember of *Zuinglius*) *In aliis manſuetus ero, in blaſphemiis in Chriſtum non item.* I dare appeal to the Almighty, that I have no ill will againſt their perſons, but only their wicked principles. I think I could be willing to ſacrifice my Life to reſcue them all from their ſad deluſions, and my Nation from ruin. But however, let them go on to ſtyle themſelves the Godly party, &c. or what they pleaſe; this will prove moſt certain, That when this Church and Nation is brought to deſolation and deſtruction, they will be as innocent of procuring the ſame, as *Nero* was of the Firing of *Rome*, when he actually ſet it on fire. And what is more unjuſt than for ſingle acts of Murder and wickedneſs to be puniſhed with death, and the deſtruction of whole Nations to be gloryed in as an honourable Archicvement and a Righteous cauſe. But to my purpoſe, to perſuade us all, if it be poſſible, to Unity and Peace, I ſhall inſert a notable ſtory, I think it is related in Mr. *Stows* Chronicle, as followeth,

That upon occaſion of a great Inundation and overflowing of the Country near the *Severn*, there was a little Hill compaſſed about by the waters, whither had reſorted for ſafety, many Beaſts of ſeveral kinds and ſeveral natures, as Horſes, Cows, Sheep, Foxes, &c. who being all incompaſſed with a common danger, laid aſide, or rather forgot their Antipathies, and abode there quietly together, not any one offering to prey upon, or moleſt the other; and when the waters were gone, ſo parted in peace. May we not, dear Country-men, hence

learn of Brutes? And shall we not by reason do what they did only by instinct, and out of apprehension of danger; that is to say, lay aside our Prejudices, Passions, and Animosities, in tendency to secure our selves from danger. I say again: If our disaffected parties did really believe there were such a horrid and destructive Plot, would they not follow the common dictates of reason, and ingeniously confess and say, Alas! we now see by experience that our sad divisions have incouraged our Enemies to Plot the ruin of all Protestants; but we will for peace and safety sake, now lay aside our Animosities and stubborn wills, we will come to Church, Baptize our Children, receive the Sacrament, and Conform in all things to our Mother the Church of *England*, at least as far as we can. Laws we know must not submit to us, but we to them; we will do any thing that is required of us, if it be not as clearly and plainly forbidden by Gods Word, as our obedience is there clearly and fully enjoyned, we are willing to do almost any thing for the securing the Protestant interest: We now see our Adversaries are Vigilant and Industrious for to procure our destruction; but we will be as Vigilant and Industrious for our Union and Preservation. But alas, all the noise of the horridness of the late Plot, hath not awakened us to take one sober and wise step towards the securing the Protestant Cause, but like men in the water ready to be drowned, who lay about them for life, being filled with the apprehensions of danger, yet take not one wise stroak to swim or save their lives, but all their actions tend to hasten their destruction and ruin. Just thus it is with us.

It is true, there are a sort of people that are mighty zealous for prosecuting Papists, the innocent as well as the nocent, and thereby to enrage and exasperate them more against us. And will scarce suffer our wise Governours to take sober and just measures in that grand Affair. But in the mean time take no thought for Union among Protestants, in which consists principally our safety, which is just as if a Captain of a Ship being ingaged in a Sea Fight, who is very eager to assault and mischief his Enemy, yet takes no care to suppress the Mutinies in his Ship, or to stop her Leaks; And who sees not the speedy fatal end of his Valour? It is Enemies within doors that by

the univerſal ſuffrage of mankind are always accounted worſe than thoſe without, *hinc illæ lachrymæ!*

And may we not be fully convinced by experience of the ſad Conſequence of unſound and wicked Doctrines and Principles, eſpecially meeting with Men of active Spirits, which makes them induſtriouſly wicked: happy were it, if it might be ſaid of them, *Operòſe nihil agunt*, but of theſe men it muſt be truly ſaid, *Operòſe multum mali agunt.* But as a worthy Proteſtant Divine heretofore taught in our Church. *If we deſire aſſurance of Chriſt's Love, get a chaſt Judgment, free from Error, Hereſie and Schiſm —— Chriſt is wonderful jealous of our Judgments —— Whoſoever is corrupt in Faith is corrupt in Obedience in that degree, evil Opinions breed evil Life.* To which I may add that ſaying *Animus æger ſemper errat*, And Ex *uno abſurdo dato, conſequuntur mille.* Now although in other reſpects they may be accounted ſober men, yet it may be ſaid truly of them, *Quid prodeſt vinum non bibere & ira inebriari?* And do not theſe men place the main, if not the all, of their Religion in endleſs ſcrupulofities about indifferent things, neglecting in the mean time the more weighty things of Chriſtianity? Is it not incorporated into the very Principles of theſe mens Piety and Religion, to be always murmuring and clamoring againſt Government and Governours both in Church and State, to be creating and raiſing jealouſies and fears in the hearts of the People againſt their Prince, to aggravate his perſonal failings, when there is any, to be dividing, ſeparating and rending the Church and State into pieces? And alas! to do thus wickedly is the way now adays to be accounted a godly Man, a good Chriſtian, a good Proteſtant. And thoſe that are good and ſound Proteſtants, that love their Prince, make Conſcience of obſerving the good Laws, Orders and Conſtitutions of both Church and State, they are reputed and repreſented preſently as Papiſts, or popiſhly affected, *Et ſi ſatis eſt accuſare, quis innocens?* although by this imputation, how highly do they tacitely and by Conſequence, commend the Papiſts whom they ſo hate and perſecute. And except in our forſaking *Rome*, we will run along with them to *Munſter*, we muſt of neceſſity be all Papiſts, although they cannot but acknowledge, that *in medio conſiſtit virtus.* May it not therefore in reaſon be thought, that if it were poſſible to

Dr. Sibs, *in his Sermon on* Cant. 1. 2.

raiſe *Cranmer*, *Ridley* and *Latimer*, and the reſt of the famous Martyrs out of their aſhes, and that they were converſant among us as heretofore, that aſſuredly they would be cried out on for Papiſts, by theſe pretended Proteſtants of our times, and as ſuch be put to a ſecond Perſecution and Martyrdom alſo, eſpecially if they ſhould take a Journy into *Scotland*. And what can this tend to in the end? Indeed as formerly, ſo ſtill, do theſe men conſult that wicked Rule or Maxim, *Audaciter calumniare, ſemper aliquid hærebit.* And here it may not I think be impertinent to mention a paſſage of the before mentioned Hiſtorian, Mr. *James Howel* ſpeaking of a fearful Combuſtion and Revolt of *Catalonia* from the *Spaniard*, occaſioned much by the preaching Friers and Monks, whence ſaith he, This Aphoriſm may be collected, *That the beſt Inſtruments being miſapplied do greateſt miſchief, and prove moſt dangerous, And as of the ſweeteſt Wines is made the ſharpeſt Vinegar, ſo Church men who by their holy Function, and white Robes of Innocence ſhould be the ſweeteſt of all Profeſſions, who ſhould breath nothing but Peace, Unity, Allegeance and Love, if they miſapply their Talent, and abandon themſelves to the Spirit of Faction, they become the bittereſt enemies, the moſt corroding cankers, and worſt vipers in any Commonwealth, and moſt pernicious to the Prince, in regard that they having the ſway over the Conſcience, which is the Rudder that ſteers the actions, words and thoughts of the rational Creature, they tranſport and ſnatch it away whither they will; making the Beaſt with many heads conceive according to the Colour of thoſe Rods they uſe to caſt before them.*

In the Life of Lewis *the* 13.

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Let us, I beſeech you, dear Country-men, call to mind former things and learn wiſdom. How hath this poor Nation ſuffered many times heretofore by our inteſtine broils, as the Records of former times will inform us, And will we not ſuffer the experience of theſe things to inſtruct us, are we reſolved not to conſider? Doth not Wiſdom and Prudence direct us not to look only at the ſurface or firſt appearance of things, but to view and conſider them in their true and natural Conſequences, according to that ſaying, *Quicquid agas prudenter agas & reſpice finem?* When we are in a Storm, is it time then to be murmuring and mutining againſt our Pilot? Have we any reaſon to ſuſpect his wiſdom or faithfulneſs?

may

may we not in all reaſon preſume that he that is at the helm beſt underſtands the condition of his Ship both its courſe and working, and therefore beſt knows how to ſteer her? And can we be ſo maliciouſly abſurd as to imagin that our excellent Prince and Pilot hath not a very great and intenſe Care for the ſafety of that Veſſel in which he himſelf is embark'd? Will not *Cæſar* take ſpecial Care of the ſecurity of the Ship that carries *Cæſar* and all his fortunes, *Cæſar* and all his Subjects? Can it be otherwiſe, but that the intereſt of the King and his Subjects muſt be both one and the ſame? And for ever let them be accurſed, may I ſay, that go about to divide them. Is not the King and his Subjects as *Hippocrates* his Twins, that mourn or rejoice together? When did ever diffidence and diſtruſt, fears and jealouſies in Subjects of their Prince make them happy? Fears and jealouſies in the People muſt needs cauſe fears and jealouſies in their Prince, and his fears increaſe theirs, and ſo run round in this diabolical and diſmal circle without end to the ruin of both. And when was this Nation ever more happy than in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, when there was ſo great affection in her People towards her, and confidence in her good Government, that there was no place left for fears and jealouſies; although as Sir *Robert Naunton* obſerves in his *Fragmenta Regalia*, *ſhe left more Debts unpaid taken up on the credit of her Privy Seals, than her Progenitors did or could have taken up in an hundred years before her.* Yet (ſaith he) *we are naturally prone to applaud the times behind us, and to vilifie the preſent. It is certain when her Parliaments met, they never did capitulate or prefer their private concerns to the publick, viz. the Queens neceſſities, but waited their times, and in the firſt place gave their ſupplies, and according to the exigency of her affairs, yet failed not at laſt to obtain what they deſired, ſo that the Queen and her Parliaments had even the good fortune to depart in Love, and on reciprocal terms, although afterwards in her Succeſſors Reign that happineſs did not continue, by reaſon of ſome few popular diſcontented perſons, ſuch (as with the fellow that burnt the Temple at* Epheſus) *would be talked of, though for the doing of miſchief.* Thus ſpeaks the ſaid Author. And doubtleſs 'tis not a Conteſting but Compliance with the Prince that tends to the honour and happineſs of a Nation or People. If

there

there were (may I say) none other to give their Votes at Elections of Parliament-men now in our times, then was in Queen *Elizabeths* Reign; that is to say, none but good and sound Protestants, who had a zeal for their Mother, the Church of *England*, then we might expect the same good agreement in that great and illustrious Assembly as She met with; but when there is so many men of desperate seditious and Phanatick spirits, bitter Enemies to the Church of *England*, that give their Voices at Elections, and use so many arts to put by Worthy men, I humbly conceive so great good can hardly be expected, with any constancy or continuance at least. Now as *Cicero* speaks, *Nulla res vehementius Rempublicam continet, quam fides.* So I may say, if there was but affection towards, and confidence in our gracious Soveraign, and his wise Conduct: And it is a true saying, *Qui diligit Legem diligit Regem*: If we that are Subjects, would love and honour our Prince (as I am sure we ought in duty to do) our Gracious Prince could not but cast a favourable Aspect upon his loving Subjects, and what could there then follow but a continual interchanging of affections with each other; that blessed circulation of love and kindness, like the circulation of the blood in the natural body: And what blessed fruits and effects might we enjoy from this excellent Athletick and healthy temper of our body politick? And there would be no fears and jealousies of the meeting and Assembling of Parliaments, and no need of presenting one Petition for their sitting. But doubtless, it is a lesser evil not to meet, than to meet and not accord. And therefore dear Friends and Country-men, methinks when Religion, Laws, Allegiance, our own Peace and Safety, calls aloud to this duty of Love, how can we withstand it? Disorder and Confusion also is so great an evil, and Government so absolutely necessary to the subsistence of the world, and happiness of mankind, and disturbance and subversion thereof so hateful to me upon any pretence whatsoever: That if I were satisfied that my Religion did enjoyn or allow of any such doctrins and practices, I should for that very cause forthwith renounce my Christianity, it being impossible for such a Religion to proceed from God.

Oh!

Oh! How can I but pitty *Cæsar*? What a vast burden now lies upon his shoulders? He had need be an *Atlas* to sustain it. How have we his Subjects, vile Wretches, taken a surfet already of our peace and plenty, under his mild and gentle Government? Have we had any cause justly to complain thereof? Have we not sat under our own Vines, and eat the fruit of our own Fig trees in peace and safety? Hath not Religion and Property been secured to us? Whose Ox hath he taken? Whom of the meanest of his Subjects hath he oppressed or injured? And therefore what can hinder our happiness if we will our selves? And shall we suffer our own phansies to raise chymera's and delusions, fears and jealousies, and then torment our selves with them? Will we be offended with our Gracious Prince, because he is but a man? However (I am sure) he is *Pater Patriæ*, the common Father of his People. I beseech you therefore (if it be but for shame) let us shew our selves related to *Shem* and *Japhet*, and not to be of the Off-spring of cursed *Cham*. And if we apprehend any faults to happen in Government or Governours, are we competent Judges in the case? When as Dr. *Stillingfleet* observes in his *Origines Sacræ*, That a falsehood may frequently seem truer to common understandings than truth it self. And doubtless this is never more true, than in matters of Government. And if there be any faults in Governours, are we that are governed faultless our selves? And are not the miscarriages of Governours very often ordered and disposed by God as a scourge, procured by the sins of the people (if our Bibles speak true) and when that therefore shall happen to us, it may (I think) in reason, very much silence our complaints. 2 *Sam.* 4. 1:

If Proroguing of Parliaments be an offence to us, is that any new or strange thing under the Sun? Hath it not been often done, even in tranquil and peaceable times, and by the wisest of Princes? And although it must be acknowledged that Parliaments are an excellent constitution, and of excellent use, when they are not tainted by Prejudices, Animosities, and Faction, and do not degenerate from their right ends and use, may they not be reputed as the Physick to the body politick, and (if so made use of, and not as its constant food) be of great benefit and advantage to the Nation? And here I shall

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inſert the words of one of the greateſt States-men that the world ever had; the Cardinal *de Richelieu*, to the Aſſembly of the Notables in *France*, in the time of *Lewis* the Thirteenth; he ſpeaks thus; *The Sick ſometimes dye by too many Remedies, as well as none at all. I am bound to tell you by the by, that to re-eſtabliſh this Nation or State in its firſt ſplendor, there's no need of many Ordinances, but real executions, few words and many deeds will teſtifie both the good intentions and judgments of them whereof ſhe is compoſed.* But though Parliaments are an excellent Conſtitution, are they not like other ſublunary things, ſubject to corruption and abuſe, and we know *Optima vitiata ſunt peſſima.* The beſt things when corrupted, prove the worſt, which I think our own experience hath not long ſince, taught us in Characters of blood: For if a General Council may err, can a Parliament be infallible. And what hath happened to that excellent Conſtitution, may it not happen again? But here by the by it may be obſerved, That it is not ſo much a Parliament is deſired by ſome among us, as ſuch a Parliament as might ſerve their deſigns; for thoſe very perſons, ſome of them that not long ſince were altogether for diſſolving of Parliaments, *viz.* that bleſſed healing Parliament firſt called after his Majeſties Reſtoration, are now the principal ſticklers for a Parliament.

In the next place, if the decay of our Trade be an offence to us, may it not be juſtly thought that our own fears, our own diſtractions are the greateſt cauſe thereof: And then do we deſerve to be pityed, that ſuffer when we may cure our own maladies? Let us confide and acquieſce in the wiſe conduct of our excellent Prince, and his wiſe Council, and be ſatisfied, and our Trade will return.

What ſhall I ſay? We in this Nation are a maſs of Confuſion, how miſerably divided in our minds, unanimous in nothing but in murmuring and complaining. Yet God who is truth it ſelf, is one, and unity, certainly is the fruit and conſequent of verity. Now what a ſtrong Argument do we furniſh our Adverſaries the *Romaniſts* with againſt us, when they ſhall argue and ſay unto us, Where is that verity you ſo much boaſt of, when there is no unity but diſcord, ſtrife, and enmity among you. And as St. *James* ſpeaks, *If ye have bitter envy-*

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ing and ſtrife in your hearts, glory not, and lie not againſt the truth; this wiſdom deſcendeth not from above, but is earthly, ſenſual, devilliſh. [Jam. 14. 15.]

What ſhould I ſay? What mortal can pleaſe us? What mortal Prince is able to govern us? How readily diſpoſed and bent are many among us, if it were poſſible, to be pulling down as formerly what is eſtabliſhed by Law? And yet alas! If ever God ſhould ſuffer ſuch a great and fearful judgment again to fall upon us, and that we ſhould be able to lay all things waſt as heretofore; will we not (as heretofore) be like the Builders of *Babel*, Confounded, although not in our language, yet in our different ends and deſigns, and never be able to agree what to eſtabliſh. I may further add, How is it poſſible for God Almighty himſelf to pleaſe that people, of whom ſome will have fair weather, and ſome foul, at one and the ſame time and place? Is it not juſt thus with us? What one faction or party would have, the other nauſeats and loaths. And what can our gracious Soveraign do with us; and yet what ſhowers of murmurings, clamours, bitter invectives and reproaches have our Governors ſuffered patiently? But let us conſider, God is not in the ſtorms, earth-quakes, and flames of murmuring and rebellious Subjects, but in the ſmall ſtill voice of humility and obedience: All Murmurers and Rebels are and ever were the Children of Pride, and we know God reſiſteth the proud, but vouchſafeth his grace and bleſſing only to the humble. How contrary are theſe things to our Allegiance to our Soveraign Lord? Our Law ſaith, *Ligeantiæ eſt vinculum fidei, ligeantia eſt legis eſſentia*: It is the bond of our faithfulneſs, the very eſſence of the Law. And again, *Ligeantia Domino Regi debita eſt Lex.* It is the Law due to our Soveraign Lord the King.

And it is worthy our obſervation, what hath uſually been the diſmal effects of Rebellion and defection from a lawful Prince. In that great defection of the ten Tribes from the Houſe of *David*, God did not vouchſafe them, after it ſo much as one good King to govern them, they were all ſtark naught, and at laſt were carried away Captive, and totally deſtroyed, there remaining no memory of them at this day. Yea, to omit other inſtances, hath not our own late experience alſo taught us the ſame, after our wicked Rebellion againſt our lawful

Prince, and imbrewing our hands in his Innocent blood? How did God Plague us by our own divisions and confusions, and raised up a cruel Tyrant, *Cromwel*, to rule over us with a rod of Iron, and at once to cut the throat of our Religion, Laws, and Liberties, and made out very Nobles to stoop and lackquay after his Major Generals, and reduced us all into a perfect condition of slavery. And can we forget this sad Calamity we so lately suffered?

How hath he, whose Person and Authority ought to have been Sacred among us, suffered from his Subjects, not to be mentioned without abhorrence? Those that are unfit to govern, yet will not be governed. So that I may say, what hath been spared to his Sacred Majesty but his Crown? what bold daring Petitions of late promoted, and some presented to his Royal Hand, contrary to his express Royal will and pleasure, which have signified no more but to let him know, that the Petitioners were dissatisfied in his Majesties Wisdom and Fidelity; that they better knew how to direct and guide State-affairs than himself. Have we not by our unworthy carriage towards him, as heretofore towards his Royal Father, given credit to that bitter Invective against our Nation, that *Rex Angliæ est Rex dæmonum.* Are we not ashamed at these things, to be thus increasing our Princes burden of Government, vexing and torturing his Royal heart? How monstrously absurd are we herein? We all pretend to be very tender of his Majesty, to be mightily concerned for his safety, and cry out *Vivat Rex*, let the King live, and seem to be much incensed against the Papists, because in their late Plot they designed his destruction; and yet we are increasing the burden he undergoes by our discontents, murmurings, and complainings, our untractable, ungovernable tempers; as if we had a mind to take the work and design of the Papists out of their hands; for can these horrid actions be the way to prolong his days? But it is my hopes, and I think I have reason to induce me to believe, that the late shakings of the Royal Oak, will cause it to take deeper root, and thereby stand the stronger.

When I consider the state of things and persons among us at present, I am ready to be filled with horrour, and cannot but deeply resent his Sacred Majesties condition, the only support of my hopes is this, by whom Kings Reign: When I consider the

the innumerable train of Atheiſts, not only thoſe in practice, but the bold daring profeſſed Atheiſtical ſpirits, the ſmoak of the bottomleſs pit, the reproach of human nature: Who dare be ſo wickedly abſurd, as to contradict the univerſal ſenſe of all man-kind from the beginning of the world until this day, and ſay they were all fools but themſelves; who daily make it their ſport and paſtime to drol and jeſt at all Religion, blaſpheme and defie that God by whom they ſubſiſt, and Idolize and adore only themſelves, who own no other rule to walk by, but their intereſt, their pleaſure, profit, and honour. Now what good Subjects theſe are like to prove, I leave to all wiſe and ſober perſons to conſider? He that only for his intereſt will be Loyal, when it is his intereſt and advantage will be a Rebel: He that defies and blaſphemes his God, can he honour and reſpect his Prince? Can he that is guilty of *Dei-cidium* be offended with *Regi-cidium*, eſpecially when it ſhall be for his preſent ſecular advantage. *Animus meminiſſe horret*!

And on the other hand, when I recollect the numerous Troops of Phanaticks and diſaffected of all ſorts, where a man may ſooner find (according to *Samſons* Riddle) hony in a rotten carcaſe, than Loyalty to their Prince, further than what tends to advance the intereſt of their ſeveral parties; for according to the Standard of the Covenant, they will be true and faithful to their Prince, but with this limitation and reſtriction, In defence of the Proteſtant Religion, and the Liberties of the Subject: So that whenever they are diſpoſed to entertain fears and jealouſies of their lawful Soveraign, and cry out Popery and Tyranny; and take the confidence to ſay their Prince favours Papiſts, and intends to introduce an Arbitrary Government; as that party falſly and wickedly ſuggeſted againſt *Charles* the Firſt, of bleſſed memory, then alas all their Loyalty paſſeth away as the morning dew.

Where ſhall I after this ſearch, find good and loyal Subjects, that will ſtick to their Prince in time of need? Even all the good and ſound Proteſtants of the Church of *England*, even ſo many, and no more good Chriſtians may be reckoned true and loyal Subjects. For he that is a true Son of the Church of *England*, a true Proteſtant, will ſay, be my Prince what he will (if God ſo pleaſe to permit it) ſo long as he is my lawful Soveraign, I dare not perjure my ſelf, and forſake my Allegiance; I

Matth. 22. 21. *Rom.* 13. 2. must be just and loyal, I must give *Cæsar* his due; I must sacrifice my life at his command, in his defence; I must not, I dare not resist in any case, *for they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation*, Et mori non metuo sed, damnari metuo. If a Prince hath a just and undoubted legal Title to a Crown by the Laws of God and Nature, and the Fundamental Constitutions of the Kingdom, I would willingly know by what Law he can be deprived thereof? For can any power on Earth nullifie or make void the Laws of God, and make that just, which God Almighty, the great Law-giver hath made unjust. Is it not one of the maxims of our Laws of *England*, That where contrary Laws come in question, mans Laws must give place to Gods Laws. And further, how far our Oaths of Allegiance bind us to our Prince and his Heirs, and lawful Successors, we are to be informed thereof by our Prince, and present Governor, and his Council. For as the excellent *Grotius* speaks concerning the force and obligation of an Oath, whereby Subjects are obliged to the Magistrates, *I conceive* (saith he) *the Interpretation belongs to States-men and Lawyers, not to Divines.* This is unquestionably true, we must not do or consent to any sinful act to save our selves from the greatest sufferings; and I would have any one to shew me any piece of Christianity to justifie me in doing otherwise. If I were sure that the next lawful and undoubted Heir to my present Prince and Governour were of another Religion, differing from mine; and knew certainly that he would persecute me, nay burn me for an Heretick; I am bound in Conscience, nevertheless, and must of necessity own and be faithful to his interest and just right; for to be disloyal, unjust, to perjure my self knowingly, and with deliberation, would be assured damnation to me: But to run the utmost hazard, to keep a good Conscience, and to suffer Persecution, to lose my life for the best Religion in the world (for such mine must be to me) would be the greatest comfort, happiness, and glory that I am capable of in this life.

May I now also wish all health and happiness to that great and populous City of *London*, of which I am an unworthy Member; and may I humbly represent these few things to her worthy Citizens, their serious consideration, That they would not be forgetful of those late heavy Divine Visitations, the dreadful Pestilence; and more especially that horrid Conflagration,

gration, in which, whatever hands of men were inſtrumental, doubtleſs there was much of Gods hand: For that hand needs muſt be directed by more than an ordinary Providence, that ſhall with a pair of Dice throw Siz-Cinque a hundred times together. May I alſo preſent before them, that *nunquam proſpere ſuccedunt res humanæ ubi negliguntur Divinæ:* As alſo what a Heathen obſerved,

——— *Sic prophanatis ſacris,*
Peritura Troja perdidit primum Deos.

They loſt their Gods before they loſt their City *Troy.* And if Heathens eſteemed it an Infamy not to be pious, what a ſhame will it be if Chriſtians think not ſo alſo. Next therefore to their piety towards God, may I recommend that which is inſeparable to it, Loyalty to their Prince; as alſo the preſervation of the order and good Government of their City, under that prudent and worthy Perſon that now Governs them; in all which undoubtedly conſiſts their ſafety, ſplendor, & proſperity. And that as they are very vigilant to prevent Firing their Houſes, ſo more eſpecially that they would have a care of ſuch wicked perſons, as by falſe rumors of firing of Houſes, and the like, drive on (it is much to be feared) a deſign to fill the peoples minds with fears and diſcontent, thereby to inflame them into Sedition and Rebellion; which if it ſhould ever take effect, might prove the dreadfuleſt and moſt fatal fire that ever befel that City. I make no doubt of the care therefore of all thoſe that are concerned in her preſervation, as to prevent burning of their Houſes, ſo more eſpecially of ſuch miſguided Zealots that diſdain ſuch pedling wickedneſs of ſetting ſingle Houſes on fire; but are moſt intently bent to the firing of whole Kingdoms, and that with the greateſt vigour and induſtry poſſible, as the cauſe of God, and advancement of his honour, and of the Kingdom and Scepter of his Son Jeſus Chriſt, to bind their King in Chains, and Nobles in Fetters of Iron; and dare be ſo ridiculouſly impudent to keep Faſts, and then beg of God to proſper the tranſgreſſion of his Laws. And alas! how many thouſands of theſe Fire-balls are to be found both in City and Country, and very little conſideration had of the danger of them; although by the experience of the whole world,

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they have been ever found fatal to the Citys and Countrys where they have proſpered and prevailed. And therefore it hath been ſaid truly, That ſome mens Prophaneſs and Debaucheries may be with leſs danger tolerated by the Magiſtrate, than ſome mens Religion, the very principles whereof are many times ſubvertive of all Government, Order, and Peace. And thoſe Subjects who will not be ſatisfied without a general toleration of all Religions (although it hath been found by experience that ſuch perſons will not give (when they have power) that to others which they now crave.) If their Prince and Governour comply with their deſires, I humbly conceive it will oblige him to have a good ſtanding Army to keep them at peace among themſelves, and to ſupport his Government, and preſerve himſelf in ſafety; for every Sectary will take the Bible into his hand, and as readily will interpret it, as read it, and ſay, here is the Infallible rule, and I have the ſpirit to interpret it: And the conſequence is, They make their own fancies and conceits as the Oracles of God, either in oppoſition one towards another, or againſt their lawful Prince and Governour. Something to this purpoſe the worthy *Grotius* ſpeaks, *Some Proteſtants ſay, they are led by the publick authority of the ſpirit, in his word common to all Chriſtians.* As much was ſaid by *Socinus*, *Brown*, and ſo many others. *See into what perplexities the hearers minds are on every ſide involved. Here (ſaith every Sect) is the Word of God pure and ſincere, according to the ſenſe of the holy ſpirit: They know not whither to turn themſelves, but muſt abide there where their Birth or Education, or hope of profit and preferment hath placed them, and applaud their own men, ſpeaking loud and confident: Could any one free men out of this Labyrinth, were it not a happy work, and worthy of all acceptation?* Which queſtion he elſewhere reſolves thus, *Conſuetudo veterum Chriſtianorum eſt optima Scripturarum interpres.* The cuſtom or practice of the Antient Chriſtians is the beſt Interpreter of the Scriptures. For as the ſaid Author further adds, *Thoſe Primitive Chriſtians beſt underſtood the ſenſe and meaning of the Scriptures, and did beſt practice the Chriſtian Doctrin contained in the Scriptures.* For doubtleſs, if we will ſearch for the Chriſtian verity in its greateſt luſtre and purity, we muſt have recourſe to the pureſt ſtreams flowing neareſt to the fountain, even the Primitive times. But how can we but groſly miſtake, if we will wreſt the Sacred Scrip-

Scriptures, and expreſly in contradiction to St. *Peter*, *Acts* 2.17. apply the promiſes of the ſpirits guidance to our times, which were intended for thoſe firſt times of the Goſpel.

I ſhall conclude my diſcourſe with an excellent and wiſe caution given to Proteſtants by a Learned Divine of the Church of *England*, which deſerves to be imprinted upon all our minds that wiſh well to the Proteſtant intereſt. *That unleſs there be a due and timely regard had to the commands of lawful Authority in indifferent things, and to order, peace, and unity in the Church. It may be eaſily foreſeen that the Reformed part of Chriſtendom will at length be brought firſt to Confuſion by crumbling into infinite ſects and diviſions, and then to utter ruin.*

D. Cudworth *his Sermon at* Lincoln-Inn, 1664.

Now dear Country-men, what can I do more, but bewail and lament our follies, abſurdities, and confuſions? Oh! how great need have we of an *Amphion* with his Lute, with his Charming melody to mollifie and ſoften our rugged and ſtony hearts: Or rather of the great *Hermoſtes* (as the aforeſaid Author calls him) that tunes the whole world, to put us in tune, to reduce us to the uſe of our reaſon again, and cauſe us to live together in unity and peace? Oh that we were wiſe, that we would conſider; and that we might know in this our day the things belonging to our peace, and that they might not be hid from our eyes. And let it be all our Prayers, that we may be freed from all Pride, Error, Prejudice, and Partiality, and underſtand and obey the truth, that at the great day of reckoning, when we ſhall all be called to give an account of our deportment in this weak and imperfect ſtate, we all may be found not in the number of them who have deſpiſed Dominions, ſpeak evil of Dignities. But of thoſe whoſe lives have been anſwerable to the holy Chriſtian Religion, which is pure and peaceable.

That which once moved *Cræſus* his dumb Son to ſpeak, when his Enemies were about to kill him (my affection to my Religion, Prince, and Country) hath extorted from me this mean and unworthy Eſſay in tendency to quench thoſe flames I fear are breaking forth among us. And let us beware, and be adviſed, for if we perſiſt in our wickedneſs, the very ſtones in our Streets ſhortly will (it is to be feared) cry out in judgment againſt us, to our confuſion and deſtruction. Farewell.

From all thy wrath, and from all our ſins,
Good Lord deliver us.

FINIS.